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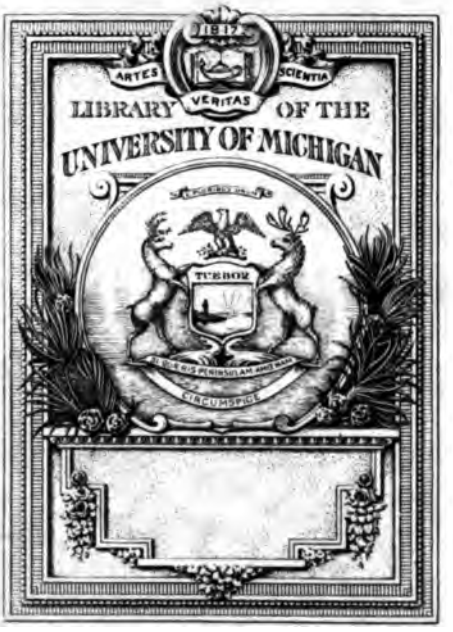
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THE

WORKS

OF

JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.,

AND

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

WITH

Copious Notes and Additions,

AND

A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

THOMAS ROSCOE.

NO AUTHOR IN THE BRITISH LANGUAGE HAS ENJOYED THE EXTENSIVE POPULARITY OF THE CELEBRATED DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S. THE VIVID AND ORIGINAL POWER OF HIS GENIUS HAS SUPPORTED HIM IN THE GENERAL OPINION, TO AN EXTENT ONLY EQUALLED BY HIS FRIEND POPE, AND FAR SURPASSING ANY OTHER OF THOSE GENIUSES WHO FLOURISHED IN THE AUGUSTAN AGE OF QUEEN ANNE. — *Sir Walter Scott.*

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SOME REASONS

TO PROVE THAT NO ONE IS OBLIGED, BY HIS PRINCIPLES AS A WHIG, TO OPPOSE THE QUEEN:

IN A LETTER TO A WHIG LORD.[1]

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

A SUPPOSED LETTER

FROM THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.

SOME REASONS, &c.

My Lord, — The dispute between your lordship and me has, I think, no manner of relation to what, in the common style of these times, are called principles; wherein both parties seem well enough to agree if we will but allow their professions. I can truly affirm that none of the reasonable sober Whigs I have conversed with did ever avow any opinion concerning religion or government which I was not willing to subscribe; so that, according to my judgment, those terms of distinction ought to be dropped, and others introduced in their stead to denominate men as they are inclined to peace or war, to the last or the present ministry; for whoever thoroughly considers the matter will find these to be the only differences that divide the nation at present. I am apt to think your lordship would readily allow this if you were not aware of the consequence I intend to draw; for it is plain that the making peace and war, as well as the choice of ministers, is wholly in the crown; and therefore the dispute at present lies altogether between those who would support and those who would violate the royal prerogative. This decision may seem, perhaps, too sudden and severe; but I do not see how it can be contested. Give me leave to ask your lordship whether you are not resolved to oppose the present

[1] The lord Ashburnham.

ministry to the utmost? And whether it was not chiefly with this design that, upon the opening of the present session, you gave your vote against any peace till Spain and the West Indies were recovered from the Bourbon family? I am confident your lordship then believed, what several of your house and party have acknowledged, that the recovery of Spain was grown impracticable by several incidents, as well as by our utter inability to continue the war upon the the former foot. But you reasoned right, that such a vote, in such a juncture, was the present way of ruining the present ministry. For as her majesty would certainly lay much weight upon a vote of either house, so it was judged that her ministers would hardly venture to act directly against it; the natural consequence of which must be a dissolution of the parliament, and a return of all your friends into a full possession of power. This advantage the lords have over the commons, by being a fixed body of men, where a majority is not to be obtained but by time and mortality, or new creations, or other methods which I will suppose the present age too virtuous to admit. Several noble lords who joined with you in that vote were but little inclined to disoblige the court, because it suited ill with their circumstances; but the poor gentlemen were told that it was the safest part they could act; for it was boldly alleged that the queen herself was at the bottom of this affair; and one of your neighbors,[1] whom the dread of losing a great employment often puts into agonies, was growing fast into a very good courtier, began to cultivate the chief minister, and often expressed his approbation of present proceedings, till that unfortunate day of trial came, when the mighty hopes of a change revived his constancy and encouraged him to adhere to his old friends. But the event, as your lordship saw, was directly contrary to what your great undertaker had flattered you with. The queen was so far from approving what you had done, that, to show she was in earnest, and to remove all future apprehensions from that quarter, she took a resolute necessary step,[2] which is like to make her easy for the rest of her reign; and which, I am confident, your lordship would not have been one of those to have put her upon, if you had not been most shamefully misinformed. After this, your party had nothing to do but sit down and murmur at so extraordinary an exertion of the prerogative, and quarrel at a necessity which their

[1] Charles Seymour, duke of Somerset, master of the horse.

[2] By creating twelve new peers.

own violence, inflamed by the treachery of others, had created. Now, my lord, if an action so indisputably in her majesty's power requires any excuse, we have a very good one at hand. We alleged that the majority you hardly acquired with so much art and management, partly made up from a certain transitory bench, and partly of those whose nobility began with themselves, was wholly formed during the long power of your friends; so that it became necessary to turn the balance by new creations, wherein, however, great care was taken to increase the peerage as little as possible,[1] and to make a choice against which no objection could be raised with relation to birth or fortune, or other qualifications requisite for so high an honor.

There is no man hath a greater veneration than I for that noble part of our legislature whereof your lordship is a member; and I will venture to assert, that, supposing it possible for corruptions to go far in either assembly, yours is less liable to them than in a house of commons. A standing senate of persons nobly born, of great patrimonial estates, and of pious learned prelates, is not easily perverted from intending the true interest of their prince and country; whereas we have found by experience that a corrupt ministry, at the head of a moneyed faction, is able to procure a majority of whom they please to represent the people. But then, my lord, on the other side, if it has been so contrived by time and management that the majority of a standing senate is made up of those who wilfully or otherwise mistake the public good, the cure by common remedies is as slow as the disease: whereas a good prince, in the hearts of his people, and at the head of a ministry who leaves them to their own free choice, cannot miss a good assembly of commons. Now, my lord, we do assert, that this majority of yours has been the workmanship of about twenty years; during which time, considering the choice of persons in the several creations; considering the many arts used in making proselytes among the young nobility who have since grown up, and the wise methods to prevent their being tainted by university principles; lastly, considering the age of those who fill up a certain bench [the bishops], and with what views their successions have been supplied; I am surprised to find your majority so bare and weak, that it is not

[1] This promotion was so ordered that a third part were of those on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such whose merit, birth, and fortune could admit of no exception.—*Swift.*

possible for you to keep it much longer, unless old men be immor tal; neither, perhaps, would there be any necessity to wait so lon if certain methods were put in practice which your friends hav often tried with success. Your lordship plainly sees by the even that neither threats nor promises are made use of, where it is pretty well agreed that they would not be ineffectual. Voting against th court, and indeed against the kingdom, in the most important case has not been followed by the loss of places or pensions, unless i very few particulars, where the circumstances have been so ex tremely aggravating, that to have been passive would have argue the lowest weakness or fear. To instance only in the duke o Marlborough, who against the wholesome advice of those who con sulted his true interest much better than his flatterers, would need put all upon that desperate issue, of destroying the present ministr or falling himself.

I believe, my lord, you are now fully convinced that the quee is altogether averse from the thoughts of ever employing you party in her councils or her court. You see a prodigious majorit in the house of commons of the same sentiments; and the onl quarrel against the treasurer is an opinion of more mildness to ward your friends than it is thought they deserve; neither can yo hope for better success in the next election, while her majesty con tinues her present servants, although the bulk of the people wer better disposed to you than it is manifest they are. With all th advantages I lately mentioned, which a house of lords has over th commons, it is agreed that the pulse of the nation is much bette felt by the latter than the former, because those represent th whole people; but your lordships (whatever some may pretend) d represent only your own persons. Now it has been the old com plaint of your party, that the body of country gentlemen alway leaned too much (since the Revolution) to the Tory side: and s your numbers were much lessened about two years ago, by a ver unpopular quarrel [the impeachment of Sacheverel], wherein th church thought itself deeply concerned, so you daily diminish b your zeal against peace, which the landed men, half ruined by war do so extremely want and desire.

It is probable that some persons may upon occasion have endea vored to bring you over to the present measures. If so, I desir to know whether such persons required of you to change any principles relating to government, either in church or state, in which you have been educated? or did you ever hear that such

thing was offered to any other of your party? I am sure neither can be affirmed; and then it is plain that principles are not concerned in the dispute. The two chief, or indeed the only, topics of quarrel are, whether the queen shall choose her own servants, and whether she shall keep her prerogative of making peace. And I believe there is no Whig in England that will openly deny her power in either. As to the latter, which is the more avowed, her majesty has promised that the treaty shall be laid before her parliament; after which, if it be made without their approbation, and proves to be against the interest of the kingdom, the ministers must answer for it at their extremest peril. What is there in all this that can possibly affect your principles as a Whig? or rather, my lord, are you not, by all sorts of principles lawful to own, obliged to acquiesce and submit to her majesty upon this article? But I suppose, my lord, you will not make a difficulty of confessing the true genuine cause of animosity to be, that those who are out of place would fain be in; and that the bulk of your party are the dupes of half a dozen, who are impatient at their loss of power. It is true, they would fain infuse into your lordship such strange opinions of the present ministry and their intentions as none of themselves at all believe. Has your lordship observed the least step made toward giving any suspicion of a design to alter the succession, to introduce arbitrary power, or to hurt the toleration, unless you will reckon the last to have been damaged by the bill lately obtained against occasional conformity, which was your own act and deed,[1] by a strain of such profound policy, and the contrivance of so profound a politician, that I cannot unravel it to the bottom.

Pray, my lord, give yourself leave to consider whence this indefatigable zeal is derived, that makes the heads of your party send you a hundred messages, accost you in all places, and move heaven and earth to procure your vote upon a pinch, whenever they think it lies in their way to distress the queen and ministry. Those who have already rendered themselves desperate have no other resource than in an utter change. But this is by no means your lordship's case. While others were at the head of affairs, you served the queen with no more share in them than what belonged to you as a peer; although, perhaps, you were inclined to their persons or proceedings more than to those of the present set. Those who are now in power cannot justly blame you for doing so; neither can

[1] By a compromise with the Whigs and their proselyte, the earl of Nottingham.

your friends out of place reproach you if you go on to serve he majesty and make her easy in her government, unless they ca prove that unlawful or unreasonable things are demanded of yo I cannot see how your conscience or your honour are here concerned or why people who have cast off all hope should desire you t embark with them against your prince, whom you have neve directly offended. It is just as if a man who had committed murder, and was flying his country, should desire all his friend and acquaintance to bear him company in his flight and banishmen Neither do I see how this will anyway answer your interest; fo though it should possibly happen that your friends would be aga taken into power, your lordship cannot expect they will admit yo to the head of affairs or even in the secret. Everything of cons quence is already bespoke. I can tell you who is to be treasure who chamberlain, and who to be secretaries. These offices an many others have been some time fixed; and all your lordship ca hope for is only the lieutenancy of a county, or some other honora employment, or an addition to your title; or, if you were poo perhaps a pension. And is not the way to any of these as full open at present? Is this forsaking your principles? But thi phrase has dropped of late, and they call it forsaking your friend To serve your queen and country, while any but they are at th helm, is to forsake your friends. This is a new party figure o speech, which I cannot comprehend. I grant, my lord, that th way of reasoning is very just while it extends no further than the several members of their juntos and cabals; and I could poi out half a score persons, for each of whom I should have th utmost contempt if I saw them making any overtures to be receive into trust. Wise men will never be persuaded that such violen turns can proceed from virtue or conviction; and I believe you an your friends do in your own thoughts most heartily despise th ignominious example of apostasy [lord Nottingham] whom yo outwardly so much caress. But you, my lord, who have shared a further in the favour and confidence of your leaders than barely to be listed of the party, cannot honorably refuse serving her majest and contributing what is in your power to make her governme easy, though her weighty affairs be not trusted to the hands whe you would be glad to see them. One advantage your lordship ma count upon by acting with the present ministry is, that you sha not undergo a state inquisition into your principles; but ma believe as you please in those points of government wherein o

many writers perplex the world with their explanation. Provided you heartily renounce the pretender, you may suppose what you please of his birth; and if you allow her majesty's undoubted right, you may call it hereditary or parliamentary, as you think fit. The ministers will second your utmost zeal for securing the indulgence to protestant dissenters. They abhor arbitrary power as much you. In short, there is no opinion properly belonging to you as a Whig wherein you may not still continue and yet deserve the favour and countenance of the court, provided you offer nothing in violation of the royal prerogative, nor take the advantage in critical junctures to bring difficulties upon the administration, with no other view but that of putting the queen under the necessity of changing it. But your own party, my lord, whenever they return into play, will not receive you upon such easy terms, although they will have much more need of your assistance; they will vary their political catechism as often as they please; and you must answer directly to every article, as it serves the present turn. This is a truth too visible for you to call in doubt. How unanimous are you to a man in every point, whether of moment or no! Whereas, upon our side, many stragglers have appeared in all divisions, even among those who believed the consequence of their dissent would be the worst we could fear; for which the courage, integrity, and moderation of those at the helm cannot be sufficiently admired; though I question whether, in good politics, the last ought always to be imitated.

If your lordship will please to consider the behavior of the Tories during the long period of this reign while their adversaries were in power, you will find it very different from that of your party at present. We opposed the grant to the duke of Marlborough till he had done something to deserve so great a reward; and then it was granted *nemine contradicente*. We opposed repealing the test; which would level the church established with every snivelling sect in the nation. We opposed the bill of general naturalization, by which we were in danger to be overrun by schismatics and beggars. The scheme of breaking into the statutes of colleges, which obliged the fellows to take holy orders; the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel; the hopeful project of limiting clergymen what to preach; with several others of the same stamp, were strenuously opposed, as manifestly tending to the ruin of the church. But you cannot give a single instance where the least violation hath been offered to her majesty's undoubted prerogative, in either house, by the lords or commons of our side. We should have been glad in-

deed to have seen affairs in other management; yet we neve attempted to bring it about by stirring up the city, or invitin foreign ministers to direct the queen in the choice of her servant much less by infusing jealousies into the next heir. Endeavo were not publicly used to blast the credit of the nation, and di courage foreigners from trusting their money in our funds; nc were writers suffered openly, and in weekly papers, to revile perso in the highest employments. In short, if you can prove where th course of affairs, under the late ministry, was anyway clogged b the church party, I will freely own the latter to have so far acte against reason and duty. Your lordship finds I would argue fro hence, that even the warmest heads on your side, and those wh are deepest engaged, have no tolerable excuse for thwarting th queen upon all occasions; much less you, my lord, who are nc involved in their guilt or misfortunes, nor ought to involve yourse in their resentments.

I have often wondered with what countenance those gentleme who have so long engrossed the greatest employments, have share among them the bounties of the crown and the spoils of the natio and are now thrown aside with universal odium, can accost othe who either never received the favors of the court, or who mu depend upon it for their daily support; with what countenance, say, these gentlemen can accost such persons in their usual style "My lord, you were always with us; you will not forsake you friends; you have been still right in your principles; let us join t a man, and the court will not be able to carry it!" and this fre quently in points where Whig and Tory are no more concerne than in the length or color of your periwigs. Why all this indust to ply you with letters, messages, and visits, for carrying som peevish vote, which only serves to display inveterate pride, ill nature, and disobedience, without effect? Though you are flattere it must possibly make the crown and ministry so uneasy as to brin on the necessity of a change; which, however, is at best a desig but ill becoming a good subject or a man of honor. I shall sa nothing of those who are fallen from their heights of power an profit, who then think all claim of gratitude for past favors cancelled But you, my lord, upon whom the crown has never cast any pecu liar marks of favor or displeasure, ought better to consider the dut you owe your sovereign, not only as a subject in general, but as member of the peerage, who have been always the strenuou rters of just prerogative against popular encroachments, as well

s of liberty against arbitrary power. So that it is something unnatural as well as unjust, for one of your order to oppose the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned, upon a party pique, and in points where prerogative was never disputed.

But after all, if there were any probable hopes of bringing things to another turn by these violent methods of your friends, it might then perhaps be granted that you acted at least a politic part; but surely the most sanguine among them could hardly have the confidence to insinuate to your lordship the probability of such an event during her majesty's life. Will any man of common understanding, when he has recovered his liberty after being kept long in the strictest bondage, return of his own accord to jail, where he is sure of being confined for ever? This her majesty and millions of her subjects firmly believe to be exactly the case; and whether it be so or no, it is enough that it is so believed; and this belief is attended with as great an aversion for those keepers as a good christian can be allowed to entertain, as well as with a dread of ever being again in their power; so that, whenever the ministry may be changed, it will certainly not be to the advantage of your party, except under the next successor, which I hope is too remote a view for your lordship to proceed by; though I know some of your chiefs who build all their expectations upon it.

For indeed, my lord, your party is much deceived when they think to distress a ministry for any long time, or to any great purpose, while those ministers act under a queen who is so firmly convinced of their zeal and ability for her service, and who is, at the same time, so thoroughly possessed of her people's hearts. Such a weight will infallibly at length bear down the balance; and according to the nature of our constitution, it ought to be so; because, when any one of the three powers whereof our government is composed proves too strong for the other two, there is an end of our monarchy. So little are you to regard the crude politics of those who cried out, "The constitution was in danger," when her majesty lately increased the peerage; without which it was impossible the two houses could have proceeded, with any concert, upon the most weighty affairs of the kingdom.

I know not any quarrels your lordship, as a member of the Whig party, can have against the court, except those which I have already mentioned; I mean the removal of the late ministry, the dismission of the duke of Marlborough, and the present negotiations of peace. I shall not say anything further upon these heads; only as to the

second, which concerns the duke of Marlborough, give me leave to observe, that there is no kingdom or state in Christendom where a person in such circumstances would have been so gently treated. But it is the misfortune of princes that the effects of their displeasure are frequently much more public than the cause: the punishments are in the face of the world, when the crimes are in the dark; and posterity, without knowing the truth of things, may perhaps number us among the ungrateful populace of Greece and Rome, for discarding a general under whose conduct our troops have been so many years victorious; whereas it is most certain that this great lord's resolution against peace, upon any terms whatsoever, did reach the ministry at home as much as the enemy abroad; nay, his rage against the former was so much the more violent of the two, that as it is affirmed by skilful computers, he spent more money here upon secret service in a few months than he did for many years in Flanders. But whether that be true or false, your lordship knows very well that he resolved to give no quarter, whatever he might be content to take when he should find himself at mercy. And the question was brought to this issue, whether the queen should dissolve the present parliament, procure a new one of the Whig stamp, turn out those who had ventured so far to rescue her from insolence and ill usage, and invite her old controllers to resume their tyranny with a recruited spirit of vengeance; or, whether she should save all this trouble, danger, and vexation, by only changing one general for another.

Whatever good opinion I may have of the present ministry, I do not pretend, by anything I have said, to make your lordship believe that they are persons of sublime abstracted Roman virtue: but where two parties divide a nation, it usually happens that, although the virtues and vices may be pretty equal on both sides, yet the public good of the country may suit better with the private interest of one side than of the other. Perhaps there may be nothing in it but chance; and it might so have happened, if things were to begin again, that the junto and their adherents would have found it their advantage to be obedient subjects, faithful servants, and good churchmen. However, since these parts happen to be acted by another set of men, I am not very speculative to inquire into their motives; but, having no ambition at heart to mislead me, I naturally side with those who proceed most by the maxims wherein I was educated. There was something like this in the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey: Cato and Brutus were the two most virtuous

men in Rome; the former did not much approve the intentions of the heads on either side; and the latter, by inclination, was more a friend to Cæsar: but, because the senate and people generally followed Pompey, and as Cæsar's party was only made up of the troops with which he conquered Gaul, with the addition of some profligate deserters from Rome, those two excellent men, who thought it base to stand neuter where the liberties of their country were at stake, joined heartily on that side which undertook to preserve the laws and constitution, against the usurpations of a victorious general, whose ambition was bent to overthrow them.

I cannot dismiss your lordship without a remark or two upon the bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants since 1688, which was lately thrown out of your house for no other reason than the hopes of putting the ministry to a plunge. It was universally known that the lord-treasurer had prevailed to waive the tack in the house of commons, and promised his endeavors to make the bill pass by itself in the house of lords. I could name at least five or six of your noble friends, who, if left to the guidance of their own opinion, would heartily concur to an entire resumption of those grants; others assure me they could name a dozen: yet, upon the hope of weakening the court, perplexing the ministry, and shaking the lord-treasurer's credit in the house of commons, you went on so unanimously that I do not hear there was one single negative in your whole list, nor above one Whig lord guilty of a suspicious absence [earl of Sunderland], who, being much in your lordship's circumstances, of a great patrimonial estate, and under no obligation to either side, did not think himself bound to forward a point driven on merely to make the crown uneasy at this juncture, while it no way affected his principles as a Whig, and which, I am told, was directly against his private judgment. How he has since been treated as an apostate and betrayer of his friends, by some of the leaders and their deputies among you, I hope your lordship is ashamed to reflect on; nor do I take such open and sudden declarations to be very wise, unless you already despair of his return, which I think after such usage you justly may. For the rest, I doubt your lordship's friends have missed every end they proposed to themselves in rejecting that bill. My lord-treasurer's credit is not anyway lessened in the house of commons. In your own house you have been very far from making a division among the queen's friends, as appeared manifestly a few days ago when you lost your vote by so great a majority, and disappointed those who had been

encouraged to hire places upon certain expectations of seeing a parade to the Tower.[1] Lastly, it may probably happen that those who opposed an inquisition into the grants will be found to have hardly done any very great service to the present possessors. To charge those grants with six years' purchase to the public, and then to confirm the title by parliament, would in effect be no real loss to the owners, because, by such a confirmation, they would rise in value proportionably, and differ as much as the best title can from the worst. The adverse party knew very well that nothing beyond this was intended; but they cannot be sure what may be the event of a second inspection, which the resentment of the house of commons will probably render more severe, and which you will never be able to avert when your number lessens, as it certainly must; and when the expedient is put in practice without a tack of making those grants part of a supply. From whence it is plain that the zeal against that bill arose in a great measure from some other cause than a tenderness to those who were to suffer by it.

I shall conclude, my lord, with putting you in mind that you are a subject of the queen, a peer of the realm, and a servant of your country; and, in any of these capacities, you are not to consider what you dislike in the persons of those who are in the administration, but the manner of conducting themselves while they are in: and then I do not despair but your own good sense will fully convince you that the prerogative of your prince, without which her government cannot subsist; the honor of your house, which has been always the great assertor of that prerogative; and the welfare of your country, are too precious to be made a sacrifice to the malice, the interest, and the ambition of a few party leaders.

A SUPPOSED LETTER.

FROM THE PRETENDER TO ANOTHER WHIG LORD.

St. Germains, July 8, 1712.

My Lord Wharton,—I thank you heartily for your letter; and you may be firmly assured of my friendship. In answer to what you hint that some of our friends suspect, I protest to you

[1] "We got a great victory last Wednesday [May 28] in the house of lords, by a majority, I think, of twenty-eight; and the Whigs had desired their friends to be places to see lord-treasurer carried to the Tower."—*Journal to Stella*, May 30, 1712.

upon the word of a king, and my lord Middleton[1] will be my witness, that I never held the least correspondence with any one person of the Tory party. I observe, as near as I can, the instructions of the king my father: among whose papers there is not one letter, as I remember, from any Tory except two lords and a lady, who, as you know, have been for some years past devoted to me and the Whigs. I approve of the scheme you sent me, signed by our friends. I do not find 24's name to it: perhaps he may be sick or in the country. Middleton will be satisfied to be groom of the stole; and if you have Ireland, 11 may have the staff, provided 15 resigns his pretensions; in which case he shall have 6000*l.* a-year for life, and a dukedom. I am content 13 should be secretary and a lord, and I will pay his debts when I am able.

I confess I am sorry your general pardon has so many exceptions; but you and my other friends are judges of that. It was with great difficulty I prevailed on the queen to let me sign the commission for life, though her majesty is entirely reconciled. If 2 will accept the privy seal, which you tell me is what would please him, the salary should be doubled: I am obliged to his good intentions, how ill soever they may have succeeded. All other parts of your plan I entirely agree with; only as to the party that opposes us, your proposal about Z may bring an odium upon my government; he stands the first excepted; and we shall have enough against him in a legal way. I wish you would allow me twelve more domestics of my own religion; and I will give you what security you please not to hinder any designs you have of altering the present established worship. Since I have so few employments left me to dispose of, and that most of our friends are to hold theirs for life, I hope you will all be satisfied with so great a share of power. I bid you heartily farewell, and am your assured friend.

[1] The second earl, secretary of state for Scotland.

A PRETENDED LETTER OF THANKS

FROM LORD WHARTON TO THE LORD BISHOP OF ASAPH,[1] IN THE NAME OF THE KITCAT CLUB.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS ON THE BISHOP'S PREFACE.

A PRETENDED LETTER OF THANKS.

My Lord, — It was with no little satisfaction I undertook the pleasing task assigned me by the gentlemen of the Kitcat Club,[2] of addressing your lordship with thanks for your late service so seasonably done to our sinking cause, in reprinting those most excellent discourses which you had formerly preached with so great applause, though they were never heard of by us till they were recommended to our perusal by the Spectator, who, some time since, in one of his papers, entertained the town with a paragraph out of the Postboy, and your lordship's extraordinary preface.

The world will perhaps be surprised that gentlemen of our complexion, who have so long been piously employed in overturning the foundations of religion and government, should now stoop to the puny amusement of reading and commending sermons. But your lordship can work miracles as well as write on them; and I dare assure your lordship and the world that there is not an atheist in the whole kingdom (and we are no inconsiderable party) but will readily subscribe to the principles so zealously advanced and so learnedly maintained in those discourses.

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[1] Dr. William Fleetwood.

[2] This club, which consisted of the most distinguished wits and statesmen among the Whigs, was remarkable for the strictest zeal toward the house of Hanover. They met at a little house in Shire-lane, and took their title from the real name of a pastrycook who excelled in making mutton-pies, which were regularly a part of their entertainment. The portraits of this society, drawn by Sir Godfrey Kneller, were all at Barnes, in the possession of the late Mr. Jacob Tonson, whose father was their secretary; and are now in the possession of William Baker, esq. late M. P. for the county of Hertford, at his house in Hill-street. Sir Godfrey's own portrait is among them, of a smaller size than the others. From these portraits, "Kitcat" became a technical term in painting.

I cannot but observe, with infinite delight, that the reasons your
o lship gives for reprinting those immortal pieces are urged with
engtb and force which is peculiar to your lordship's writings,
is such as all who have any regard for truth or relish for good
rnting must admire, though none can sufficiently commend.

In a word, the preface is equal to the sermons: less than that
ht not, and more cannot, be said of it. In this you play the
art of a prophet, with the same address as that of a preacher in
e; and, in a strain no ways inferior to Jeremiah, or any of those
d pretenders to inspiration, sagely foretell those impending mise-
s which seem to threaten these nations by the introduction of
opery and arbitrary power. This a man of less penetration than
our lordship, without a spirit of divination, or going to the devil
r the discovery, may justly "fear and presage, from the natural
ndency of several principles and practices which have of late been
studiously revived." I know your lordship means those long-
xploded doctrines of obedience and submission to princes,
h were only calculated to make "a free and happy people slaves
miserable." Who but asses, and packhorses, and beasts of
n, can entertain such servile notions? What! shall the lives
liberties of a freeborn nation be sacrificed to the pride and am-
ition, the humor and caprice of any one single person? Kings
nd princes are the creatures of the people, mere state pageants,
ore for show than use; and shall we fall down and worship those
lols, those golden calves of our own setting up? No, never, as
g as I can hold a sword or your lordship a pen.

It was suitable to that admirable foresight which is so conspi-
n in every part of your lordship's conduct, to take this effectual
od of delivering yourself "from the reproaches and curses of
rity, by publicly declaring to all the world that, though in the
nstant course of your ministry you had never failed, on proper
casions, to recommend the loving, honoring, and reverencing the
rinces' person" so as never to break his royal shins nor tread
pon his heels; yet you never intended men should pay any
bmission or obedience to him any longer than he acted accord-
g to the will and pleasure of his people. This, you say, is
e opinion of Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul: and, faith, I am glad
hear it, for I never thought that they had been Whigs before.

since your lordship has thus taught them to declare for rebel-
on, you may easily persuade them to do as much for profaneness
d immorality; and then they, together with your lordship, shall

be enrolled members of our club. Your lordship a little after (
suppose to strengthen the testimony of the aforementioned author
takes care to tell us that "this always was, and still is, your ow
judgment in these matters." You need not fear we should suspe
your constancy and perseverance; for my lord Somers, that gre
genius, who is the life and soul, the head and heart of our part
has long since observed that we have never been disappointed i
any of our Whig bishops; but they have always unalterably acte
up, or, to speak properly, down, to their principles.

It is impossible for me, my lord, in this short address, to do ju
tice to every part of your incomparable preface: nor need I run ri
in encomium and panegyric, since you can perform that part
much better for yourself; for you only give those praises which y
only can deserve, as you have formerly proved in the dedication
your "Essay upon Miracles" to Dr. Godolphin,[1] where you decla
your work to be the most perfect of any upon that subject, in ord
to pay a very uncommon compliment to your patron, by telling hi
you had prevailed with your modesty to say so much of your pe
formance because yeu would not be thought to make so ill a co
pliment to him as to present him with what you had not a gre
esteem for yourself.

Though I cannot go through the whole preface, yet I think m
self obliged in gratitude to thank your lordship in a more particul
manner for the last part of it, where you display the glories of t
Whig ministry in such strong and lasting colors as must nec
cheer and refresh the sight of all Whig spectators and dazzle t
eyes of the Tories. Here your lordship rises, if possible, abo
yourself. Never was such strength of thought, such beauty of e
pression, so happily joined together. Heavens! such force, su
energy, in each pregnant word! such fire, such fervor, in each glo
ing line! One would think your lordship was animated with t
same spirit with which our hero fought. Who can read unmov
these following strokes of oratory?—"Such was the fame, such w
the reputation, such was the faithfulness and zeal, to such a heig
of military glory, such was the harmony and consent, such was t
blessing of God," &c. O! the irresistible charm of the word suc
Well, since Erasmus wrote a treatise in praise of Folly, and my lo
Rochester an excellent poem upon Nothing, I am resolved to e
ploy the Spectator or some of his fraternity (dealers in words)

[1] Vice-provost of Eton, an early patron of Fleetwood, and a residentiary of Paul's.

encomium upon Such. But whatever changes our lan-
y undergo (and everything that is English is given to
, this happy word is sure to live in your immortal preface.
rdship does not end yet; but, to crown all, has another *such*
ve, where you tell the world, "We were just entering on
s that lead to such a peace as would have answered all our
" &c. Now, perhaps, some snarling Tory might imperti-
inquire when we might have expected such a peace? I
when the Dutch could get nothing by the war, nor we
lose anything by a peace; or, to speak in plain terms (for
ne knows I am a freespeaker as well as a freethinker), when
exhausted all the nation's treasure (which everybody knows
t have been long first), and so far enriched ourselves and
d our fellow-subjects as to bring them under a necessity of
ing to what conditions we should think fit to impose; and
› we should have effected if we had continued in power.
us! just in that critical juncture, when (as we thought) our
were ripe for execution, the scene changed: "God for our
s your lordship wisely observes, "permitted the spirit of
" (that is, the doctrine of obedience and submission to
) "to go forth, and by troubling the camp, the city, and the
(and O that it had spared the places sacred to his worship!),
l, for a time, this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give
s stead I know not what . . . . . ." O exquisite! how
ally does your lordship complain of the downfall of Whig-
nd Daniel Burgess' meeting-house![1] The generous com-
your lordship has shown upon this tragical occasion makes
ieve your lordship will not be unaffected with an accident
d like to have befallen a poor whore of my acquaintance
hat time, who, being big with Whig, was so alarmed at the
f the mob that she had like to have miscarried upon it; for
ical jade presently concluded (and the inference was natural
) that, if they began with pulling down meeting-houses, it
nd in demolishing those houses of pleasure where she con-
paid her devotion; and indeed there seems a close connexion
n extempore prayer and extempore love. I doubt not, if this
r had reached your lordship before, you would have found
om in that moving parenthesis to have expressed your con-
r it.

now to that last stroke of your lordship's almighty pen;

[1] Destroyed by Sacheverel's riotous partisans in 1709–10.

I mean that expressive dash . . . . . which you give when come to the new ministry, where you break off with an artful siopesis, and, by refusing to say anything of them yourself, your readers to think the worst they possibly can. Here your ship shows yourself a most consummate orator, when even very silence is thus eloquent.

Before I take my leave I cannot but congratulate your lor upon that distinguishing mark of honor which the house of mons has done your preface by ordering it to be burnt. This add a never-failing lustre to your character, when future ages read how a few pages of your lordship's could alarm the repr tative body of the nation. I know your lordship had rather l a blaze than lie buried in obscurity; and would at any rate chase immortality, though it be in flames. Fire, being a mo element, is a proper emblem of your lordship's aspiring genius.

I shall detain your lordship no longer; but, according to y example, conclude with a short prayer (though praying, I conf is not my talent) — May you never want opportunities of signalizing yourself; but be "transmitted to posterity," under character of one who dares sacrifice everything that is most dea you (even your own darling labors) to promote the interest of party; and stand sainted in the Whig calendar as a martyr for cause! This is the sincere wish of the greatest (next yourself) your lordship's admirers. WHARTON

REMARKS ON
BISHOP FLEETWOOD'S PREFACE.

[Originally Printed in the Examiner.]

"*Ecce iterum Crispinus!*"

THE bishop of St. Asaph's famous Preface having been so m buffeted of late between advocates and opposers, I had a curio to inspect some of his other works. I sent to the booksellers Duck-lane and Little Britain, who returned me several of the mons which belonged to that Preface; among others I took no of that upon the death of the duke of Gloucester, which ha little preface of its own, and was omitted, upon mature deliberati when those sermons were gathered up into a volume; though, sidering the bulk, it could hardly be spared. It was a great mas piece of art in this admirable author to write such a sermon as,

help of a preface, would pass for a Tory discourse in one reign, and, by omitting that preface, would denominate him a Whig in another: thus, by changing that position, the picture represents either the pope or the devil, the cardinal or the fool. I confess it was malicious in me, and what few others would have done, to rescue those sermons out of their dust and oblivion; without which, if the author had so pleased, they might have passed for new preached, as well as new printed: neither would the former preface have risen up in judgment to confound the latter. But, upon second thoughts, I cannot tell why this wilfully-forgotten preface not do the reverend author some service. It is to be presumed that the Spectator published the last with that intent; why therefore should not my publishing the first be for the same end? And I be confident that the part I have chosen will do his lordship more service; for here it will be found that this prelate did, once in his life, think and write as became him; and that, while he was a private clergyman, he could print a preface without fear of the hangman. I have chosen to see it at length to prevent what ht be objected against me as an unfair representer, should I reserve any part of this admirable discourse, as well as to imitate judicious Spectator; though I fear I shall not have so good contributions from our party as that author is said to have from another upon the like occasion, or, if I chance to give offence, be promised to have my losses made up to me for my zeal in circulating prefaces. Without any such deep and politic designs I give it to the world out of mere good nature, that they may find what conceptions the worthy author has formerly had of things when his business was yet undone; so to silence a clamorous party, who from the late preface are too apt, how unjustly soever, to conclude his lordship's principles are not agreeable to his preferments.

In this excellent preface the worthy author thought fit to charge the fanatics and Whigs, upon the duke of Gloucester's death, as people that would "try to make it a judgment of God upon us for our sins by turning the kingdom into a commonwealth." The satire must certainly be determined to them; for neither the Tories nor nonjurors were ever charged with such principles, but rather as carrying the regal authority too high in asserting the divine right of kings. This species of government, which the learned prelate says is "as ill fitted for our nature as popery is for our religion," was, by some people it seems, endeavored to be brought in,

whom he terms "an impudent and clamorous faction." Whetl that impudent and clamorous faction would really do all th things he charges them with is by the Whigs denied, and cha able men may in part make a question; but that by this he and could then only mean the Whigs, could be no question at since none else were ever charged with those crimes in these ki doms; and they have always been so, though seldom indeed heavily, unless by highflying Tories or Jacobites. It seems h lordship had dreadful apprehensions of what they would "certai do," and begs of God "evermore to preserve us from this species." And surely he was in the right; for that would be indeed "giv us we know not what"—his lordship's enemies "will tell the with pleasure!"

A COMPLETE REFUTATION

OF THE FALSEHOODS ALLEGED AGAINST ERASMUS LEWIS, ES

"Beware of counterfeits, for such are abroad."
DR. STAFFOLD'S Quack Bill.

"Quin, quæ dixisti modo,
Omnia ementitus equidem Sosia Amphitryonis sum." — PLAUT.

"Parva motu primo, mox sese attollit in auras." — VIRG.

Feb. 2, 1712–13.

I INTEND this paper for the service of a particular person; bu herein I hope, at the same time, to do some good to the public. monstrous story has been for a while most industriously hande about, reflecting upon a gentleman in great trust under the prin pal secretary of state, who has conducted himself with so mu prudence that, before this incident, neither the most virulent pe nor tongues have been so bold as to attack him. The reader easi understands that the person here meant is Mr. Lewis, secretary the earl of Dartmouth, concerning whom a story has run, for abo ten days past, which makes a mighty noise in this town, is doubt, with very ample additions, transmitted to every part of t kingdom, and probably will be returned to us by the Dutch Gazette with the judicious comments peculiar to that political author: when

fore, having received the fact and the circumstances from the best hands, I shall here set them down before the reader, who will easily pardon the style, which is made up of extracts from the depositions and assertions of the several persons concerned.

On Sunday last was month, Mr. Lewis, secretary to the earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Skelton, met by accident at Mr. Scarborough's lodgings in St. James's, among seven other persons, viz., the earls of Sussex and Finlater, the lady Barbara Skelton, lady Walter, Mrs. Vernon, Mrs. Scarborough, and Miss Scarborough her daughter, who all declared "that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company together." There Mrs. Scarborough made Mr. Skelton and Mr. Lewis known to each other, and told the former "that he ought to thank Mr. Lewis for the trouble he had given himself in the despatch of a licence under the privy-seal, by which Mr. Skelton was permitted to come from France to England." Hereupon Mr. Skelton saluted Mr. Lewis, and told him "he would wait on him at his house, to return him his thanks." Two or three days after, Mr. Skelton, in company with the earl of Sussex, his lady's father, went to a house in Marlborough-street, where he was informed Mr. Lewis lived; and as soon as the supposed Mr. Lewis[1] appeared, Mr. Skelton expressed himself in these words: "Sir, I beg your pardon; I find I am mistaken; I came to visit Mr. Lewis of my lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the service he did me in passing my privy-seal." Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, "Sir, there is no harm done." Upon which Mr. Skelton immediately withdrew to my lord Sussex, who stayed for him in the coach, and drove away. Mr. Skelton, who was a stranger to the town, ordered the coachman to drive to Mr. Lewis's, without more particular directions, and this was the occasion of the mistake.

For above a fortnight nothing was said of this matter; but on Saturday, the 24th of January last, a report began to spread that Mr. Skelton, going by mistake to Mr. Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, instead of Mr. Lewis of the secretary's office, had told him "that he had services for him from the earls of Perth, Middleton, Melfort, and about twelve persons more of the court of St. Germain. When Mr. Lewis heard of this, he wrote to the above-mentioned Henry Levi, *alias* Lewis, desiring to be informed what ground there was for this report; and received for answer "that his friend Skelton could best inform him." Mr. Lewis wrote a second letter, insisting

[1] Mr. Henry Lewis, a Hamburgh merchant.

on an account of this matter, and that he would come and demand it in person. Accordingly, he and Charles Ford, esq., went the next morning, and found the said Levi in a great surprise at the report, who declared "he had never given the least occasion for it, and that he would go to all the coffeehouses in town to do Mr. Lewis justice." He was asked by Mr. Lewis "whether Mr. Skelton had named from what places and persons he had brought those services? Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, answered, "he was positive Mr. Skelton had neither named person nor place." Here Mr. Skelton was called in; and Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, confirmed what he had said in his hearing. Mr. Lewis then desired he would give him in writing what he had declared before the company; but Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, excused it as unnecessary, "because he had already said he would do him justice in all the coffeehouses in town." On the other hand, Mr. Lewis insisted to have it in writing, as being less troublesome; and to this Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, replied, "that he would give his answer by three o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly, Mr. Ford went to his house at the time appointed, but did not find him at home; and, in the mean time, the said Levi went to White's chocolate-house, where, notwithstanding all he had before denied, he spread the above-mentioned report afresh, with several additional circumstances, as, "that when Mr. Skelton and the earl of Sussex came to his house, they stayed with him a considerable time, and drank tea."

The earl of Peterborough, uncle to the said Mr. Skelton, thought himself obliged to inquire into the truth of this matter; and, after some search, found Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, at the Thatched-house tavern, where he denied everything again to his lordship, as he had done in the morning to Mr. Ford, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Skelton.

This affair coming to the knowledge of the queen, her majesty was pleased to order an examination of it by some lords of the council. Their lordships appointed Wednesday the 28th of January last for this inquiry; and gave notice for attendance to the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, and several other persons who had knowledge of the matter. When Mr. Levi, *alias* Lewis, was called in, he declared, "that Mr. Skelton told him he had services for him from France, but did not name any persons." William Pulteney, esq., who was summoned, affirmed "that he had told him Mr. Skelton named the earls of Perth and Melfort." Here Levi, *alias* Lewis, appeared in confusion, for he had entreated Mr. Pulteney not to say

he had named any names, "for he would not stand it;" but Mr. Pulteney answered, "you may give yourself the lie; I will not." The earl of Sussex declared "he did not go out of his coach, and that his son-in-law, Mr. Skelton, had not been gone half a minute before he returned to the coach." Mr. Skelton declared "that he knew Mr. Lewis by sight perfectly well; that he immediately saw his mistake; that he said nothing to him but the words first mentioned; and that he had not brought Mr. Lewis any service from any person whatsoever." The earl of Finlater, and other persons summoned, declared "that Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were personally known to each other," which rendered it wholly improbable that Mr. Skelton should mistake him; so that the whole matter appeared to be only a foolish and malicious invention of the said Levi, *alias* Lewis, who, when called to an account, utterly disowned it.

If Mr. Levi's view, in broaching this incoherent slander, was to make his court to any particular persons, he has been extremely disappointed; since all men of principle, laying aside the distinction of opinions, in politics, have entirely agreed in abandoning him, which I observe with a great deal of pleasure, as it is for the honor of humankind. But as neither virtue nor vice are wholly engrossed by either party, the good qualities of the mind, whatever bias they may receive by mistaken principles or mistaken politics, will not be extinguished. When I reflect on this, I cannot, without being a very partial writer, forbear doing justice to William Pulteney, esq., who, being desired by this same Mr. Levi to drop one part of what he knew, refused it with disdain. Men of honor will always side with the truth; of which the behavior of Mr. Pulteney, and of a great number of gentlemen of worth and quality, are undeniable instances.

I am only sorry that the unhappy author of this report seems left so entirely desolate of all his acquaintance, that he has nothing but his own conduct to direct him, and consequently is so far from acknowledging his iniquity and repentance to the world, that in the Daily Courant of Saturday last he has published a Narrative, as he calls it, of what passed between him and Mr. Skelton, wherein he recedes from some part of his former confession. This Narrative is drawn up by way of answer to an advertisement in the same paper two days before, which advertisement was couched in very moderate terms, and such as Mr. Levi ought in all prudence to have ac-

quiesced in. I freely acquit everybody but himself from any share in this miserable proceeding; and can foretel him that, as his prevaricating manner of adhering to some part of his story will not convince one rational person of his veracity, so neither will anybody interpret it otherwise than as a blunder of a helpless creature left to itself, who endeavors to get out of one difficulty by plunging into a greater. It is therefore for the sake of this poor young man that I shall set before him, in the plainest manner I am able, some few inconsistencies in that Narrative of his, the truth of which he says he is ready to attest upon oath, which whether he would avoid by an oath only upon the Gospels, himself can best determine.

Mr. Levi says, in the aforesaid Narrative in the Daily Courant, "That Mr. Skelton, mistaking him for Mr. Lewis, told him he had several services to him from France, and named the names of several persons, which he (Levi) will not be positive to." Is it possible that among several names he cannot be positive so much as to *one*, after having named the earls of Perth, Middleton, and Melfort so often at White's and the coffeehouses? Again, he declared "That my lord Sussex came in with Mr. Skelton; that both drank tea with him;" and therefore whatever words passed my lord Sussex must be a witness to. But his lordship declares before the council "That he never stirred out of the coach, and that Mr. Skelton, in going, returning, and talking with Levi, was not absent half a minute." Therefore now, in his printed Narrative, he contradicts that essential circumstance of my lord Sussex coming in along with Mr. Skelton, so that we are here to suppose that this discourse passed only between him and Mr. Skelton, without any third person for a witness, and therefore he thought he might safely affirm what he pleased. Besides, the nature of their discourse, as Mr. Levi reports it, makes this part of his Narrative impossible and absurd, because the truth of it turns upon Mr. Skelton's mistaking him for the real Mr. Lewis; and it happens that seven persons of quality were by in a room where Mr. Lewis and Mr. Skelton were half an hour in company, and saw them talk together. It happens likewise that the real and counterfeit Lewis have no more resemblance to each other in their persons than they have in their understandings, their truth, their reputation, or their principles. Besides, in this Narrative Mr. Levi directly affirms what he directly denied to the

of Peterborough, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Lewis himself; to whom

he twice or thrice expressly affirmed that Mr Skelton had not named either place or person.

There is one circumstance in Levi's Narrative which may deceive the reader. He says "Mr. Skelton was taken into the dining-room;" this dining-room is a ground-room next the street, and Mr. Skelton never went further than the door of it. His many prevarications in this whole affair, and the many thousand various ways of telling his story, are too tedious to be related. I shall therefore conclude with one remark. By the true account given in this paper it appears that Mr. Skelton, finding his mistake before he spoke a word, begged Mr. Levi's pardon, and, by way of apology, told him "his visit was intended to Mr. Lewis of my lord Dartmouth's office, to thank him for the *service* he had done him in passing the privy seal." It is probable that Mr. Levi's low intellectuals were deluded by the word *service*, which he took as compliments from some persons, and then it was easy to find names. Thus, what his ignorance and simplicity misled him to begin, his malice taught him to propagate.

I have been the more solicitous to set this matter in a clear light, because, Mr. Lewis being employed and trusted in public affairs, if this report had prevailed persons of the first rank might possibly have been wounded through his sides.

A PREFACE TO THE

BISHOP OF SARUM'S INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

BY GREGORY MISOSARUM.

Spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas, et quærere conscius arma.

The Bishop of Sarum's "Introduction" was a pamphlet which he published as an alarm to warn the nation of the approach of popery. Swift, who seems to have disliked the bishop with something more than political aversion, treats him like one whom he is glad of an opportunity to insult.—JOHNSON.

TO THE BOOKSELLER.

MR. MORPHEW,—Your care in putting an advertisement in the Examiner has been of very great use to me. I now send you my Preface to the bishop of Sarum's Introduction to his third volume, which I desire you to print in such a form as in the bookseller's phrase will make a sixpenny touch, hoping it will give such a public notice of my design, that it may come into the hands of those who perhaps look not into the bishop's Introduction.[1] I desire you will prefix to this a passage out of Virgil, which does so perfectly agree with my present thoughts of his lordship, that I cannot express them better nor more truly than those words do.

I am, sir, your most humble servant,

G. MISOSARUM.

A PREFACE, &c.

THIS way of publishing introductions to books that are God knows when to come out, is either wholly new, or so long unpractised that my small reading cannot trace it. However, we are to suppose that a person of his lordship's great age and experience

[1] The Bishop's Introduction is prefaced with a letter to his bookseller, of which this is a burlesque.

hardly act such a piece of singularity without some extra-
ıary motives. I cannot but observe that his fellow-laborer,
ıuthor of the paper called the Englishman [Steele], seems in
of his late performances to have almost transcribed the notions
e bishop: these notions I take to have been dictated by the
masters, leaving to each writer that peculiar manner of
ssing himself which the poverty of our language forces me
ll their style. When the Guardian changed his title, and
ssed to engage in faction, I was sure the word was given;
grand preparations were making against next session; that all
ıtages would be taken of the little dissensions reported to be
g those in power; and that the Guardian would soon be
ded by some other piqueerers from the same camp. But I
onfess my suspicions did not carry me so far as to conjecture
this venerable champion would be in such mighty haste to
into the field and serve in the quality of an *enfant perdu*,[1]
l only with a pocket-pistol before his great blunderbuss could
ɔt ready, his old rusty breastplate scoured, and his cracked
piece mended.

was debating with myself whether this hint of producing a
pamphlet to give notice of a large folio was not borrowed
the ceremonial in Spanish romances, where a dwarf is sent
ıpon the battlements to signify to all passengers what a mighty
there is in the castle, or whether the bishop copied this pro-
ng from the *fanfarronade* of Monsieur Boufflers when the
of Portland and that general had an interview. Several men
appointed, at certain periods, to ride in great haste towards
English camp, and cry out *Monseigneur vient, Monseigneur*
; then small parties advancing with the same speed and the
cry; and this foppery held for many hours, until the mareschal
elf arrived. So here the bishop (as we find by his dedication
r. Churchill the bookseller) has for a long time sent warning
is arrival by advertisements in Gazettes; and now his intro-
ion advances to tell us again *Monseigneur vient;* in the mean
we must gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long,
keep our spirits in some reasonable agitation, until his lord
s real self shall think fit to appear in the habit of a folio.

have seen the same sort of management at a puppet-show.
e puppets of little or no consequence appeared several times at

[1] One of the forlorn hope.

the window to allure the boys and the rabble; the trumpeter sounded often, and the doorkeeper cried a hundred times until he was hoarse, that they were just going to begin, yet, after all, we were forced sometimes to wait an hour before Punch himself in person made his entry.

But why this ceremony among old acquaintance? The world and he have long known one another; let him appoint his hour, and make his visit without troubling us all day with a succession of messages from his lackeys and pages.

With submission, these little arts of getting off an edition do ill become any author above the size of Marten the surgeon. My lord tells us that "many thousands of the two former parts of his History are in the kingdom; and now he perpetually advertises in the Gazette that he intends to publish the third. This is exactly in the method and style of Marten; "the seventh edition (many thousands of the former editions having been sold off in a small time) of Mr. Marten's book concerning secret diseases, &c."

Does his lordship intend to publish his great volume by subscription, and is this introduction only by way of specimen? I was inclined to think so, because, in the prefixed letter to Mr. Churchill, which introduces this introduction, there are some dubious expressions: he says "the advertisements he published were in order to move people to furnish him with materials which might help him to finish his work with great advantage." If he means half a guinea upon the subscription, and the other half at the delivery, why does he not tell us so in plain terms?

I am wondering how it came to pass that this diminutive letter to Mr. Churchill should understand the business of introducing better than the introduction itself; or why the bishop did not take it into his head to send the former into the world some months before the latter, which would have been a greater improvement upon the solemnity of the procession.

Since I writ these last lines I have perused the whole pamphlet (which I had only dipped in before), and found I had been hunting upon a wrong scent; for the author has in several parts of his piece discovered the true motives which put him upon sending it abroad at this juncture; I shall therefore consider them as they come in my way.

My lord begins his introduction with an account of the reasons why he was guilty of so many mistakes in the first volume of his

History of the Reformation: his excuses are just, rational, and extremely consistent He says, "he wrote in haste," which he confirms by adding, "that it lay a year after he wrote it before it was put into the press." At the same time he mentioned a passage extremely to the honor of that pious and excellent prelate, archbishop Sancroft, which demonstrates his grace to have been a person of great sagacity and almost a prophet. Dr. Burnet, then a private divine, "desired admittance to the Cotton library, but was prevented by the archbishop, who told sir John Cotton that the said doctor was no friend to the prerogative of the crown or to the constitution of the kingdom. This judgment was the more extraordinary, because the doctor had not long before published a book in Scotland, with his name prefixed, which carries the regal prerogative higher than any writer of the age;[1] however, the good archbishop lived to see his opinion become universal in the kingdom.

The bishop goes on for many pages with an account of certain facts relating to the publishing of his two former volumes of the Reformation; the great success of that work, and the adversaries who appeared against it. These are matters out of the way of my reading; only I observe that poor Mr. Henry Wharton, who has deserved so well of the commonwealth of learning, and who gave himself the trouble of detecting some hundreds of the bishop's mistakes, meets with very ill quarter from his lordship; upon which, I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar method which this prelate takes to revenge himself upon those who presume to differ from him in print. The bishop of Rochester happened some years ago to be of this number. My lord of Sarum, in his reply, ventured to tell the world that the gentleman who had writ against him, meaning Dr. Atterbury, was one upon whom he had conferred great obligations, which was a very generous christian contrivance of charging his adversary with ingratitude. But it seems the truth happened to be on the other side, which the doctor made appear in such a manner as would have silenced his lordship for ever if he had not been writing-proof. Poor Mr. Wharton, in his grave, is charged with the same accusation, but with circumstances the most aggravating that malice and something else could invent; and which I will no more believe than five hundred passages in a certain book of travels [Burnet's Travels]. See the character he gives of a divine

[1] "Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland," dedicated to the duke of Lauderdale, and published in 1672.

and a scholar who shortened his life in the service of God and the church. "Mr. Wharton desired me to intercede with Tillotson for a prebend of Canterbury. I did so, but Wharton would not believe it; said he would be revenged, and so writ against me. Soon after, he was convinced I had spoke for him; said he was set on to do what he did, and if I would procure anything for him he would discover everything to me." What a spirit of candor, charity, and good nature, generosity, and truth, shines through this story, told of a most excellent and pious divine twenty years after his death, without one single voucher!

Come we now to the reasons which moved his lordship to set about this work at this time. "He could delay it no longer, because the reasons of his engaging in it at first seem to return upon him." He was then frightened with "the danger of a popish successor in view, and the dreadful apprehensions of the power of France. England has forgot these dangers," and yet is "nearer to them than ever," and therefore he is resolved to "awaken them" with his third volume; but in the mean time sends this introduction to let them know they are asleep. He then goes on in describing the condition of the kingdom, after such a manner as if destruction hung over us by a single hair; as if the pope, the devil, the pretender, and France, were just at our doors.

When the bishop published his History, there was a popish plot on foot: the duke of York, a known papist, was presumptive heir to the crown; the house of commons would not hear of any expedient for securing their religion under a popish prince, nor would the king or lords consent to a bill of exclusion; the French king was in the height of his grandeur and the vigor of his age. At this day the presumptive heir, with that whole illustrious family, are protestants; the popish pretender excluded for ever by several acts of parliament; and every person in the smallest employment, as well as the members of both houses, obliged to abjure him. The French king is at the lowest ebb of life; his armies have been conquered, and his towns won from him for ten years together; and his kingdom is in danger of being torn by divisions during a long minority. Are these cases parallel? or are we now in more danger of France and popery than we were thirty years ago? What can be the motive for advancing such false, such detestable assertions? what conclusions would his lordship draw from such premises as these? If injurious appellations were of any advantage to a cause

(as the style of our adversaries would make us believe), what appellations would those deserve who thus endeavor to sow the seeds of sedition, and are impatient to see the fruits? "But," saith he, "the deaf adder stoppeth her ears, let the charmer charm never so wisely." True, my lord, there are indeed too many adders in this nation's bosom; adders in all shapes and in all habits, whom neither the queen nor parliament can charm to loyalty, truth, religion, or honor.

Among other instances produced by him of the dismal condition we are in, he offers one which could not easily be guessed. It is this, "That the little factious pamphlets written about the end of king Charles II.'s reign lie dead in shops, are looked on as waste paper, and turned to pasteboard." How many are there of his lordship's writings which could otherwise never have been of any real service to the public? Has he indeed so mean an opinion of our taste, to send us at this time of day into all the corners of Holborn, Duck-lane, and Moorfields, in quest after the factious trash published in those days by Julian Johnson, Hickeringil, Dr. Oates, and himself?

His lordship, taking it for a *postulatum* that the queen and ministry, both houses of parliament, and a vast majority of the landed gentlemen throughout England, are running headlong into popery, lays hold on the occasion to describe "the cruelties in queen Mary's reign; an inquisition setting up fagots in Smithfield, and executions all over the kingdom. Here is that," says he, "which those that look toward a popish successor must look for." And he insinuates through his whole pamphlet, that all who are not of his party "look toward a popish successor." These he divides into two parts; the Tory laity, and the Tory clergy. He tells the former, "Although they have no religion at all, but resolve to change with every wind and tide, yet they ought to have compassion on their countrymen and kindred." Then he applies himself to the Tory clergy, assures them that "the fires revived in Smithfield and all over the nation will have no amiable view, but least of all to them, who, if they have any principles at all, must be turned out of their livings, leave their families, be hunted from place to place into parts beyond the seas, and meet with that contempt with which they treated foreigners who took sanctuary among us."

This requires a recapitulation, with some remarks. First, I do

affirm that in every hundred of professed atheists, deists, and socinians in the kingdom, ninety-nine at least are stanch thorough-paced Whigs, entirely agreeing with his lordship in politics and discipline; and therefore will venture all the fires of hell, rather than singe one hair of their beards in Smithfield. Secondly, I do likewise affirm that those whom we usually understand by the appellation of Tory or high-church clergy were the greatest sticklers against the exorbitant proceedings of James II., the best writers against popery, and the most exemplary sufferers for the established religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a most false and infamous scandal upon the nation in general, and on the clergy in particular, to reproach them for "treating foreigners with haughtiness and contempt." The French huguenots are many thousand witnesses to the contrary; and I wish they deserved the thousandth part of the good treatment they have received.

Lastly, I observe that the author of a paper called "The Englishman" has run into the same cant, gravely advising the whole body of the clergy not to bring in popery; because that will put them under a necessity of parting with their wives, or losing their livings.

The bulk of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, happen to differ extremely from this prelate in many principles both of politics and religion. Now I ask whether, if any man of them had signed his name to a system of atheism or popery, he could have argued with them otherwise than he does? or, if I should write a grave letter to his lordship with the same advice, taking it for granted that he was half an atheist and half a papist, and conjuring him by all he held dear to have compassion upon all those who believed a God, "not to revive the fires in Smithfield; that he must either forfeit his bishopric, or not marry a fourth wife,"—I ask whether he would not think I intended him the highest injury and affront?

But as to the Tory laity, he gives them up in a lump for abandoned atheists; they are a set of men so "impiously corrupted in the point of religion that no scene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it (popery), and perhaps acting such a part in it as may be assigned them." He therefore despairs of influencing them by any topics drawn from religion or compassion, and advances the consideration of interest as the only powerful argument to persuade them against popery.

What he offers upon this head is so very amazing from a

christian, a clergyman, and a prelate of the church of England, that I must in my own imagination strip him of those three capacities, and put him among the number of that set of men he mentions in the paragraph before; or else it will be impossible to shape out an answer.

His lordship, in order to dissuade the Tories from their design of bringing in popery, tells them, "how valuable a part of the whole soil of England, the abbey-lands, the estates of the bishops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes are;" how difficult such a resumption would be to many families; "yet all these must be thrown up; for sacrilege in the church of Rome is a mortal sin." I desire it may be observed what a jumble here is made of ecclesiastical revenues, as if they were all upon the same foot, were alienated with equal justice, and the clergy had no more reason to complain of the one than the other; whereas the four branches mentioned by him are of very different consideration. If I might venture to guess the opinion of the clergy upon this matter, I believe they could wish that some small part of the abbey-lands had been applied to the augmentation of poor bishoprics; and a very few acres to serve for glebes in those parishes where there are none; after which I think they would not repine that the laity should possess the rest. If the estates of some bishops and cathedrals were exorbitant before the Reformation, I believe the present clergy's wishes reach no further than that some reasonable temper had been used instead of paring them to the quick. But as to the tithes, without examining whether they be of divine institution, I conceive there is hardly one of that sacred order in England, and very few even among the laity who love the church, who will not allow the misapplying of those revenues to secular persons to have been at first a most flagrant act of injustice and oppression; although, at the same time, God forbid they should be restored any other way than by gradual purchase, by the consent of those who are now the lawful possessors, or by the piety and generosity of such worthy spirits as this nation sometimes produces. The bishop knows very well that the application of tithes to the maintenance of monasteries was a scandalous usurpation, even in popish times; that the monks usually sent out some of their fraternity to supply the cures; and that when the monasteries were granted away by Henry VIII. the parishes were left destitute, or very meanly provided, of any maintenance for a pastor. So that in many places the whole ecclesi-

astical dues, even to mortuaries, Easter-offerings, and the like, are in lay hands, and the incumbent lies wholly at the mercy of l patron for his daily bread. By these means there are several hundred parishes in England under twenty pounds a-year, and many under ten. I take his lordship's bishopric to be worth near 2500*l.* annual income: and I will engage, at half a year's warning, to find him above a hundred beneficed clergyman who have not so much among them all to support themselves and their families; most of them orthodox, of good life and conversation, as loth to see the fires kindled in Smithfield as his lordship, and at least as ready to face them under a popish persecution. But nothing is so hard for those who abound in riches as to conceive how others can be in want. How can the neighboring vicar feel cold or hunger while my lord is seated by a good fire in the warmest room of his palace with a dozen dishes before him? I remember one other prelate much of the same stamp, who, when his clergy would mention their wishes that some act of parliament might be thought of for the good of the church, would say, "Gentlemen, we are very well as we are; if they would let us alone, we should ask no more."

"Sacrilege," says my lord, "in the church of Rome is a mortal sin;" and is it only so in the church of Rome? or is it but a venial sin in the church of England? Our litany calls fornication a deadly sin; and I would appeal to his lordship for fifty years past, whether he thought that or sacrilege the deadliest? To make light of such a sin, at the same moment that he is frightening us from an idolatrous religion, should seem not very consistent. "Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?"

To smooth the way for the return of popery in queen Mary's time, the grantees were confirmed by the pope in the possession of the abbey-lands. But the bishop tells us that "this confirmati was fraudulent and invalid." I shall believe it to be so, although I happen to read it in his lordship's History. But he adds "that, although the confirmation had been good, the priests would have got their land again by these two methods; first, the statute of mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the best part of what they had lost; beside that engaging the clergy to renew no leases was a thing entirely in their own power; and this in forty years' time would raise their revenues to be about ten times their present value."

These two expedients for increasing the revenues of the church he represents as pernicious designs, fit only to be practised in times of popery, and such as the laity ought never to consent to; whence, and from what he said before about tithes, his lordship has freely declared his opinion that the clergy are rich enough, and that the least addition to their subsistence would be a step toward popery. Now it happens that the two only methods which could be thought on, with any probability of success, toward some reasonable augmentation of ecclesiastical revenues, are here rejected by a bishop as a means for introducing popery, and the nation publicly warned against them; whereas the continuance of the statute of mortmain in full force, after the church had been so terribly stripped, appeared to her majesty and the kingdom a very unnecessary hardship; upon which account it was at several times relaxed by the legislature. Now, as the relaxation of that statute is manifestly one of the reasons which gives the bishop those terrible apprehensions of popery coming on us, so I conceive another ground of his fears is the remission of the first-fruits and tenths. But where the inclination to popery lay, whether in her majesty who proposed this benefaction, the parliament which confirmed, or the clergy who accepted it, his lordship has not thought fit to determine.

The other popish expedient for augmenting church revenues is, "engaging the clergy to renew no leases." Several of the most eminent clergymen have assured me that nothing has been more wished for by good men than a law to prevent bishops, at least, from setting leases for lives. I could name ten bishoprics in England whose revenues one with another do not amount to 600*l.* a-year for each; and if his lordship's, for instance, would be above ten times the value when the lives are expired, I should think the overplus would not be ill disposed toward an augmentation of such as are now shamefully poor. But I do assert that such an expedient was not always thought popish and dangerous by this right reverend historian. I have had the honor formerly to converse with him; and he has told me several years ago that he lamented extremely the power which bishops had of letting leases for lives; whereby, as he said, they were utterly deprived of raising their revenues, whatever alterations might happen in the value of money by length of time. I think the reproach of betraying private conversation will not upon this account be laid to my charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his opinion upon any score, but to take

up another more agreeable to the maxims of his party, "that the least addition of property to the church is one step toward popery."

The bishop goes on with much earnestness and prolixity to prove that the pope's confirmation of the church-lands to those who held them by king Henry's donation was null and fraudulent: which is a point that I believe no protestant in England would give threepence to have his choice whether it should be true or false: it might, indeed, serve as a passage in his history, among a thousand other instances, to detect the knavery of the court of Rome; but I ask, where could be the use of it in this introduction? or why all this haste in publishing it at this juncture, and so out of all method apart, and before the work itself? He gives his reasons in very plain terms; we are now, it seems, "in more danger of popery than toward the end of king Charles II.'s reign. That set of men (the Tories) is so impiously corrupted in the point of religion, that no scene of cruelty can frighten them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a part in it as may be assigned them." He doubts whether the high-church clergy have any principles, and therefore will be ready to turn off their wives, and look on the fires kindled in Smithfield as an amiable view. These are the facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly. Therefore, in despair of dissuading the nobility and gentry of the land from introducing popery, by any motives of honor, religion, alliance, or mercy, he assures them "That the pope has not duly confirmed their titles to the church-lands in their possession;" which therefore must be infallibly restored as soon as that religion is established among us.

Thus, in his lordship's opinion, there is nothing wanting to make the majority of the kingdom, both for number, quality, and possession, immediately embrace popery, except a "firm bull from the pope," to secure the abbey and other church lands and tithes to the present proprietors and their heirs; if this only difficulty could now be adjusted the pretender would be restored next session, the two houses reconciled to the church of Rome against Easter term, and the fires lighted in Smithfield by Midsummer. Such horrible calumnies against a nation are not the less injurious to decency, good-nature, truth, honor, and religion, because they may be vented with safety; and I will appeal to any reader of common understanding whether this be not the most natural and necessary deduction from the passages I have cited and referred to.

Yet all this is but friendly dealing in comparison with what he

affords the clergy upon the same article. He supposes that whole reverend body who differ from him in principles of church or state, so far from disliking popery upon the above-mentioned motives of perjury, "quitting their wives or burning their relations," that the hopes of "enjoying the abbey-lands" would soon bear down all such considerations and be an effectual incitement to their perversion; and so he goes gravely on, as with the only argument which he thinks can have any force, to assure them that the "parochial priests in Roman Catholic countries are much poorer than in ours; the several orders of regulars and the magnificence of their church devouring all their treasure;" and by consequence "their hopes are vain of expecting to be richer after the introduction of popery."

But, after all, his lordship despairs that even this argument will have any force with our abominable clergy; because, to use his own words, "They are an insensible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but their present advantages; and so that they may now support a luxurious and brutal course of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are easily hired to betray their religion, to sell their country, and give up that liberty and those properties which are the present felicities and glories of this nation."

He seems to reckon all these evils as matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the last usual form of despair, by threatening the authors of these miseries with "lasting infamy, and the curses of posterity upon perfidious betrayers of their trust."

Let me turn this paragraph into vulgar language, for the use of the poor, and strictly adhere to the sense of the words. I believe it may be faithfully translated in the following manner: "The bulk of the clergy and one-third of the bishops are stupid sons of whores, who think of nothing but getting money as soon as they can; if they may but procure enough to supply them in gluttony, drunkenness, and whoring, they are ready to turn traitors to God and their country, and make their fellow-subjects slaves." The rest of the period, about threatening infamy and the curses of posterity upon such dogs and villains, may stand as it does in the bishop's own phrase; and so make the paragraph all of a piece.

I will begin, on the other side, to paraphrase all the rogues and rascals in the Englishman, so as to bring them up exactly to his lordship's style; but, for my own part, I much prefer the plain Billingsgate way of calling names, because it expresses our meaning full as well, and would save abundance of time which is lost by cir-

cumlocution; so, for instance, John Dunton, who is retained on the same side with the bishop, calls my lord-treasurer and lord Bolingbroke traitors, whoremongers, and Jacobites; which three words cost our right reverend author thrice as many lines to define them; and I hope his lordship does not think there is any difference in point of morality, where a man calls me traitor in one word, or says I am one "hired to betray my religion and sell my country."

I am not surprised to see the bishop mention with contempt all convocations of the clergy; for Toland, Asgill, Monmouth, Collins, Tindal, and others of the fraternity, talk the very same language. His lordship confesses he is not inclined "to expect much from the assemblies of clergymen." There lies the misfortune; for if he, and some more of his order, would correct their inclinations, a great deal of good might be expected from such assemblies; as much as they are now cramped by that submission which a corrupt clergy brought upon their innocent successors. He will not deny that his copiousness in these matters is, in his own opinion, one of the meanest parts of his new work. I will agree with him, unless he happens to be more copious in anything else. However, it is not easy to conceive why he should be so copious upon a subject he so much despises, unless it were to gratify his talent of railing at the clergy, in the number of whom he disdains to be reckoned, because he is a bishop; for it is a style I observed some prelates have fallen into of late years, to talk of clergymen as if themselves were not of the number. You will read, in many of their speeches at Dr. Sacheverel's trial, expressions to this or the like effect: "My lords, if clergymen be suffered," &c., wherein they seem to have reason; and I am pretty confident that a majority of the clergy were heartily inclined to disown any relation they had to the managers in lawn. However, it was a confounding argument against presbytery, that those prelates who are most suspected to lean that way treated their inferior brethren with haughtiness, rigor, and contempt; although, to say the truth, nothing better could be hoped for; because I believe it may pass for a universal rule, that, in every diocese governed by bishops of the Whig species, the clergy (especially the poorer sort) are under double discipline, and the laity left to themselves. The opinion of sir Thomas More, which he produces to prove the ill consequences or insignificancy of convocations, advances no such thing; but says, "If the clergy assembled often, and might act as other assemblies of clergy in Christendom, much good might have

come; but the misfortune lay in their long disuse, and that in his own and a good part of his father's time they never came together, except at the command of the prince.

I suppose his lordship thinks there is some original impediment in the study of divinity, or secret incapacity in a gown and cassock without lawn, which disqualifies all inferior clergymen from debating upon subjects of doctrine or discipline in the church. It is a famous saying of his, "that he looks upon every layman to be an honest man until he is by experience convinced to the contrary; and on every clergyman as a knave until he finds him to be an honest man." What opinion then must we have of a lower house of convocation; where, I am confident, he will hardly find three persons that ever convinced him of their honesty, or will ever be at the pains to do it? Nay, I am afraid they would think such a conviction might be no very advantageous bargain, to gain the character of an honest man with his lordship, and lose it with the rest of the world.

In the famous concordate that was made between Francis I. of France and pope Leo X., the bishop tells us that "the king and pope came to a bargain by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it." He intends in the third part of his History, which he is going to publish, "to open the whole matter to the world." In the meantime he mentions some ill consequences to the Gallican church from that concordate, which are worthy to be observed: "The church of France became a slave, and this change in their constitution put an end not only to national but even to provincial synods in that kingdom. The assemblies of the clergy there meet now only to give subsidies, &c.; and he says, "our nation may see by that proceeding what it is to deliver up the essential liberties of a free constitution to a court."

All I can gather from this matter is, that our king Henry made a better bargain than his contemporary Francis, who divided the liberties of the church between himself and the pope, while the king of England seized them all to himself. But how comes he to number the want of synods in the Gallican church among the grievances of that concordate, and as a mark of their slavery, since he reckons all convocations of the clergy in England to be useless and dangerous? Or what difference in point of liberty was there between the Gallican church under Francis and the English under

Harry? For the latter was as much a papist as the former, unless in the point of obedience to the see of Rome; and in every quality of a good man, or a good prince (except personal courage, wherein both were equal), the French monarch had the advantage by as many degrees as is possible for one man to have over another.

Henry VIII. had no manner of intention to change religion in his kingdom; he continued to persecute and burn protestants after he had cast off the pope's supremacy; and I suppose this seizure of ecclesiastical revenues (which Francis never attempted) cannot be reckoned as a mark of the church's liberty. By the quotation the bishop sets down to show the slavery of the French church, he represents it as a grievance that "bishops are not now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the prince; and that those made by the court have been ordinarily the chief advancers of schisms, heresies, and oppressions of the church." He cites an other passage from a Greek writer, and plainly insinuates that it is justly applicable to her majesty's reign: "Princes choose such men to that charge (of a bishop) who may be their slaves, and in all things obsequious to what they prescribe, and may lie at their feet and have not so much as a thought contrary to their commands."

These are very singular passages for his lordship to set down, in order to show the dismal consequences of the French concordat by the slavery of the Gallican church compared with the freedom of ours. I shall not enter into a long dispute whether it were better for religion that bishops should be chosen by the clergy or people, or both together: I believe our author would give his vote for the second (which, however, would not have been of much advantage to himself and some others that I could name); but I ask whether bishops are any more elected in England than in France. And the want of synods are, in his own opinion, rather a blessing than a grievance, unless he will affirm that more good can be expected from a popish synod than an English convocation. Did the French clergy ever receive a greater blow to their liberties than the submission made to Henry VIII.; or so great a one as the seizure of their lands? The Reformation owed nothing to the good intentions of king Henry; he was only an instrument of it (as the logicians speak) by accident; nor does he appear, throughout his whole reign, to have had any other views than those of gratifying his insatiable love of power, cruelty, oppression, and other irregular appetites. But this kingdom, as well as many other parts of Europe

was, at that time, generally weary of the corruptions and impositions of the Roman court and church; and disposed to receive those doctrines which Luther and his followers had universally spread. Cranmer the archbishop, Cromwell, and others of the court, did secretly embrace the Reformation; and the king's abrogating the pope's supremacy made the people in general run into the new doctrine with greater freedom, because they hoped to be supported in it by the authority and example of their prince; who disappointed them so far that he made no other step than rejecting the pope's supremacy, as a clog upon his own power and passions, but retained every corruption besides, and became a cruel persecutor, as well of those who denied his own supremacy as of all others who professed protestant doctrine. Neither has anything disgusted me more reading the histories of those times, than to see one of the worst sees of any age or country celebrated as an instrument in that glorious work of the Reformation.

The bishop, having gone over all the matters that properly fall within his introduction, proceeds to expostulate with several sorts people: first, with protestants who are no christians — such as , deists, freethinkers, and the like enemies to christianity; these he treats with the tenderness of a friend, because they are all of them of sound Whig principles in church and state. However, to do him justice, he lightly touches some old topics for the truth of the gospel; and concludes by "wishing that the freethinkers would consider well if (*Anglice*, whether) they think it possible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all; and what the consequences of that may prove;" and in case they allow the negative, he gives it clearly for christianity.

Secondly, he applies himself (if I take his meaning right) to christian papists, "who have a taste of liberty;" and desires them to "compare the absurdity of their own religion with the reasonableness of the reformed:" against which, as good luck would have it, I have nothing to object.

Thirdly, he is somewhat rough against his own party, "who, having tasted the sweets of protestant liberty, can look back so tamely on popery coming on them;" it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the devil were in them, to be so negligent. "It is not enough that they resolve not to turn papists themselves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and stupid, to apprehend their danger, and to exert themselves with

their utmost industry to guard against it and to resist it. If, all their endeavors to prevent it, the corruption of the age, a art and power of our enemies, prove too hard for us, then, a until then, we must submit to the will of God, and be silent; prepare ourselves for all the extremity of suffering and of n with a great deal more of the same strain.

With due submission to the profound sagacity of this prelat can smell popery at five hundred miles' distance, better than cism just under his nose, I take leave to tell him that this r to his friends for want of zeal, and clamor against popery, s and the pretender, is what they have not deserved. Are the phlets and papers daily published by the sublime authors o party full of anything else? Are not the queen, the minister majority of lords and commons, loudly taxed in print, with charge against them at full length? Is it not the perpet of every Whig coffeehouse and club? Have they not qu popery and the pretender upon the peace and treaty of comn upon the possessing, and quieting, and keeping, and demo of Dunkirk? Have they not clamored because the pretende tinued in France, and because he left it? Have they not re that the town swarmed with many thousand papists; when search there were never found so few of that religion in it ! If a clergyman preaches obedience to the higher powers, is immediately traduced as a papist? Can mortal man do more ? deal plainly, my lord, your friends are not strong enough make an insurrection, and it is unreasonable to expect one them until their neighbors be ready.

My lord, I have a little seriousness at heart upon this point, your lordship affects to show so much. When you can prov one single word has ever dropped from any minister of sta public or private, in favor of the pretender or his cause; whe can make it appear that in the course of this administration, the queen thought fit to change her servants, there has on been made toward weakening the Hanover title, or giving the countenance to any other whatsoever; then, and not until th dry your chaff and stubble, give fire to the zeal of your facti reproach them with lukewarmness.

Fourthly, the bishop applies himself to the Tories in taking it for granted, after his charitable manner, that they ready prepared to introduce popery. He puts an excuse into

uths, by which they would endeavor to justify their change of religion: "Popery is not what it was before the Reformation; things are now much mended, and further corrections might be expected if we would enter into a treaty with them: in particular, they see the error of proceeding severely with heretics; so that there is no reason to apprehend the return of such cruelties as were practised an age and a half ago."

This, he assures us, is a plea offered by the Tories in defence of themselves for going about at this juncture to establish the popish religion among us: What argument does he bring to prove the fact itself?

Quibus indiciis, quo teste, probavit?
Nil horum: verbosa et grandis epistola venit.
JUVENAL, Sat. x. 70.

Nothing but this tedious Introduction, wherein he supposes it all along as a thing granted. That there might be a perfect union in the whole christian church is a blessing which every good man wishes, but no reasonable man can hope. That the more polite Roman catholics have, in several places, given up some of their superstitious fopperies, particularly concerning legends, relics, and the like, is what nobody denies. But the material points in difference between us and them are universally retained and asserted in all their controversial writings. And if his lordship really thinks that every man who differs from him, under the name of a Tory, in some church and state opinions, is ready to believe transubstantiation, purgatory, the infallibility of pope or councils, to worship saints and angels, and the like, I can only pray God to enlighten his understanding, or graft in his heart the first principles of charity; a virtue which some people ought not by any means wholly to renounce, because it covers a multitude of sins.

Fifthly, the bishop applies himself to his own party in both houses of parliament, whom he exhorts to "guard their religion and liberty against all danger, at what distance soever it may appear. If they are absent and remiss on critical occasions;" that is to say, if they do not attend close next sessions, to vote upon all occasions whatever against the proceedings of the queen and her ministry; "or if any views of advantage to themselves prevail on them:" in other words, if any of them vote for the bill of commerce, in hopes of a place or a pension, a title or a garter; "God may work a deliverance for us another way" (that is to say, by in-

viting the Dutch); "but they and their families," *i. e.* those who are negligent or revolters, "shall perish;" by which is meant they shall be hanged, as well as the present ministry and their abettors, as soon as we recover our power; "because they let in idolatry, superstition, and tyranny;" because they stood by and suffered the peace to be made, the bill of commerce to pass, and Dunkirk to lie undemolished longer than we expected, without raising a rebellion.

His last application is to the Tory clergy, a parcel of "blind, ignorant, dumb, sleeping, greedy, drunken dogs." A pretty artful episcopal method is this, of calling his brethren as many injurious names as he pleases. It is but quoting a text of Scripture, where the characters of evil men are described, and the thing is done: and at the same time the appearances of piety and devotion preserved. I would engage, with the help of a good Concordance and the liberty of perverting holy writ, to find out as many injurious appellations as the Englishman throws out in any of his politic papers, and apply them to those persons "who call good evil, and evil good; to those who cry without cause, 'Every man to his tent, O Israel!' and to those who curse the queen in their hearts!"

These decent words, he tells us, make up a "lively description of such pastors as will not study controversy, nor know the depths of Satan." He means, I suppose, the controversy between us and the papists; for as to the freethinkers and dissenters of every denomination, they are some of the best friends to the cause. Now I have been told there is a body of that kind of controversy published by the London divines, which is not to be matched in the world. I believe likewise there is a good number of the clergy at present thoroughly versed in that study; after which, I cannot but give my judgment, that it would be a very idle thing for pastors in general to busy themselves much in disputes against popery; it being a dry heavy employment of the mind at best, especially when (God be thanked) there is so little occasion for it in the generality of parishes throughout the kingdom, and must be daily less and less, by the just severity of the laws, and the utter aversion of our people from that idolatrous superstition

If I might be so bold as to name those who have the honor to be of his lordship's party, I would venture to tell him that pastors have much more occasion to study controversies against the several classes of freethinkers and dissenters; the former (I beg his lordship's pardon for saying so) being a little worse than papists, and

both of them more dangerous at present to our constitution both in church and state. Not that I think presbytery so corrupt a system of christian religion as popery; I believe it is not above one third as bad: but I think the presbyterians, and their clans of other fanatics, or freethinkers and atheists, that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the present establishment of monarchy and religion as any set of papists in Christendom; and therefore that our danger, as things now stand, is infinitely greater from our protestant enemies; because they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt but that presbytery and a commonwealth are less formidable evils than popery, slavery, and the pretender; for if the fanatics were in power, I should be in more apprehension of being starved than burned. But there are probably in England forty dissenters of all kinds, including their brethren the freethinkers, for one papist; and allowing one papist to be as terrible as three dissenters, it will appear by arithmetic that we are thirteen times and one-third more in danger of being ruined by the latter than the former.

The other qualification necessary for all pastors, if they will not be "blind, ignorant, greedy, drunken dogs," &c., is "to know the depth of Satan." This is harder than the former; that a poor gentleman ought not to be a parson, vicar, or curate of a parish, except he be cunninger than the devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this defect, for one manifest reason, because whoever had only half the cunning of the devil would never take up with a vicarage of ten pounds a-year, "to live on at his ease," as my lord expresses it, but seek out for some better livelihood. His lordship is of a nation very much distinguished for that quality of cunning (although they have a great many better), and I think he was never accused for wanting his share. However, upon a trial of skill, I would venture to lay six to four on the devil's side, who must be allowed to be at least the older practitioner. Telling truth shames him, and resistance makes him fly: but to attempt outwitting him is to fight him at his own weapon, and consequently no cunning at all. Another thing I would observe is, that a man may be "in the depths of Satan" without knowing them all; and such a man may be so far in Satan's depths as to be out of his own. One of the depths of Satan is to counterfeit an angel of light. Another, I believe, is to stir up the people against their governors by false suggestions of danger. A third is, to be a prompter to false breth

ren, and to send wolves about in sheep's clothing. Sometimes he sends jesuits about England in the habit and cant of fanatics; at other times, he has fanatic missionaries in the habits of ———. I shall mention but one more of Satan's depths — for I confess I know not the hundredth part of them — and that is, to employ his emissaries in crying out against remote imaginary dangers, by which we may be taken off from defending ourselves against those which are really just at our elbows.

But his lordship draws toward a conclusion, and bids us "look about to consider the danger we are in before it is too late;" for he assures us we are already "going into some of the worst parts of popery;" like the man who was so much in haste for his new coat, that he put it on the wrong side out. "Auricular confession, priestly absolution, and the sacrifice of the mass," have made great progress in England, and nobody has observed it; several other "popish points are carried higher with us than by the priests themselves;" and somebody it seems had the "impudence to propose a union with the Gallican church." I have indeed heard that Mr. Lesley published a discourse to that purpose, which I have never seen; nor do I perceive the evil in proposing a union between any two churches in Christendom. Without doubt, Mr. Lesley is most unhappily misled in his politics; but if he be the author of the late tract against popery, he has given the world such a proof of his soundness in religion as many a bishop ought to be proud of. I never saw the gentleman in my life: I know he is the son of a great and excellent prelate, who, upon several accounts, was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. Mr. Lesley has written many useful discourses upon several subjects, and has so well deserved of the christian religion, and the church of England in particular, that to accuse him of "impudence for proposing a union" in two very different faiths, is a style which I hope few will imitate. I detest Mr. Lesley's political principles as much as his lordship can do for his heart; but I verily believe he acts from a mistaken conscience, and therefore I distinguish between the principles and the person. However, it is some mortification to me, when I see an avowed nonjuror contribute more to the confounding of popery than could ever be done by a hundred thousand such introductions as this.

His lordship ends with discovering a small ray of comfort. "God be thanked, there are many among us that stand upon the watch-

tower, and that give faithful warning; that stand in the breach, and make themselves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the dust mourning before him, to avert those judgments that seem to hasten toward us. They search into the mystery of iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with that mass of corruption that is in popery." He prays "that the number of these may increase, and that he may be of that number, ready either to die in peace, or to seal that doctrine he has been preaching above fifty years with his blood." This being his last paragraph, I have made bold to transcribe the most important parts of it. His design is to end, after the manner of orators, with leaving the strongest impression possible upon the minds of his hearers. A great breach is made; "the mystery of popish iniquity is working among us; may God avert those judgments that are hastening toward us! I am an old man, a preacher above fifty years, and I now expect and am ready to die a martyr for the doctrines I have preached." What an amiable idea does he here leave upon our minds of her majesty and her government! He has been poring so long upon Fox's Book of Martyrs, that he imagines himself living in the reign of queen Mary, and is resolved to set up for a knight-errant against popery. Upon the supposition of his being in earnest (which I am sure he is not), it would require but a very little more heat of imagination to make a history of such a knight's adventures. What would he say to behold the fires kindled in Smithfield and all over the town on the 17th of November; to behold the pope borne in triumph on the shoulders of the people, with a cardinal on the one side and the pretender on the other? He would never believe it was queen Elizabeth's day, but that of her persecuting sister: in short, how easily might a windmill be taken for the whore of Babylon, and a puppet-show for a popish procession!

But enthusiasm is none of his lordship's faculty. I am inclined to believe he might be melancholy enough when he writ this Introduction. The despair at his age of seeing a faction restored to which he had sacrificed so great a part of his life; the little success he can hope for in case he should resume those high-church principles in defence of which he first employed his pen; no visible expectation of removing to Farnham or Lambeth; and, lastly, the misfortune of being hated by every one who either wears the habit or values the profession of a clergyman;—no wonder such a spirit,

in such a situation, is provoked beyond the regards of truth, decency, religion, or self-conviction. To do him justice, he seems to have nothing else left but to cry out, halters, gibbets, fagots, inquisition, popery, slavery, and the pretender. But in the mean time he little considers what a world of mischief he does to his cause. It is very convenient for the present designs of that faction to spread the opinion of our immediate danger from popery and the pretender. His directors therefore ought, in my humble opinion, to have employed his lordship in publishing a book, wherein he should have affirmed, by the most solemn asseverations, that all things were safe and well; for the world has contracted so strong a habit of believing him backward, that I am confident nine parts in ten of those who have read or heard of his Introduction have slept in greater security ever since. It is like the melancholy tone of a watchman at midnight, who thumps with his pole as if some thief were breaking in; but you know by the noise that the door is fast.

However, he "thanks God there are many among us who stand in the breach." I believe they may; it is a breach of their own making, and they design to come forward, and storm, and plunder, if they be not driven back. "They make themselves a wall for their church and country." A south wall, I suppose, for all the best fruit of the church and country to be nailed on. Let us examine this metaphor. The wall of our church and country is built of those who love the constitution in both: our domestic enemies undermine some parts of the wall, and place themselves in the breach, and then they cry, "We are the wall!" We do not like such patchwork; they build with untempered mortar; nor can they ever cement with us till they get better materials and better workmen. God keep us from having our breaches made up with such rubbish! "They stand upon the watch-tower!" they are indeed pragmatical enough to do so; but who assigned them that post, to give us false intelligence, to alarm us with false dangers, and send us to defend one gate while their accomplices are breaking in at another? "They cry to God, day and night, to avert the judgment of popery which seems to hasten toward us." Then I affirm they are hypocrites by day, and filthy dreamers by night: when they cry unto Him, He will not hear them; for they cry against the plainest dictates of their own conscience, reason, and belief.

But, lastly, "They lie in the dust mourning before him." Hang me if I believe that, unless it be figuratively spoken. But, suppose

it to be true, why do "they lie in the dust?" Because they love to raise it. For what do "they mourn?" Why, for power, wealth, and places. There let the enemies of the queen, and monarchy, and the church, lie and mourn, and lick the dust like serpents, till they are truly sensible of their ingratitude, falsehood, disobedience, slander, blasphemy, sedition, and every evil work.

I cannot find in my heart to conclude without offering his lordship a little humble advice upon some certain points.

First, I would advise him, if it be not too late in his life, to endeavor a little at mending his style, which is mighty defective in the circumstances of grammar, propriety, politeness, and smoothness. I fancied at first it might be owing to the prevalence of his passion, as people sputter out nonsense for haste when they are in a rage. And, indeed, I believe this piece before me has received some additional imperfections from that occasion. But whoever has heard his sermons, or read his other tracts, will find him very unhappy in the choice and disposition of his words, and, for want of variety, repeating them, especially the particles, in a manner very grating to an English ear. But I confine myself to this Introduction as his last work, where, endeavoring at rhetorical flowers, he gives us only bunches of thistles: of which I could present the reader with a plentiful crop; but I refer him to every page and line of the pamphlet itself.

Secondly, I would most humbly advise his lordship to examine a little into the nature of truth, and sometimes to hear what she says. I shall produce two instances among a hundred. When he asserts that we are "now in more danger of popery than toward the end of king Charles II.'s reign," and gives the broadest hints that the queen, the ministry, the parliament, and the clergy, are just going to introduce it, I desire to know whether he really thinks Truth is of his side, or whether he be not sure she is against him? If the latter, then Truth and he will be found in two different stories; and which are we to believe? Again, when he gravely advises the Tories not to "light the fires in Smithfield," and goes on in twenty places already quoted, as if the bargain was made for popery and slavery to enter, I ask again whether he has rightly considered the nature of truth? I desire to put a parallel case. Suppose his lordship should take it into his fancy to write and publish a letter to any gentleman of no infamous character for his religion or morals, and there advise him with great earnestness not to rob or fire churches,

ravish his daughter, or murder his father; show him the sin and the danger of these enormities; that, if he flattered himself he could escape in disguise, or bribe his jury, he was grievously mistaken; that he must, in all probability, forfeit his goods and chattels, die an ignominious death, and be cursed by posterity; — would not such a gentleman justly think himself highly injured, although his lordship did not affirm that the said gentleman had picklocks or combustibles ready; that he had attempted his daughter, and drawn his sword against his father in order to stab him; whereas, in the other case, this writer affirms over and over that all attempts for introducing popery and slavery are already made, the whole business concerted, and that little less than a miracle can prevent our ruin.

Thirdly, I could heartily wish his lordship would not undertake to charge the opinions of one or two, and those probably nonjurors, upon the whole body of the nation that differs from him. Mr. Lesley writ a "Proposal for a Union with the Gallican Church:" somebody else has "carried the necessity of priesthood in the point of baptism further than popery:" a third has "asserted the independency of the church on the state, and in many things arraigned the supremacy of the crown;" then he speaks in a dubious insinuating way, as if some other popish tenets had been already advanced; and at last concludes in this affected strain of despondency; "What will all these things end in? and on what design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!" It is as clear as the sun that these authors are encouraged by the ministry with a design to bring in popery; and in popery all these things will end.

I never was so uncharitable as to believe that the whole party, of which his lordship professes himself a member, had a real formed design of establishing atheism among us. The reason why the Whigs have taken the atheists or freethinkers into their body is, because they wholly agree in their political scheme, and differ very little in church power and discipline. However, I could turn the argument against his lordship with very great advantage, by quoting passages from fifty pamphlets, wholly made up of whiggism and atheism, and then conclude, "What will all these things end in? and on what design are they driven? Alas, it is too visible!"

Lastly, I would beg his lordship not to be so exceedingly outrageous upon the memory of the dead; because it is highly probable that in a very short time he will be one of the number. He has, in plain words, given Mr. Wharton the character of a most ma-

licious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary villain. To which I shall only say, that the direct reverse of this amiable description is what appears from the works of that most learned divine, and from the accounts given me by those who knew him much better than the bishop seems to have done. I meddle not with the moral part of his treatment. God Almighty forgive his lordship this manner of revenging himself! and then there will be but little consequence from an accusation which the dead cannot feel, and which none of the living will believe.

THE

IMPORTANCE OF THE GUARDIAN

CONSIDERED,

IN A SECOND LETTER TO THE BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

BY A FRIEND OF MR. STEELE.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

Mr. Steele, in his "Letter of the Bailiff of Stockbridge," has given us leave "to treat him as we think fit, as he is our brother scribbler; but not to attack him as an honest man." That is to say, he allows us to be his critics, but not his answerers; and he is altogether in the right, for there is in his letter much to be criticised and little to be answered. The situation and importance of Dunkirk are pretty well known. Mons. Tugghe's memorial, published and handed about by the Whigs, is allowed to be a very trifling paper; and as to the immediate demolishment of that town, Mr. Steele pretends to offer no other argument but the expectations of the people, which is a figurative speech, naming the tenth part for the whole, as Bradshaw told king Charles I. that the people of England expected justice against him. I have therefore entered very little into the subject he pretends to treat, but have considered his pamphlet partly as a critic and partly as a commentator, which I think is "to treat him only as my brother scribbler," according to the permission he has graciously allowed me.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL MR. JOHN SNOW,

BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

SIR,—I have just been reading a twelvepenny pamphlet about Dunkirk, addressed to your worship from one of your intended representatives, and I find several passages in it which want explanation, especially to you in the country, for we in town have a way of talking and writing which is very little understood beyond the bills of mortality. I have therefore made bold to send you here a second letter, by way of comment upon the former.

In order to this, "you, Mr. Bailiff, and at the same time the whole borough," may please to take notice that London writers often put titles to their papers and pamphlets which have little or no reference to the main design of the work; so, for instance, you will observe in reading that the letter called "The Importance of Dunkirk," is wholly taken up in showing you the importance of Mr. Steele, wherein it was indeed reasonable your borough should be informed which had chosen him to represent them.

I would therefore place the importance of this gentleman before you in a clearer light than he has given himself the trouble to do, without running into his early history, because I owe him no malice.

Mr. Steele is author of two tolerable plays, or at least of the greatest part of them, which, added to the company he kept, and to the continual conversation and friendship of Mr. Addison, has given him the character of a wit. To take the height of his learning, you are to suppose a lad just fit for the university, and sent early from thence into the wide world, where he followed every way of life that might least improve or preserve the rudiments he had got. He has no invention, nor is master of a tolerable style; his chief talent is humor, which he sometimes discovers both in writing and discourse, for after the first bottle he is no disagreeable companion. I never knew him taxed with ill-nature, which has made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice; and I am apt to think it proceeds more from some unaccountable sort of instinct than premeditation. Being the most imprudent man alive, he never follows the advice of his friends, but is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice, by which he has committed more absurdities in economy, friendship, love, duty, good manners, politics, religion, and writing,

than ever fell to one man's share. He was appointed gazetteer by Mr. Harley (then secretary of state), at the recommendation of Mr. Maynwaring, with a salary of three hundred pounds; was a commissioner of stamped paper, of equal profit; and had a pension of a hundred pounds per annum as a servant to the late prince George.

This gentleman whom I have now described to you, began, between four and five years ago, to publish a paper thrice a-week, called the Tatler. It came out under the borrowed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, and by contribution of his ingenious friends grew to have a great reputation, and was equally esteemed by both parties, because it meddled with neither. But some time after Sacheverel's trial, when things began to change their aspect, Mr. Steele, whether by the command of his superiors, his own inconstancy, or the absence of his assistants, would needs corrupt his paper with politics, published one or two of the most virulent libels, and chose for his subject even that individual, Mr. Harley, who had made him gazetteer. But his finger and thumb not proving strong enough to stop the general torrent, there was a universal change made in the ministry, and the two new secretaries not thinking it decent to employ a man in their office who had acted so infamous a part, Mr. Steele, to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his place of gazetteer. Upon which occasion, I cannot forbear relating a passage "to you, Mr. Bailiff, and the rest of the borough," which discovers a very peculiar turn of thought in this gentleman you have chosen to represent you. When Mr. Maynwaring recommended him to the employment of gazetteer, Mr. Harley, out of an inclination to encourage men of parts, raised that office from fifty pounds to three hundred pounds a-year. Mr. Steele, according to form, came to give his new patron thanks, but the secretary, who would rather confer a hundred favors than receive acknowledgments for one, said to him in a most obliging manner, "Pray, sir, do not thank me, but thank Mr. Maynwaring." Soon after Mr. Steele's quitting that employment, he complained to a gentleman in office of the hardship put upon him in being forced to quit his place; that he knew Mr. Harley was the cause; that he never had done Mr. Harley an injury, nor received any obligation from him. The gentleman, amazed at this discourse, put him in mind of those libels published in his Tatlers. Mr. Steele said he was only the publisher, for they had been sent him by other hands. The gentle-

man, thinking this a very monstrous kind of excuse, and not allowing it, Mr. Steele then said, "Well, I have libelled him, and he has turned me out; and so we are equal." But neither would this be granted; and he was asked whether the place of gazetteer were not an obligation? "No," said he, "not from Mr. Harley; for when I went to thank him, he forbade me, and said I must only thank Mr. Maynwaring."

But I return, Mr. Bailiff, to give you a further account of this gentleman's importance. In less I think than two years, the town and he grew weary of the Tatler: he was silent for some months, and then a daily paper came from him and his friends, under the name of Spectator, with good success: this being likewise dropped after a certain period, he has of late appeared under the style of Guardian, which he has now likewise quitted for that of Englishman; but having chosen other assistance, or trusting more to himself, his papers have been very coldly received, which has made him fly for relief to the never-failing source of faction.

In the beginning of August last Mr. Steele writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, esq., and subscribes it with the name of "English Tory." On the 7th the said Ironside publishes this letter in the Guardian. How shall I explain this matter to you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough? You must know then that Mr. Steele and Mr. Ironside are the same persons, because there is a great relation between Iron and Steel; and English Tory and Mr. Steele are the same persons, because there is no relation at all between Mr. Steele and an English Tory; so that to render this matter clear to the very meanest capacities, Mr. English Tory, the very same person with Mr. Steele, writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, esq., who is the same person with English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele; and Mr. Ironside, who is the same person with English Tory, publishes the letter written by English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele, who is the same person with Mr. Ironside. This letter, written and published by these three gentlemen, who are one of your representatives, complains of a printed paper in French and English lately handed about the town, and given gratis to passengers in the streets at noonday; the title whereof is "A most humble Address, or Memorial, presented to her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates of Dunkirk." This deputy it seems is called the sieur Tugghe. Now the remarks made upon this

memorial by Mr. English Tory in his letter to Mr. Ironside happening to provoke the Examiner and another pamphleteer, they both fell hard upon Mr. Steele, charging him with insolence and ingratitude toward the queen. But Mr. Steele, nothing daunted, writes a long letter "to you, Mr. Bailiff, and at the same time to the whole borough," in his own vindication. But there being several difficult passages in this letter which may want clearing up, I here send you and the borough my annotation upon it.

Mr. Steele, in order to display his importance to your borough, begins his letter by letting you know "he is no small man," p. I, because in the pamphlets he has sent you down you will "find him en of more than once in print." It is indeed a great thing to be "spoken of in print," and must needs make a mighty sound at Stockbridge among the electors. However, if Mr. Steele has really sent you down all the pamphlets and papers printed since the dissolution, you will find he is not the only person of importance; I could instance Abel Roper, Mr. Marten the surgeon, Mr. John Moore the apothecary at the Pestle and Mortar, sir William Read her majesty's oculist, and, of later name and fame, Mr. John Smith the corn-cutter, with several others who are "spoken of more than once in print." Then he recommends to your perusal, and sends you a copy of a printed paper given *gratis* about the streets, which is the memorial of Monsieur Tugghe, above mentioned, "deputy of the magistrates of Dunkirk," to desire her majesty not to demolish the said town. He tells you how insolent a thing it is that such a paper should be publicly distributed, and he tells you true; but these insolences are very frequent among the Whigs. One of their present topics for clamor is Dunkirk: here is a memorial said to be presented to the queen by an obscure Frenchman; one of your party gets a copy and immediately prints it by contribution, and delivers it gratis to the people, which answers several ends. First, it is meant to lay an odium on the ministry. Secondly, if the town be soon demolished, Mr. Steele and his faction have the merit; their arguments and threatenings have frightened my lord-treasurer. Thirdly, if the demolishing should be further deferred, the nation will be fully convinced of his lordship's intention to bring over the pretender.

Let us turn over fourteen pages, which contain the memorial itself, and which is indeed as idle a one as ever I read; we come now to Mr. Steele's letter, under the name of English Tory, to Mr.

Ironside. In the preface to this letter, p. 15, he has these words: "It is certain there is not much danger in delaying the demolition of Dunkirk during the life of his present most christian majesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable regard to treaties; but that pious prince is aged, and in case of his decease," &c. This preface is in the words of Mr. Ironside, a professed Whig; and perhaps you in the country will wonder to hear a zealot of your own party celebrating the French king for his piety and his religious performance of treaties. For this, I can assure you, is not spoken in jest, or to be understood by contrary. There is a wonderful resemblance between that prince and the party of Whigs among us. Is he for arbitrary government? So are they. Has he persecuted protestants? So have the Whigs. Did he attempt to restore king James and his pretended son? They did the same, Would he have Dunkirk surrendered to him? This is what they desire. Does he call himself the Most Christian? The Whigs assume the same title, though their leaders deny christianity. Does he break his promises? Did they ever keep theirs?

From the 16th to the 38th page, Mr. Steele's pamphlet is taken up with a copy of his letter to Mr. Ironside; the remarks of the Examiner and another author upon that letter; the hydrography of some French and English ports, and his answer to Mr. Tugghe's memorial. The bent of his discourse is, in appearance, to show of what prodigious consequence to the welfare of England the surrender of Dunkirk was. But here, Mr. Bailiff, you must be careful, for all that is said in raillery; for you may easily remember that, when the town was first yielded to the queen, the Whigs declared it was of no consequence at all, that the French could easily repair it after the demolition, or fortify another a few miles off, which would be of more advantage to them. So that what Mr. Steele tells you of the prodigious benefit that will accrue to England by destroying this port is only suited to present junctures and circumstances. For if Dunkirk should now be represented as insignificant as when it was first put into her majesty's hands, it would signify nothing whether it were demolished or not, and consequently one principal topic of clamor would fall to the ground.

In Mr. Steele's answer to Monsieur Tugghe's arguments against the demolishing of Dunkirk, I have not observed anything that so much deserves your peculiar notice as the great eloquence of your new member, and his wonderful faculty of varying his style, which

he calls "proceeding like a man of great gravity and business," p. 31. He has ten arguments of Tugghe's to answer; and because he will not go in the old beaten road, like a parson of a parish, first, secondly, thirdly, &c., his manner is this:

In answer to the sieur's first.
As to the sieur's second.
As to his third.
As to the sieur's fourth.
As to Mr. Deputy's fifth.
As to the sieur's sixth.
As to this agent's seventh.
As to the sieur's eighth.
As to his ninth.
As to the memorialist's tenth.

You see every second expression is more or less diversified, to avoid the repetition of, "As to the sieur's," &c., and there is the tenth into the bargain. I could heartily wish Monsieur Tugghe had been able to find ten arguments more, and thereby given Mr. Steele an opportunity of showing the utmost variations our language would bear in so momentous a trial.

Mr. Steele tells you, "That, having now done with his foreign enemy, Monsieur Tugghe, he must face about to his domestic foes, who accuse him of ingratitude, and insulting his prince while he is eating her bread."

To do him justice, he acquits himself pretty tolerably of this last charge; for he assures you he gave up his stamped-paper office, and pension as gentleman-usher, before he wrote that letter to himself in the Guardian; so that he had already received his salary, and spent his money, and consequently the bread was eaten at least a week before he would offer to insult his prince; so that the folly of the Examiner's objecting ingratitude to him upon this article is manifest to all the world.

But he tells you he has quitted those employments to render him more useful to his queen and country in the station you have honored him with. That no doubt was the principal motive: however, I shall venture to add some others. First, the Guardian apprehended it impossible that the ministry would let him keep his place much longer after the part he had acted for above two years past. Secondly, Mr. Ironside said publicly that he was ashamed to

be obliged any longer to a person (meaning the lord-treasurer) whom he had used so ill; for it seems a man ought not to use his benefactors ill above two years and a half. Thirdly, the sieur Steele appeals to protection from you, Mr. Bailiff, from others of your denomination, who would have carried him somewhere else if you had not relieved him by your *habeas corpus* to St. Stephen's chapel. Fourthly, Mr. English Tory found, by calculating the life of a ministry, that it has lasted above three years, and is near expiring; he resolved, therefore, to "strip off the very garments spotted with the flesh," and be wholly regenerate against the return of his old masters.

In order to serve all these ends, your borough has honored him (as he expresses it) with choosing him to represent you in parliament; and it must be owned he has equally honored you. Never was borough more happy in suitable representatives than you are in Mr. Steele and his colleague [Thomas Broderick, esq.]; nor were ever representatives more happy in a suitable borough.

When Mr. Steele talked of "laying before her majesty's ministry that the nation has a strict eye upon their behavior with relation to Dunkirk," p. 39, did not you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough, presently imagine he had drawn up a sort of countermemorial to that of Monsieur Tugghe, and presented it in form to my lord-treasurer, or a secretary of state? I am confident you did; but this comes by not understanding the town. You are to know, then, that Mr. Steele publishes every day a penny paper to be read in coffeehouses and get him a little money. This by a figure of speech he calls "laying things before the ministry," who seem at present but a little too busy to regard such memorials; and I dare say never saw his paper unless he sent it by the penny post.

Well, but he tells you "he cannot offer against the Examiner, and his other adversary, reason and argument, without appearing void of both." *Ibid.* What a singular situation of the mind is this! How glad should I be to hear a man "offer reasons and arguments, and yet at the same time appear void of both!" But this whole paragraph is of a peculiar strain; the consequences so just and natural, and such a propriety in thinking, as few authors ever arrive at. "Since it has been the fashion to run down men of much greater consequence than I am, I will not bear the accusation." *Ibid.* This, I suppose, is "to offer reasons and arguments, and yet appear void of both." And in the next lines, "These

shall treat me as they think fit, as I am their brother-scrib-
but I shall not be so unconcerned when they attack me as
st man," p. 40. And how does he defend himself? "I
herefore inform them that it is not in the power of a private
hurt the prerogative," &c. Well; I shall treat him only as
ıer-scribbler; and I guess he will hardly be attacked as an
man; but if his meaning be that his honesty ought not to
:d, because he "has no power to hurt the honor and pre-
re of the crown without being punished," he will make an
ıble reasoner in the house of commons.

all this wise argumentation was introduced only to close the
aph by hauling in a fact, which he relates to you and your
gh, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and express his
and gratitude to the queen. The fact is this: "That her
:y's honor is in danger of being lost by her ministers' tolera-
illains without conscience to abuse the greatest instruments
ıor and glory to our country, the most wise and faithful
rs, and the most pious, disinterested, generous, and self-
ng patriots;" and the instances he produces are, the duke of
orough, the late earl of Godolphin, and about two-thirds of
shops.

. Bailiff, I cannot debate this matter at length without putting
ınd the rest of my countrymen who will be at the expense, to
ıce charge extraordinary. The duke and earl were both re-
l from their employments; and I hope you have too great a
:t for the queen to think it was done for nothing. The for-
ras at the head of many great actions, and he has received
ful oblations of praise and profit; yet, having read all that
was objected against him by the Examiner, I will undertake
ve every syllable of it true, particularly that famous attempt
general for life. The earl of Godolphin is dead, and his
may sojourn with him in the grave, till some historian shall
fit to revive part of them for instruction and warning to pos-
. But it grieved me to the soul to see so many good epithets
ved by Mr. Steele upon the bishops: nothing has done more
to that sacred order for some years past than to hear some
es extolled by Whigs, dissenters, republicans, socinians, and,
ort, by all who are enemies to episcopacy. God in his mercy
ver keep our prelates from deserving the praises of such
yrists!

Mr. Steele is discontented that the ministry have not "called Examiner to account as well as the Flying-Post." I will info you, Mr. Bailiff, how that matter stands. The author of the Flying-Post has, thrice a-week for above two years together, published the most impudent reflections upon all the present ministry, upon all their proceedings, and upon the whole body of Tories. The Examiner, on the other side, writing in defence of those whom her majesty employs in her greatest affairs, and of the cause they are engaged in, has always borne hard upon the Whigs, and now and then upon some of their leaders. Now, sir, we reckon here, that, supposing the persons on both sides to be of equal intrinsic worth, it is more impudent, immoral, and criminal, to reflect on a majority in power than a minority out of power. Put the case that an odd rascally Tory in your borough should presume to abuse your worship, who, in the language of Mr. Steele, are first minister, and the majority of your brethren, for sending two such Whig representatives up to parliament; and, on the other side, that an honest Whig should stand in your defence, and fall foul on the Tories; would you equally resent the proceedings of both, and let your friend and enemy sit in the stocks together? Hearken to another case, Mr. Bailiff: suppose your worship, during your annual administration, should happen to be kicked and cuffed by a parcel of Tories; would not the circumstance of your being a magistrate make the crime the greater than if the like insults were committed on an ordinary Tory shopkeeper by a company of honest Whigs? What bailiff would venture to arrest Mr. Steele now he has the honor to be your representative? and what bailiff ever scrupled it before?

You must know, sir, that we have several ways here of abusing one another without incurring the danger of the law. First, we are careful never to print a man's name out at length, but as I do that of Mr. St—le; so that, although everybody alive knows whom I mean, the plaintiff can have no redress in any court of justice. Secondly, by putting cases; thirdly, by insinuations; fourthly, by celebrating the actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the persons we would reflect on; fifthly, by nicknames, either commonly known or stamped for the purpose, which everybody can tell how to apply. Without going on further, it will be enough to inform you that, by some of the ways I have already mentioned, Mr. Steele gives you to understand that the queen's honor is blasted by the actions of her present ministers; that "her prerogative is disgraced

by creating a dozen peers, who, by their votes, turned a point upon which your all depended; that these ministers made the queen lay down her conquering arms, and deliver herself up to be vanquished; that they made her majesty betray her allies by ordering her army to face about and leave them in the moment of distress; that the present ministers are men of poor and narrow conceptions, self-interested, and without benevolence to mankind, and were brought into her majesty's favor for the sins of the nation, and only think what they may do, not what they ought to do," p. 43. This is the character given by Mr. Steele of those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to place in the highest stations of the kingdom, and to trust with the management of her most weighty affairs; and this is the gentleman who cries out, "Where is honor? where is government? where is prerogative?" p. 40, because the Examiner has sometimes dealt freely with those whom the queen has thought fit to discard, and the parliament to censure.

But Mr. Steele thinks it highly dangerous to the prince that any man should be hindered from "offering his thoughts upon public affairs;" and resolves to do it, "though with the loss of her majesty's favor," p. 45. If a clergyman offers to preach obedience to the higher powers, and proves it by scripture, Mr. Steele and his fraternity immediately cry out, "What have parsons to do with politics?" I ask, what shadow of pretence has he to offer his crude thoughts in matters of state? to print and publish them? "to lay them before the queen and ministry?" and to reprove both for maladministration? How did he acquire these abilities of directing in the councils of princes? Was it from *publishing* Tatlers and Spectators, and writing now and then a Guardian? was it from his being a soldier, alchemist,[1] gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, or gentleman usher? No; but he insists it is every man's right to find fault with the administration in print whenever they please; and therefore you, Mr. Bailiff, and as many of your brethren in the borough as can write and read, may publish pamphlets, and "lay them before the queen and ministry," to show your utter dislike of all their proceedings; and for this reason, because you "can certainly see and apprehend, with your own eyes and understanding, those dangers which the ministers do not."

[1] Sir Richard Steele was one of the last eminent men who entertained hopes of being successful in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone. His laboratory (as I have been assured by the late George Stevens, esq.) was at Poplar, near London.

One thing I am extremely concerned about, that Mr. Steele resolves, as he tells you, p. 46, when he comes into the house, "to follow no leaders, but vote according to the dictates of his conscience." He must, at that rate, be a very useless member to his party, unless his conscience be already cut out and shaped for their service, which I am ready to believe it is, if I may have leave to judge from the whole tenor of his life. I would only have his friends be cautious not to reward him too liberally; for, as it was said of Cranmer, "do the archbishop an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever;" so I do affirm of your member, "do Mr. Steele a good turn, and he is your enemy for ever."

I had like to have let slip a very trivial matter, which I should be sorry to have done. In reading this pamphlet I observed several mistakes, but knew not whether to impute them to the author or printer; till, turning to the end, I found there was only one erratum, thus set down: "page 45, line 28, for *admonition* read *advertisement*." This (to imitate Mr. Steele's propriety of speech) is a very old practice among new writers to make a wilful mistake, and then put it down as an erratum. The word is brought in upon this occasion to convince all the world that he was not guilty of ingratitude, by reflecting on the queen when he was actually under salary, as the Examiner affirms; he assures you he "had resigned and divested himself of all before he would presume to write anything which was so apparently an admonition to those employed in her majesty's service." In case the Examiner should find fault with this word, he might appeal to the erratum; and, having formerly been gazetteer, he conceived he might very safely venture to advertise.

You are to understand, Mr. Bailiff, that in the great rebellion against king Charles I. there was a distinction found out between the personal and political capacity of the prince; by the help of which those rebels professed to fight for the king, while the great guns were discharging against Charles Stuart. After the same manner, Mr. Steele distinguishes between the personal and political prerogative. He does not care to trust his jewel "to the will, and pleasure, and passion of her majesty," p. 48. If I am not mistaken, the crown jewels cannot be alienated by the prince; but I always thought the prince could wear them during his reign, else they had as good be in the hands of the subject; so I conceive her majesty may and ought to wear the prerogative; that it is hers during life, and she ought to be so much the more careful neither

soil nor diminish it, for that very reason, because it is by law unalienable. But what must we do with this prerogative, according to the notion of Mr. Steele? It must not be trusted with the queen, because Providence has given her will, pleasure, and passion. Her ministers must not act by the authority of it; for then Mr. Steele will cry out, "What! are majesty and ministry consolidated? and must there be no distinction between the one and the other?" p. 46. He tells you, p. 48, "the prerogative attends the crown;" and, therefore I suppose, must lie in the Tower, to be shown for twelvepence, but never produced, except at a coronation, or passing an act. "Well, but," says he, "a whole ministry may be impeached and condemned by the house of commons, without the prince's suffering by it." And what follows? why, therefore, a single burgess of Stockbridge, before he gets into the house, may at any time revile a whole ministry in print, before he knows whether they are guilty of any one neglect of duty or breach of trust.

I am willing to join issue with Mr. Steele in one particular, which perhaps may give you some diversion. He is taxed by the Examiner and others for an insolent expression, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk. He says, the word EXPECT was meant to the ministry, and not to the queen; "but that, however, for argument sake, he will suppose those words were addressed immediately to the queen." Let me then likewise, for argument sake, suppose a very ridiculous thing, that Mr. Steele were admitted to her majesty's sacred person, to tell his own story, with his letter to you, Mr. Bailiff, in his hand, to have recourse to upon occasion. I think his speech must be in these terms:—

"MADAM,—I, Richard Steele, publisher of the Tatler and Spectator, late gazetteer, commissioner of stamped papers, and pensioner to your majesty, now burgess elect of Stockbridge, do see and apprehend with my own eyes and understanding the imminent danger that attends the delay of the demolition of Dunkirk, which I believe your ministers, whose greater concern it is, do not: for, madam, the thing is not done; my lord-treasurer and lord Bolingbroke, my fellow-subjects, under whose immediate direction it is, are careless, and overlook it, or something worse; I mean, they design to sell it to France, or make use of it to bring in the pretender. This is clear from their suffering Mr. Tugghe's memorial to be published without punishing the printer. Your majesty has told us that the equivalent for Dunkirk is already in the French king's hands;

therefore all obstacles are removed on the part of France; I though a mean fellow, give your majesty to understand, in the method I can take, and from the sincerity of my grateful heart that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk; as you hope to preserve your person, crown, and dignity, and the safety and welfare of the people committed to your charge."

I have contracted such a habit of treating princes familiarly, by reading the pamphlets of Mr. Steele and his fellows, that I am tempted to suppose her majesty's answer to this speech might be as follows:—

"Mr. Richard Steele, late gazetteer, &c.

"I do not conceive that any of your titles empower you to be my director, or to report to me the expectations of my people. I know their expectations better than you; they love me and will trust me. My ministers were of my own free choice; I have found them wise and faithful; and whoever calls them fools or knaves designs indirectly an affront to myself. I am under no obligation to demolish Dunkirk, but to the most christian king; if you come here as an orator from that prince to demand it in his name, where are your powers? If not, let it suffice you to know that I have my reasons for deferring it; and that the clamors of a faction shall not be a rule by which I or my servants are to proceed."

Mr. Steele tells you "his adversaries are so unjust, they will not take the least notice of what led him into the necessity of writing his letter to the Guardian." And how is it possible any man should know all his necessities? Who can guess whether this necessity were imposed on him by his superiors, or by the itch of party, or by the mere want of other matter to furnish out a Guardian?

But Mr. Steele "has had a liberal education, and knows the world as well as the ministry does, and will therefore speak whether he offends them or no, and though their clothes be ever so new, when he thinks his queen and country is" (or, as a grammarian would express it, are) "ill treated," p. 50.

It would be good to hear Mr. Steele explain himself upon the phrase of "knowing the world;" because it is a science which maintains abundance of pretenders. Every idle young rake who understands how to pick up a wench, or bilk a hackney coachman, or can call the players by their names, and is acquainted with five or six faces in the chocolate-house, will needs pass for a man that "knows the world." In the like manner Mr. Steele, who, in

ew sprinklings of rudimental literature, proceeded a gentle-
f the horse-guards, thence by several degrees to be an ensign
n alchemist, where he was wholly conversant with the lower
f mankind, thinks he "knows the world" as well as the prime
er; and upon the strength of that knowledge will needs direct
ajesty in the weightiest matters of government.

l now, Mr. Bailiff, give me leave to inform you that this long
of Mr. Steele, filled with quotations and a clutter about Dun-
was wholly written for the sake of the six last pages, taken up
dicating himself directly, and vilifying the queen and ministry
nendoes. He apprehends that "some representations have
given of him in your town, as, that a man of so small a fortune
must have secret views or supports, which could move him to
his employments," &c. p. 56. He answers by owning "he has
l very particular views; for he is animated in his conduct by
e and truth, and benevolence to mankind," p. 57. He has
up his employments, because "he values no advantages above
nveniences of life, but as they tend to the service of the
." It seems he could not "serve the public" as a pensioner,
missioner of stamped paper; and therefore gave them up to
parliament, "out of charity to his country, and to contend for
," p. 58. He has transcribed the common places of some
g moralist *de contemptu mundi, et fuga seculi;* and would put
upon you as rules derived from his own practice.

re is a most miraculous and sudden reformation, which I be-
can hardly be matched in history or legend. And Mr. Steele,
aware how slow the world was of belief, has thought fit to
pate all objection; he foresees that "prostituted pens will
ain a pretender to such reformations with a recital of his own
and infirmities; but he is prepared for such usage, and gives
lf up to all nameless authors, to be treated as they please,"

s certain, Mr. Bailiff, that no man breathing can pretend to
arrived at such a sublime pitch of virtue as Mr. Steele, with-
me tendency in the world to suspend at least their belief of
ct, till time and observation shall determine. But I hope few
s will be so prostitute as to trouble themselves with "the
and infirmities" of Mr. Steele's past life, with what he some-
else calls "the sins of his youth," and in one of his late
confesses to have been numerous enough. A shifting

scambling scene of youth, attended with poverty and ill company, may put a man of no ill inclinations upon many extravagancies, which, as soon as they are left off, are easily pardoned and forgotten. Besides, I think, popish writers tell us that the greatest sinners make the greatest saints; but so very quick a sanctification, and carried to so prodigious a height, will be apt to rouse the suspicion of infidels, especially when they consider that this pretence of his to so romantic a virtue is only advanced by way of solution to that difficult problem, "why he has given up his employments?" And according to the new philosophy, they will endeavor to solve it by some easier and shorter way. For example, the question is put, why Mr. Steele gives up his employment and pension at this juncture? I must here repeat, with some enlargement, what I said before on this head. These unbelieving gentlemen will answer,—

First, That a new commission was every day expected for the stamped paper, and he knew his name would be left out; and therefore his resignation would be an appearance of virtue cheaply bought.

Secondly, He dreaded the violence of creditors, against which his employments were no manner of security.

Thirdly, Being a person of great sagacity, he has some foresight of a change from the usual age of a ministry, which is now almost expired; from the little misunderstandings that have been reported sometimes to happen among the men in power; from the bill of commerce being rejected, and from some horrible expectations wherewith his party have been deceiving themselves and their friends abroad for about two years past.

Fourthly, He hopes to come into all the perquisites of his predecessor Ridpath, and be the principal writer of his faction, where everything is printed by subscription, which will amply make up the loss of his place.

But it may be still demanded why he affects those exalted strains of piety and resignation? To this I answer with great probability, that he has resumed his old pursuits after the philosopher's stone, toward which it is held by all adepts for a most essential ingredient, that a man must seek it merely for the glory of God, and without the least desire of being rich.

Mr. Steele is angry, p. 60, that some of our friends have been reflected on in a pamphlet, because they left us in a point of the greatest consequence; and upon that account he runs into their

ic, against his conscience and the interest of his cause, considering that those gentlemen have reverted to us The case is thus: he never would have praised them if d remained firm, nor should we have railed at them. The full as honest and as natural as the other. However, Mr. hopes (I beg you, Mr. Bailiff, to observe the consequence) otwithstanding this pamphlet's reflecting on some Tories who l the treaty of commerce, "the ministry will see Dunkirk lly demolished."

Steele says something in commendation of the queen; but hort, and tells you (if I take his meaning right) "that he ave what he has to say on this topic till he and her majesty h dead," p. 61. Thus, he defers his praises as he does his after the manner of the Druids, to be paid in another world. ave ill interpreted him, it is his own fault, for studying ca- instead of propriety, and filling up niches with words before adjusted his conceptions to them. One part of the queen's er is this: "that all the hours of her life are divided be- the exercises of devotion, and taking minutes of the sublime of her government." Now, if the business of Dunkirk be one "sublime affairs of her majesty's government," I think we o be at ease; or else she "takes her minutes" to little pur- No, says Mr. Steele, the queen is a lady; and, unless a will now and then get drunk with his ministers, "he cannot heir interests or humors," p. 61; but this being by no means for a lady, she can know nothing but what they think fit to r when they are sober. And therefore "all the fellow-subjects" e ministers must watch their motions, and "be very solicitous at passes beyond the ordinary rules of government."—*Ibid.* hile we are foolishly "relying upon her majesty's virtues," ninisters are "taking the advantage of increasing the power nce."

re is a very good maxim—I think it is neither Whig nor —"that the prince can do no wrong:" which I doubt is often d to very ill purposes. A monarch of Britain is pleased to a dozen peers, and to make a peace; both these actions are stance) within the undisputed prerogative of the crown, and be reputed and submitted to as the actions of the prince; but, ing of England is supposed to be guided in matters of such tance by the advice of those he employs in his councils, when-

ever a parliament thinks fit to complain of such proceedings as a public grievance, then this maxim takes place that the prince can do no wrong, and the advisers are called to account. But shall this empower such an individual as Mr. Steele in his tattling or pamphleteering capacity to fix "the ordinary rules of government," or to affirm that "her ministers, upon the security of her majesty's goodness, are laboring for the grandeur of France?" What ordinary rule of government is transgressed by the queen's delaying the demolition of Dunkirk? or what addition is thereby made to the grandeur of France? Every tailor in your corporation is as much a fellow-subject as Mr. Steele; and do you think in your conscience that every tailor of Stockbridge is fit to direct her majesty and her ministers in "the sublime affairs of her government?"

But he persists in it "that it is no manner of diminution of the wisdom of a prince that he is obliged to act by the information of others." The sense is admirable, and the interpretation is this, that what a man is forced to "is no diminution of his wi om." But if he would conclude from this sage maxim, that, becau a prince "acts by the information of others," therefore those actu may lawfully be traduced in print by every fellow-subject, I hope there is no man in England so much a Whig as to be of his opinion.

Mr. Steele concludes his letter to you with a story about king William and his French dog-keeper, "who gave that prince a gun loaden only with powder, and then pretended to wonder how his majesty could miss his aim: which was no argument against the king's reputation for shooting very finely." This he would have you apply, by allowing her majesty to be a wise prince, but deceived by wicked counsellors who are in the interest of France. Her majesty's aim was peace, which I think she has not missed; and God be thanked, she has got it without any more ex] either of shot or powder. Her dog-keepers for some years past had directed her gun against her friends, and at last loaded it so deep that it was in danger to burst in her hands.

You may please to observe that Mr. Steele calls this dog-keeper a minister; which, with humble submission, is a gross impropriety of speech. The word is derived from the Latin, where it properly signifies a servant; but in England is never made use of otherwise than to denominate those who are employed in the service of church or state; so that the appellation, as he directs it, is no less absurd than it would be for you, Mr. Bailiff, to send your apprentice for a

pot of ale, and give him the title of your envoy; to call a petty constable a magistrate, or the common hangman a minster of justice. I confess when I was choqued [shocked] at this word in reading the paragraph, a gentleman offered his conjecture that it might possibly be intended for a reflection or jest: but if there be anything further in it than a want of understanding our language, I take it to be only a refinement upon the old levelling principle of the Whigs. Thus in their opinion a dog-keeper is as much a min ister as any secretary of state; and thus Mr. Steele and my lord-treasurer are both fellow-subjects. I confess I have known some ministers whose birth, or qualities, or both, were such, that nothing but the capriciousness of fortune and the iniquity of the times could ever have raised them above the station of dog-keepers, and to whose administration I should be loth to intrust a dog I had any value for: because, by the rule of proportion, they who treated their prince like a slave would have used their fellow-subjects like dogs; and yet how they would treat a dog I can find no similitude to express; yet I well remember they maintained a large number, whom they taught to fawn upon themselves and bark at their mistress. However, while they were in service, I wish they had only kept her majesty's dogs, and not been trusted with her guns. And thus much by way of comment upon this worthy story of king William and his dog-keeper.

I have now, Mr. Bailiff, explained to you all the difficult parts in Mr. Steele's letter. As for the importance of Dunkirk, and when it shall be demolished, or whether it shall be demolished or not, neither he, nor you, nor I, have anything to do in the matter. Let us all say what we please, her majesty will think herself the best judge, and her ministers the best advisers: neither has Mr. Steele pretended to prove that any law, ecclesiastical or civil, statute or common, is broken by keeping Dunkirk undemolished so long as the queen shall think it best for the service of herself and her kingdoms; and it is not altogether impossible that there may be some few reasons of state which have not been yet communicated to Mr. Steele.

I am, with respect to the borough and yourself, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, &c.

THE PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS,

SET FORTH IN THEIR GENEROUS ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE AUTH OF THE CRISIS.

WITH

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SEASONABLENESS, CANDOR, ERUDITION, AND STYLE OF THAT TREATISE.

On the first publication of this pamphlet, all the Scotch lords then in London went in a body, and complained to queen Anne of the affront put on them and their nation by the author of this treatise. Whereupon a proclamation was published by her majesty, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering him.

I CANNOT, without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tenderness wherewith the heads and principal members of a struggling faction treat those who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behavior of these patrons is yet the more laudable, because the benefits they confer are almost gratis. If any of their laborers can scratch out a pamphlet, they desire no more; there is no question offered about the wit, the style, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out upon demand in a proper juncture, you shall be well and certainly paid: you shall be paid beforehand; every one of the party who is able to read and can spare a shilling shall be a subscriber; several thousands of each production shall be sent among their friends through the kingdom: the work shall be reported admirable, sublime, unanswerable; shall serve to raise the sinking clamors, and confirm the scandal of introducing popery and the pretender upon the queen and her ministers.

Among the present writers on that side I can recollect but three of any great distinction, which are, the Flying Post, Mr. Dunton, and the author of the Crisis.[1] The first of these seems to have been much sunk in reputation since the sudden retreat of the only true, genuine, original author, Mr. Ridpath, who is celebrated by the Dutch Gazetteer as "one of the best pens in England." Mr. Dun-

[1] Mr. Steele was expelled the house of commons for this pamphlet at the very same time that the house of lords was moved against the dean for the reply.

ton has been longer and more conversant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions; however, having employed his studies in so great a variety of other subjects, he has I think but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract entitled "Neck or Nothing" must be allowed to be the shrewdest piece, and written with the most spirit, of any which has appeared from that side since the change of the ministry: it is indeed a most cutting satire upon the lord-treasurer and lord Bolingbroke; and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to answer it. I confess I was at first of the same opinion with several good judges, who, from the style and manner, suppose it to have issued from the sharp pen of the earl of Nottingham; and I am still apt to think it might receive his lordship's last hand. The third and principal of this triumvirate is the author of the Crisis, who, although he must yield to the Flying Post in knowledge of the world and skill in politics, and to Mr. Dunton in keenness of satire and variety of reading, has yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a superior class to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and disposition of his words, consult the grammatical part, and get some information on the subject he intends to handle.

Omitting the generous countenance and encouragement that have been shown to the persons and productions of the two former authors, I shall here only consider the great favor conferred upon the last. It has been advertised for several months in the Englishman,[1] and other papers, that a pamphlet called the Crisis should be published at a proper time, in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was proposed to be printed by subscription, price a shilling. This was a little out of form, because subscriptions are usually begged only for books of great price, and such as are not likely to have a general sale. Notice was likewise given of what this pamphlet should contain: only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the succession, which at last must sink ninepence in the shilling, and leave but threepence for the author's political reflections; so that nothing very wonderful or decisive could be reasonably expected from this performance. But a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thousand copies were bespoke. Neither could this be sufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was stopped; the friends to the cause sprang a new project; and it was advertised that the Crisis

[1] A paper written by Steele in favor of the Whig administration.

could not appear till the ladies had shown their zeal against the pretender as well as the men; against the pretender, in the blo of his youth, reported to be handsome and endued with an understanding exactly of a size to please the sex. I should be glad to have seen a printed list of the fair subscribers prefixed to this pamphlet, by which the chevalier might know he was so far from pretending to a monarchy here that he could not so much as pretend to a mistress.

At the destined period the first news we hear is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam Buckley's, the publisher of the Crisis, to fetch home their cargoes, in order to transmit them by dozens, scores, and hundreds, into the several counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and understandings of their friends against the approaching sessions. Ask any of them whether they have read it, they will answer no; but they have sent it everywhere, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, they hear, against the ministry; talks of slavery, France, and the pretender; they desire no more; it will settle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, instruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told, by those who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookseller of this twelvepenny treatise will be greater gainers than from one edition of any folio that has been published these twenty years. What needy writer would not solicit to work under such masters, who will pay us beforehand, take off as much of our ware as we please at our own rates, and trouble not themselves to examine, either before or after they have bought it, whether it be staple or not?

But, in order to illustrate the implicit munificence of these noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itself; by which we shall easily find that it was never intended further than from the noise, the bulk, and the title of Crisis, to do any service to the factious cause. The entire piece consists of a title-page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the queen and her servants; which his coadjutors, the earl of Nottingham, Mr. Dunton, and the Flying Post, had long ago set before us in a much clearer light.

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That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for, by the publication of this timely treatise, will be manifest from some obvious reflections upon the several parts of it, wherein the follies, the falsehoods, or the absurdities appear so frequent that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

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the acts of settlement, which he lays before them, and con-

jures them to recommend, in their writings and discourses, to their fellow-subjects: and he does all this out of a just deference to their great power and influence. This is the right Whig scheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction extends no further than over his own province; but the author of the Crisis constitutes himself vicar-general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The bishops, in their letters or speeches to their own clergy, proceed no further than to exhortation; but this writer conjures the whole clergy of the church to recommend his comment upon the laws of the land in their writings and discourses. I would fain know who made him a commentator upon the laws of the land; after which it will be time enough to ask him by what authority he directs the clergy to recommend his comments from the pulpit or the press?

He tells the clergy there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction; the first circumstance is their education; the second circumstance is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam;* for he knows well enough they have not the twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow limits of his literature. He has a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but has lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard except to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sidelong, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or not; and if what he would fain say discovered him to be a well-wisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But when with great difficulty I descry a composition of rancor and falsehood intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation at seeing the character of a Censor, a Guardian, an Englishman, a commentator on the laws, an instructor of the clergy, assumed by a child of obscurity, without one single qualification to support them.

This writer, who either affects or is commanded of late to copy from the Bishop of Sarum, has, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found

out an old way of insinuating the grossest reflections, under the appearance of admonitions; and is so judicious a follower of the prelate that he taxes the clergy for inflaming their people with apprehensions of danger to them and their constitution from men who are innocent of such designs; when we must needs confess the whole design of his pamphlet is, to inflame the people with apprehensions of danger from the present ministry, whom we believe to be at least as innocent men as the last.

What shall I say to the pamphlet where the malice and falsehood of every line would require an answer, and where the dulness and absurdities will not deserve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable respect to the clergy, he would insinuate that those papers among the Tatlers and Spectators where the whole order is abused were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatness of his style and the barrenness of his invention, whether he does not grossly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without leading-strings, or swim without bladders, without being discovered by his hobbling and his sinking? Has he adhered to his character in his paper called the Englishman, whereof he is allowed to be the sole author, without any competition? What does he think of the letter signed by himself which relates to Molesworth,[1] in whose defence he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

It is a wise maxim, that because the clergy are no civil lawyers they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore they ought not to preach temperance because they are no physicians. Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine who knows less of the constitution of England than he: witness those many egregious blunders in his late papers where he pretended to dabble in the subject.

But the clergy have, it seems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, from the pompous ideas of imperial greatness and the submission to absolute emperors. This is gross ignorance, below a schoolboy in his Lucius Florus. The Roman history, wherein lads are instructed, reached little above eight hundred years, and the authors do everywhere instil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the first emperors we learn to have a detestation against tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant

[1] Mr. (afterwards lord viscount) Molesworth.

of who has read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occasion of advancing a position directly contrary; that the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles by reading the histories of Rome and Greece; which, having been written under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this assertion there was something specious; but that advanced by the Crisis could only issue from the profoundest ignorance.

But would you know his scheme of education for young gentlemen at the university? It is, that they should spend their time in perusing those acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which, if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its present condition, but every member sent into the world thus instructed since the Revolution would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties.

Here now is a project for getting mere money by the Crisis! to have it read by tutors in the universities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our students had been thus employed for twenty years past, the kingdom had not been in its present condition; but we have too many of such proficients already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate-houses and factious clubs; and who, if they had spent their time in hard study at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have said that the factious part of this kingdom had not been in its present condition, or have suffered themselves to be taught that a few acts of parliament relating to the succession are preferable to all other civil institutions whatsoever. Neither did I ever before hear that an act of parliament relating to one particular point could be called a civil institution.

He spends almost a quarto page in telling the clergy that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wisely reminds them that they have sworn without equivocation or mental reservation, otherwise the clergy might think that as soon as they received the pretender and turned papist they would be free from their oath.

This honest, civil, ingenious gentleman knows in his conscience that there are not ten clergymen in England (except nonjurors) who do not abhor the thoughts of the pretender reigning over us much more than himself. But this is the spittle of the bishop of Sarum, which our author licks up and swallows, and then coughs out again with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain sup-

pose the body of the clergy were to return an answer by one of their members to these worthy counsellors. I conceive it might be in the following terms: —

"My Lord and Gentlemen,—The clergy command me to give you thanks for your advice; and if they knew any crimes from which either of you were as free as they are from those which you so earnestly exhort them to avoid, they would return your favor as near as possible in the same style and manner. However, that your advice may not be wholly lost, particularly that part of it which relates to the pretender, they desire you would apply it to more proper persons. Look among your own leaders; examine which of them engaged in a plot to restore the late king James, and received pardons under his seal; examine which of them have been since tampering with his pretended son, and to gratify their ambition, their avarice, their malice, and revenge, are now willing to restore him, at the expense of the religion and liberty of their country. Retire, good my lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no more of these hypocritical insinuations, lest the queen and ministers, who have been hitherto content with only disappointing the lurking villanies of your faction, may be at last provoked to expose them."

But his respect for the clergy is such that he does not insinuate as if they really had these evil dispositions; he only insinuates that they give too much cause for such insinuations.

I will upon occasion strip some of his insinuations from their generality and solecisms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, because here he endeavors to mould up his rancor and civility together, by which constraint he is obliged to shorten his paragraphs and to place them in such a light that they obscure one another. Supposing therefore that I have scraped off his good manners in order to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy that the favor of the queen and her ministers is but a color of zeal toward them; that the people were deluded by a groundless cry of the church's danger at Sacheverel's trial; that the clergy, as they are men of sense and honor, ought to preach this truth to their several congregations, and let them know that the true design of the present men in power, in that and in all their proceedings since in favor of the church, was to bring in popery, France, and the pretender, and to enslave all Europe, contrary to the laws of our country, the power of the legislature, the faith of nations, and the honor of God.

I cannot see why the clergy, as men of sense and men of honor (for he appeals not to them as men of religion), should not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to gu whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The design of their destruction indeed may have been projected in the dark, but when all was ripe their enemies proceeded to so many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meanest people, who wanted no other motives to rouse them. On the other side, can this author, or the wisest of his faction, assign one single act of the present ministry any way tending toward bringing in the pretender, or to weaken the succession of the house of Hanover? Observe then the reasonableness of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, gentry, and the common people had the utmost apprehensic of danger to the church under the late ministry; yet then it was greatest impiety to inflame the people with any such apprehensions. His danger of a popish successor from any steps of the present ministry is an artificial calumny, raised and spread against the conviction of the inventors, pretended to be believed only by those who abhor the constitution in church and state; an obdurate faction who compass heaven and earth to restore themselves upon the ruin of their country; yet here our author exhorts the clergy to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and disturb the public peace with his strained seditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from Whigs, to concern themselves with politics of any sort, although it be only the glosses and comments of Mr. Steele? The speec of the managers at Sacheverel's trial, particularly those of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker,[1] and some others, seemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of some in holy orders who have made the constitution of their country (in which and the Coptic Mr. Steele is equally skilled) a very little part of their study, and yet made obedience and government the frequent subjects of their discourses. This difficulty is easily solved, for by politics they mean obedience. Mr. Hoadly,[2] who a champion for resistance, was never charged with meddling out of his function: Hugh Peters and his brethren, in the times of usurpation, had full liberty to preach up sedition and rebellion; and so

[1] Created peers by king George I.

[2] Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, successively bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester.

Mr. Steele issues out his licence to the clergy to preach up
langer of a popish pretender, in defiance of the queen and her
nistration.
very whiffler in a laced coat who frequents the chocolate-house,
is able to spell the title of a pamphlet, shall talk of the consti-
n with as much plausibility as this very solemn writer, and
as good a grace blame the clergy for meddling with politics,
h they do not understand. I have known many of these able
icians furnished before they were of age with all the necessary
s of their faction, and by the help of about twenty polysyllables
ble of maintaining an argument that would shine in the Crisis;
author gathered up his little stock from the same schools,
s written from no other fund.

after all it is not clear to me whether this gentleman addresses
elf to the clergy of England in general, or only to those very
(hardly enough, in case of a change, to supply the mortality
hose self-denying prelates he celebrates) who are in his princi-
, and among these, only such as live in and about London,
:h probably will reduce the number to about half-a-dozen at
. I should incline to guess the latter, because he tells them
are surrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who
w with what firmness, self-denial, and charity, the bishops ad-
d to the public cause, and what contumelies those clergymen
: undergone, &c., who adhered to the cause of truth. By those
is, the public cause, and the cause of truth, he understands the
of the Whigs, in opposition to the queen and her servants;
efore by the learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry, he must
erstand the Bank and East India company and those other mer-
its or citizens within the bills of mortality who have been
nuous against the church and crown, and whose spirit of faction
lately got the better of their interest. For let him search all
rest of the kingdom, he will find the surrounded clergy and the
ounding gentry wholly strangers to the merits of those prelates,
adhering to a very different cause of truth, as will soon I hope
nanifest by a fair appeal to the representatives of both.
t was very unnecessary in this writer to bespeak the treatment
ontempt and derision which the clergy are to expect from his
ion, whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable
y is in very little concern after what manner their most mortal
s intend to treat them, whenever it shall please God for our

sins to visit us with so fatal an event, which I hope it will be the united endeavors both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be some support to this hope if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent (which some have ascribed to people of this author's character), where he tells us that noise and wrath will not always pass for zeal. What other instances of zeal has this gentleman or the rest of his party been able to produce? If clamor be noise, it is but opening our ears to know from what side it comes; and if sedition, scurrility, slander, and calumny be the fruit of wrath, read the pamphlets and papers issuing from the zealots of that faction, or visit their clubs and coffeehouses, in order to form a judgment of the tree.

When Mr. Steele tells us we have a religion that wants no support from the enlargement of secular power, but is well supported by the wisdom and piety of its preachers and its own native truth, it would be good to know what religion he professes; for the clergy to whom he speaks will never allow him to be a member of the church of England. They cannot agree that the truth of the gospel, and the piety and wisdom of its preachers, are a sufficient support, in an evil age, against infidelity, faction, and vice, without the assistance of secular power, unless God would please to confer the gift of miracles on those who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little further, and think that upon some occasions they want a little enlargement of assistance from the secular power against atheists, deists, socinians, and other heretics. Every first day in Lent a part of the liturgy is read to the people, in the preface to which the church declares her wishes for the restoring of that discipline she formerly had, and which for some years past has been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, lest it might insinuate jealousies between the clergy and laity, which the author tells us is the policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration they cannot deserve from their virtue. If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the most singular that ever was thought on, and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any sort than Mr. Steele or his faction will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication, I proceed to consider his preface, which, half consisting of quotation, will be so much the sooner got through.

It is a very unfair thing in any writer to employ his ignorance and malice together, because it gives his answer double work; it is

like the sort of sophistry that the logicians call two mediums, which are never allowed in the same syllogism. A writer with a weak head and a corrupt heart is an over-match for any single pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to stir, yet offer- at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with such an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil institutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr. Locke. Give me leave to transcribe his first paragraph: "I never saw an unruly crowd of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power and the nature of civil institutions. One particular man has usually in those cases, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been received into sudden favor and authority; the occasion of their difference has been represented to him, and the matter referred to his decision."

I have known a poet, who never was out of England, introduce a fact by way of simile, which could probably nowhere happen nearer than in the plains of Libya, and begin with "So have I seen." Such a fiction I suppose may be justified by poetical license; yet Virgil is much more modest. This paragraph of Mr. Steele's, which he sets down as an observation of his own, is a serable mangled translation of six verses out of that famous poet, who speaks after this manner: "As when a sedition arises in a great multitude, &c., then if they see a wise great man," &c. Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where seditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made use of a simile which Mr. Steele turns into a fact, after such a manner as if he had seen it a hundred times, and builds upon it a system of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England assemble in a riotous manner (which is not very frequent of late years), the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of sending orators to appease them; but Mr. Steele imagines such a crowd of people as this where there is no government at all; their unruliness quelled, and their passions cooled by a particular man, whose great qualities they had known before. Such an assembly must have risen suddenly from the earth, and the man of authority dropped from the clouds, for without some previous form of government no such crowd did ever yet assemble, or could possibly be acquainted with the merits and

dignity of any particular man among them. But to pursue his scheme: this man of authority, who cools the crowd by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, must of necessity prove either an open or clandestine tyrant. A clandestine tyrant I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in disguise, and whene' he happens either to die naturally, be knocked on the head, or deposed, the people calmly take further measures and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power. All this, our author tells us with extreme propriety, is what seems reasonable to common sense; that is, in other words, it seems reasonable to reason. This is what he calls giving an idea of the original of power and the nature of civil institutions. To which I answer, with gr phlegm, that I defy any man alive to show me in double the number of lines, although writ by the same author, such a complicated ignorance in history, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary properties of thought or of style.

But it seems these profound speculations were only premised to introduce some quotations in favor of resistance. What has resistance to do with the succession of the house of Hanover, that the Whig writers should perpetually affect to tack them together? I can conceive nothing else but that their hatred to the queen and ministry puts them upon thoughts of introducing the successor by another revolution. Are cases of extreme necessity to be introduced as common maxims by which we are always to proceed? Should not these gentlemen sometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of resistance? since the former has been the perpetual dictate of all laws, both divine and civil, and the latter is still in dispute.

I shall meddle with none of the passages he cites to prove the lawfulness of resisting princes, except that from the present lord-chancellor's[1] speech in defence of Mr. Sacheverel; "that there are extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, which are implied, although not expressed, in the general rule" (of obedience). These words, very clear in themselves, Mr. Steele explains into nonsense; which in any other author I should suspect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a person as ever filled or adorned that high station; but I am so well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation than a false comment. To see him treat my lord Harcourt with so much civility looks in-

[1] Sir Simon, first lord Harcourt.

deed a little suspicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his lordship a very great man, and a great living authority; places himself in company with general Stanhope and Mr. Hoadly; and in short takes the most effectual method in his power of ruining his lordship in the opinion of every man who is wise or good. I can only tell my lord Harcourt, for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of resistance and the true revolution principles; and provided he will not allow Mr. Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honor of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow-servants.

We now come to the Crisis; where we meet with two pages, by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing. His panegyric is made up of half-a-dozen shreds, like a schoolboy's theme, beaten general topics, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits a hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths which he endeavors to press upon his reader are such as these: That liberty is a very good thing; that without liberty we cannot be free; that health is good, and strength is good, but liberty is better than either; that no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best; that men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty; even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr. Steele contented himself to deliver these and the like maxims in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he has involved them. "We cannot possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction, except we preserve in ourselves that inestimable blessing which we call liberty. By liberty I desire to be understood to mean the happiness of men's living," &c.——The true "life of man consists in conducting it according to his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations;—man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind."—"Without liberty our health (among other things) may be at the will of a tyrant, employed to our own ruin and that of our fellow-creatures." If there be any of these maxims which are not grossly defective in

truth, in sense, or in grammar, I will allow them to pass for uncontrollable. By the first, omitting the pedantry of the whole expression, there are not above one or two nations in the world where any one man can possess his soul with pleasure and satisfaction. In the second, he desires to be understood to mean; that is, he desires to be meant to mean, or to be understood to understand. In the third, the life of man consists in conducting his life. In the fourth he affirms that men's beings are degraded when their passions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own minds; directly contrary to lessons of all moralists and legislators, who agree unanimously that the passions of men must be under the government of reason and law; neither are the laws of any other use than to correct the irregularity of our affections. By the last, our health is ruinous to ourselves and other men when a tyrant pleases; which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot sufficiently commend our ancestors for transmitting to us the blessing of liberty; yet, having laid out their blood and treasure upon the purchase, I do not see how they acted parsimoniously, because I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our blood and treasure for the service of others. But I am suddenly struck with the thought that I have found his meaning; our ancestors acted parsimoniously because they spent only their own treasure for the good of their posterity; whereas we squander away the treasures of our posterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preservation of their liberty, must be left to themselves for a decision.

I verily believe, although I could not prove it in Westminster-hall before a lord-chief-justice, that by enemies to our present establishment Mr. Steele would desire to be understood to mean my lord-treasurer and the rest of the ministry; by those who are grown supine, in proportion to the danger to which our liberty is every day more exposed, I should guess he means the Tories; and by honest men, who ought to look up with a spirit that becomes honesty, he understands the Whigs: I likewise believe he would take it ill or think me stupid if I did not thus expound him. I say then, that, according to this exposition, the four great officers of state, together with the rest of the cabinet council (except the archbishop of Canterbury [Dr. Tenison]), are "enemies to our establishment, making artful and open attacks upon our constitution, and are now practising indirect arts and mean subtleties to weaken the se-

curity of those acts of parliament for settling the succession in the house of Hanover." The first and most notorious of these criminals is Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, lord-high-treasurer, who is reputed to be chief minister; the second is James Butler, duke of Ormond, who commands the army, and designs to employ it in bringing over the pretender; the third is Henry St. John, lord viscount Bolingbroke, secretary of state, who must be supposed to hold a constant correspondence at the court of *Bar le Duc*, as the late earl of Godolphin did with that at St. Germain: and, to avoid tediousness, Mr. Bromley [the speaker] and the rest are employed in their several districts to the same end. These are the opinions which Mr. Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavoring with all their might to propagate among the people of England concerning the present ministry; with what reservation to the honor, wisdom, or justice of the queen, I cannot determine; who by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance with the general wishes of her people, called them to her service. Such an accusation against persons in so high trust should require, I think, at least one single overt act to make it good. If there be no other choice of persons fit to serve the crown, without danger from the pretender, except among those who are called the Whig party, the Hanover succession is then indeed in a very desperate state; that illustrious family will have almost nine in ten of the kingdom against it, and those principally of the landed interest; which is most to be depended upon in such a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I shall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but suppose he has gotten them fairly transcribed; I only think that whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament may have a very fair action against him for invasion of property; but this is none of my business to inquire into.

After two-and-twenty pages spent in reciting acts of parliament, he desires leave to repeat the history and progress of the Union; upon which I have some few things to observe.

This work, he tells us, was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her majesty's predecessors; although I do not remember it was ever thought on by any except king James I. and the late king William. I have read indeed that some small overtures were made by the former of these princes toward a union between the two

kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the English; and the historian tells us that, how degenerate and corrupt soever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find that any of the succeeding princes before the Revolution ever resumed the design; because it was a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity; for I defy any mortal to name one single advantage that England could ever expect from such a union.

But toward the end of the late king's reign, upon apprehensions of the want of issue from him or the princess Anne, a proposition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; because Scotland had not settled their crown upon the house of Hanover, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their advantage: and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor fierce northern people, at liberty to put themselves under a different king. However, the opposition to this work was so great that it could not be overcome until some time after her present majesty came to the crown; when by the weakness or corruption of a certain minister, since dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themselves; and so the Union became necessary, not for any actual good it could possi do us, but to avoid a probable evil, and at the same time save an obnoxious minister's head; who was so wise as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, because he could not, with so much decency and safety, desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember discoursing, above six years ago, with the most considerable person [lord Somers] of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the Union: he frankly owned to that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the earl of Godolphin, was the only cause of the Union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the author of the Crisis; first, that the Union became necessary for the cause above related; because it prevented this island from being governed by two kings, which England would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots. Secondly, that it would be dangerous to break this union, at least in this juncture, while there is a pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer among some people, who,

having been the great promoters of the Union, and several of them the principal gainers by it, could yet proceed so far as to propose in the house of lords that it should be dissolved; while, at the same time, those peers who had ever opposed it in the beginning were then for preserving it, upon the reason I have just assigned, and which the author of the Crisis has likewise taken notice of.

But when he tells us, "the Englishmen ought, in generosity, to be more particularly careful in preserving this union," he argues like himself. "The late kingdom of Scotland," says he, "had as numerous a nobility as England," &c. They had, indeed, and to that we owe one of the great and necessary evils of the Union, upon the foot it now stands. Their nobility is indeed so numerous that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles; and, what is infinitely worse, they are never likely to be extinct until the last period of all things; because the greatest part of them descend to heirs general. I imagine a person of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing she was as good as her husband, because she brought him as numerous a family of relations and servants as she found in his house. Scotland, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the representatives they send to parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other Scotch peer has all the privileges of an English one, except that of sitting in parliament, and even precedence before all of the same title that shall be created for the time to come. The pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country now among us do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home: and all the money they raise upon the public is hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. I could point out some, with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, although their whole revenues, before that period, would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotchman who had not travelled could form an idea of.

I have only one thing more to say upon occasion of the Union act; which is, that the author of the Crisis may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of high-treason. In a paper of his, called the Englishman, of October 29, there is an advertisement about taking in subscriptions for printing the Crisis, where

the title is published at length with the following clause, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication ["and that no power on earth can bar, alter, or make void, the present settlement of the crown, &c. By Richard Steele."]. In his extract of an act of parliament made since the Union, it appears to be high-treason for any person, by writing or printing, to maintain and affirm that the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, and the government thereof. This act being subsequent to the settlement of the crown confirmed at the Union, it is probable some friend of the author advised him to leave out those treasonable words in the printed title-page, which he had before published in the advertisement; and accordingly we find that in the treatise itself he only offers it to every good subject's consideration whether this article of the settlement of the crown is not as firm as the Union itself, and as the settlement of episcopacy in England, &c. And he thinks the Scots understood it so, that the succession to the crown was never to be controverted.

These I take to be only treasonable insinuations; but the advertisement before mentioned is actually high-treason; for which the author ought to be prosecuted, if that would avail anything under a jurisdiction where cursing the queen is not above the penalty of twenty marks.

Nothing is more notorious than that the Whigs of late years, both in their writings and discourses, have affected upon all occasions to allow the legitimacy of the pretender. This makes me a little wonder to see our author laboring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of those times, and other solid arguments from Fuller's Narrative: but it must be supposed that this gentleman acts by the commands of his superiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to issue out new orders, for reasons best known to themselves. I wish they had been more clear in their direction to him upon that weighty point, whether the settlement of the succession in the house of Hanover be alterable or not. I have observed where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but in the turning of a leaf he has wholly changed his mind. He tells us he wonders there can be found any Briton weak enough to contend against a power in their own nation which is practised in a much greater degree in other states; and how hard it is that

Britain should be debarred the privilege of establishing its own security by relinquishing only those branches of the royal line which threaten it with destruction; while other nations never scruple, upon less occasions, to go to much greater lengths; of which he produces instances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, can Great Britain help to advance men to other thrones, and have no power in limiting its own? How can a senator, capable of doing honor to sir Thomas Hanmer, be guilty of such ridiculous inconsistencies? "The author of the Conduct of the Allies," says he, "has dared to drop insinuations about altering the succession." The author of the Conduct of the Allies writes sense and English; neither of which the author of the Crisis understands. The former thinks "it wrong, in point of policy, to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our succession, because it puts it out of the power of our own legislature to change our succession without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee, whatever necessity may happen in future times." Now, if it be high-treason to affirm by writing that the legislature has no such power, and if Mr. Steele thinks it strange that Britain should be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting such a case, that, in future ages, a necessity might happen of limiting the succession, as well as it has happened already?

When Mr. Steele "reflects upon the many solemn strong barriers (to our succession) of laws and oaths, &c., he thinks all fear vanishes before them." I think so too, provided the epithet *solemn* goes for nothing; because, although I have often heard of a solemn day, a solemn feast, and a solemn coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myself of a solemn barrier. However, be that as it will, his thoughts, it seems, will not let him rest, but before he is aware he asks himself several questions; and, since he cannot resolve them, I will endeavor to give him what satisfaction I am able. The first is, "What are the marks of a lasting security?" To which I answer, that the signs of it in a kingdom or state are, first, good laws; and, secondly, those laws well executed: we are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter. — Secondly, "What are our tempers and our hearts at home?" If by ours he means those of himself and his abettors, they are most damnably wicked; impatient for the death of the queen; ready to gratify their ambition and revenge by all desperate methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, religion, mercy, conscience, or honor. —

Thirdly, "In what hands is power lodged abroad?" To answer the question naturally, Lewis XIV. is king of France, Philip V. (by the counsels and acknowledgments of the Whigs) is king of Spain, and so on. If by power he means money, the duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Christendom together; but, by the peculiar disposition of Providence, it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition has no key; and that is our security.—Fourthly, "Are our unnatural divisions our strength?" I think not; but they are the sign of it, for, being unnatural, they cannot last; and this shows that union, the foundation of all strength, is more agreeable to our nature. Fifthly, "Is it nothing to us which of the princes of Europe has the longest sword?" Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a strong shield into those of his neighbors; or if our sword be as sharp as his is long; or if it be necessary for him to turn his own sword into a ploughshare; or if such a sword happens to be in the hands of an infant, or struggled for by two competitors.—Sixthly, "The powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too?" If the powerful hand he means be that of France, it may reach out as many kings as it pleases, but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I should think even his brother Ridpath might furnish him with better. What crowns or kingdoms has France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former king, in consequence of that infamous treaty of partition, the adviser of which will, I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was disposed of by her majesty to Great Britain; so, in effect, was Sardinia. France, indeed, once reached out a king to Poland, but the people would not receive him. This question of Mr. Steele's was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth.—Seventhly, "Are there no pretensions to our crown that can ever be revived?" There may, for aught I know, be about a dozen; and those in time may possibly beget a hundred; but we must do as well as we can. Captain Bessus, when he had fifty challenges to answer, protested he could not fight above three duels a-day. If the pretender should fail, says the writer, the French king has in his quiver a succession of them; the duchess of Savoy, or her sons, or the dauphin her grandson. Let me suppose the chevalier de St. George to be dead; the duchess of Savoy will then be a pretender, and consequently must leave her husband, because his royal high-

ness (for Mr. Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a king) is in alliance with her British majesty; her sons, when they grow pretenders, must undergo the same fate. But I am at a loss how to dispose of the dauphin, if he happen to be king of France before the pretendership to Britain falls to his share; for I doubt he will never be persuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only because it is too near England.

But "the duke of Savoy did, some years ago, put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife; and he is a prince of great capacity, in strict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a popish successor." Is it the fault of the present, or of any ministry, that this prince put in his claim? Must we give him opium to destroy his capacity? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince who is in peace with her majesty? Must we send to stab or poison all the popish princes who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can these people drive at? what is it they demand? Suppose the present dauphin were now a man, and the king of France, and next popish heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I answer, has not the queen as good a title to the crown of France? and how is she excluded, but by their law against the succession of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge: and is it not in our power to exclude female successors as well as in theirs? If such a pretence shall prove the cause of a war, what human power can prevent it? But our cause must necessarily be good and righteous; for either the kings of England have been unjustly kept out of the possession of France, or the dauphin, although nearest of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he must be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety-nine in a hundred among his subjects against such a popish pretender.

I have been the longer in answering the seventh question, because it led me to consider all he had afterward to say upon the subject of the pretender. Eighthly, and lastly, he asks himself, "Whether Popery and Ambition are become quiet and tame neighbors?" In this I can give him no satisfaction, because I never was in that street where they live; nor do I converse with any of their friends; only I find they are persons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain that Ambition had removed her lodging, and

lives the very next door to Faction, where they keep such a racket that the whole parish is disturbed and every night in an uproar.

This much in answer to those eight uneasy questions put by the author to himself, in order to satisfy every Briton, and give him an occasion of "taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular."

After enumerating the great actions of the confederate armies under the command of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, Mr. Steele observes, in the bitterness of his soul, that the Brit "general, however unaccountable it may be to posterity, was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labor." Ten years' fruits, it seems, were not sufficient, and yet they were the fruitfullest campaigns that ever any general cropped. However, I cannot but hope that posterity will not be left in the dark, but some care taken both of her majesty's glory and the reputation of those she employs. An impartial historian may tell the world (and the next age will easily believe what it continues to feel) that the avarice and ambition of a few factious, insolent subjects had almost destroyed their country by continuing a ruinous war in conjunction with allies for whose sake principally we fought, who refused to bear their just proportion of their charge, and were connived at in their refusal for private ends; that these factious people treated the best and kindest of sovereigns with insolence, cruelty, and ingratitude, of which he will be able to produce several instances; that they encouraged persons and principles alien from our religion and government, in order to strengthen their faction; he will tell the reasons why the general and first minister were seduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always professed. Such an historian will show many reasons which made it necessary to remove the general and his friends, who, knowing the bent of the nation was against them, expected to lose their power when the war was at an end. Particularly the historian will discover the whole intrigue of the duke of Marlborough's endeavoring to procure a commission to be general for life; wherein justice will be done to a person at that time of high station in the law, who (I mention it to his honor) advised the duke, when he was consulted upon it, not to accept of such a commission. By these and many other instances which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to posterity why this great man was dismissed at last, but rather why he was dismissed no sooner.

But this is entering into a wide field. I shall therefore leave posterity to the information of better historians than the author of the Crisis or myself, and go on to inform the present age in some facts which the great orator and politician thinks fit to misrepresent, with the utmost degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He asserts that in the duke of Ormond's campaign, "after a suspension of arms between Great Britain and France, proclaimed at the head of the armies, the British troops, in the midst of the enemy's garrisons, withdrew themselves from their confederates." The fact is directly otherwise; for the British troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the duke of Ormond and the earl of Strafford to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action until he had further orders, because an account of the king of Spain's renunciation was every day expected; this the Imperialists and the Dutch knew well enough, and therefore proposed to the duke, in that very juncture, to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the queen's measures toward a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, although at the cost of many thousand lives and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

Neither after all was it a new thing, either in the British general or the Dutch deputies, to refuse fighting when they did not approve of it. When the duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his grace's refusal that he presently became a partisan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamor then raised here against the duke upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Douay, after the confederation had deserted the duke of Ormond, prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said they should never have another so good an opportunity; but Monsieur ——, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far that the prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the duke of Ormond to refuse fighting by express command of the queen, and in order to get possession of Dunkirk, than for the duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal without any such orders or any such advantage? or shall a Dutch deputy assume more power than the queen of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

The emperor and the empire (says Mr. Steele by way of admiration) continue the war! Is his imperial majesty able to continue it or not? If he be, then Great Britain has been strangely used for ten years past; then how came it to pass that of about ten thousand men in his service in Italy at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thousand paid by himself? If he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reasons are clear; because the war only affects the princes of the empire, whom he is willing enough to expose, but not his own dominions. Besides, his imperial ministers are in daily expectation of the queen's death, which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the ministers of that court publicly assign it for a reason of their obstinacy against peace that they hope for a sudden revolution in England. In the mean time, this appearance of the emperor's being forsaken by his ally will serve to increase the clamor, both here and in Holland, against her majesty and those she employs.

Mr. Steele says there can be no crime in affirming (if it be truth) that the house of Bourbon is at this juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for a universal monarchy, and to engross the whole trade of Europe, than it did before the war.

No crime in affirming it if it be truth. I will for once allow the proposition. But if it be false, then I affirm that whoever advances so seditious a falsehood deserves to be hanged. Does he mean, by the house of Bourbon, the two kings of France and Spain? If so, I reject his meaning, which would insinuate that the interests and designs of both those princes will be the same; whereas they are more opposite than those of any two other monarchs in Christendom. This is the whole foolish slander so frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. These factious undertakers of the press write with great advantage; they strenuously affirm a thousand falsehoods, without fear, wit, conscience, or knowledge; and we who answer them must be at the expense of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet, we see the same assertions produced again, without the least notice of what has been said to disprove them. By the house of Bourbon does he mean only the French king for the time being? If so, and his assertion be true, then that prince must deal with the devil, or else the money and blood spent in our ten years' victories against him might as well have continued in the purses and veins of her majesty's subjects.

But the particular assertions of this author are easier detected than his general ones; I shall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For instance: I desire him to ask the Dutch, who can best inform him, why they delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialists? for as to the queen, her majesty was never once consulted in it, whatever his preceptors, the politicians of Button's coffeehouse, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. Steele affirms that the French have begun the demolition of Dunkirk contemptuously and arbitrarily their own way. The governor of the town, and those gentlemen intrusted with the inspection of this work, do assure me that the fact is altogether otherwise; that the method prescribed by those whom her majesty employs has been exactly followed, and that the works are already demolished. I will venture to tell him further that the demolition was so long deferred in order to remove those difficulties which the barrier treaty has put us under; and the event has shown that it was prudent to proceed no faster until those difficulties were got over. The mole and harbor could not be destroyed until the ships were got out; which, by reason of some profound secrets of state, did not happen until the other day. Who gave him those just suspicions, that the mole and harbor will never be destroyed? What is it he would now insinuate? that the ministry is bribed to leave the most important part of the work undone; or that the pretender is to invade us from thence; or that the queen has entered into a conspiracy with her servants to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end but to lose the affections of her people, and endanger herself?

Instead of any further information, which I could easily give, but which no honest man can want, I venture to affirm that the mole and harbor of Dunkirk will in a short time be most effectually destroyed; and at the same time I venture to prophesy that neither Mr. Steele nor his faction will ever confess they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard that the queen cannot be allowed to demolish this town in whatever manner she pleases to fancy. Mr. Steele must have it done in his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it in theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do seriously think the most christian king to be a much better friend of her majesty's than Mr. Steele or any of his faction. Besides, it is to be considered that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counsellor,

and my advice to be asked which of those two gentlemen born should have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I will give it for the former; because I look upon Mr. Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more skilful in demolishing at home than abroad.

There is a prospect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the emperor overrunning Italy than from France overrunning the empire. That his imperial majesty entertains such thoughts is visible to the world; and although little can be said to justify many actions of the French king, yet the worst of them have never equalled the emperor's arbitrary keeping the possession of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the express words of the golden bull, which oblige him to deliver up every fief that falls, or else they must all, in the course of time, lapse into his own hands.

I was at a loss who it was that Mr. Steele hinted at some time ago by "the powerful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us." I now plainly find he meant no other hand but his own. He has dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he has given leave to invade the empire next spring, with two hundred thousand men; and now at last he deals to France the imperial dignity; and so farewell liberty; Europe will be French. But in order to bring all this about, the capital of Austria, the residence of his imperial majesty, must continue to be visited by the plague, of which the emperor must die, and so the thing is done.

Why should not I venture to deal out one sceptre in my turn as well as Mr. Steele? I therefore deal out the empire to the elector of Saxony, upon failure of issue to this emperor at his death, provided the Whigs will prevail on the son to turn papist to get an empire, as they did upon the father to get a kingdom. Or, if this prince be not approved of, I deal it out in his stead to the elector of Bavaria; and in one or the other of these I dare engage to have all Christendom to second me, whatever the spleen, in the shape of politics, may dictate to the author of the Crisis.

The design of Mr. Steele in representing the circumstances of the affairs of Europe is to signify to the world that all Europe is put in the high road to slavery by the corruption of her majesty's present ministers; and so he goes on to Portugal, which, having during the war supplied us with gold in exchange for our woollen manufacture, has only at present a suspension of arms for its pro-

tection, to last no longer than till the Catalonians are reduced, and then the old pretensions of Spain to Portugal will be revived; and Portugal, when once enslaved by Spain, falls naturally, with the rest of Europe, into the gulf of France. In the mean time, let us see what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal has yet no more than a suspension of arms, they may thank themselves, because they came so late into the treaty; and that they came so late they may thank the Whigs, whose false representations they were so weak as to believe. However, the queen has voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them against Spain until the peace shall be made; and such terms after the peace are stipulated for them as the Portuguese themselves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the question, "Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?" That can I; for he has told so many melancholy stories without one syllable of truth, that he has blunted the edge of my fears, and I shall not be startled at the worst he can say. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians is included in the following particulars: First, that they were drawn into the war by the encouragement of the maritime powers; by which are understood England and Holland: but he is too great a friend of the Dutch to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, that they are now abandoned, and exposed to the resentment of an enraged prince. Thirdly, that they always opposed the person and interest of that prince, who is their present king. Lastly, that the doom is dreadful of those who shall in the sight of God be esteemed their destroyers. And if we interpret the insinuation he makes according to his own mind, the destruction of those people must be imputed to the present ministry.

I am sometimes in charity disposed to hope that this writer is not always sensible of the flagrant falsehoods he utters, but is either biassed by an inclination to believe the worst, or a want of judgment to choose his informers. That the Catalonians were drawn into the war by the encouragement of her majesty should not in decency have been affirmed until about fifty years hence, when it might be supposed there would be no living witness left to disprove it. It was only upon the assurances of a revolt given by the prince of Hesse and others, and their invitation, that the queen was prevailed with to send her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was taken by a most unexpected accident of a bomb lighting on the

magazine, then indeed the Catalonians revolted, having before submitted and sworn allegiance to Philip as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the queen, in order to ease the emperor and save his troops, stipulated with king Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that his imperial majesty should have liberty to evacuate Catalonia, upon condition of absolute indemnity of the Catalans, with an entire restitution to their honors, dignities, and estates. As this neutrality was never observed by the emperor, so he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for although he sent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now spirit up and assist those obstinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true, indeed, that king Philip did not absolutely restore the Catalans to all their old privileges, of which they never made other use than as an encouragement to rebel; but admitted them to the same privileges with his subjects of Castile, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the West Indies, which they never enjoyed before. Besides, the queen reserved to herself the power of procuring further immunities for them, wherein the most Christian king was obliged to second her; for his catholic majesty intended no more than to retrench those privileges under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favor of France. How dreadful then must be the doom of those who hindered these people from submitting to the gentle terms offered them by their prince! and who, although they be conscious of their own inability to furnish one single ship for the support of the Catalans, are at this instant spurring them on to their ruin by promises of aid and protection!

Thus much in answer to Mr. Steele's account of the affairs of Europe, from which he deduces the universal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many popish successors to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. "We must observe," says he, "that the person who seems to be the most favored by the French king in the late treaties is the duke of Savoy." Extremely right: for whatever that prince got by the peace he owes entirely to her majesty, as a just reward for his having been so firm and useful an ally; neither was France brought with more difficulty to yield any one point than that of allowing the duke such a barrier as the queen insisted on.

"He is become the most powerful prince in Italy." I had ra-

e him so than the emperor. "He is supposed to have entered secret and strict alliance with the house of Bourbon." This of those facts wherein I am most inclined to believe the , because it is what he must needs be utterly ignorant of, and ore may possibly be true.

ought, indeed, we should be safe from all popish successors as Italy, because of the prodigious clutter about sending the der thither. But they will never agree where to fix their ide. The duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing ly: he adds to our fears for being too far off, and the cheva- t. George for being too near. So whether France conquer y or be in peace and good understanding with it, either event it us and Holland at the mercy of France, which has a quiver pretenders at its back, whenever the chevalier shall die.

s was just the logic of poor Prince Butler, a splenetic mad- hom everybody may remember about the town. Prince Pam- in Italy employed emissaries to torment Prince Butler here. hat if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then he had left in his at his heirs and executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

annot think it a misfortune what Mr. Steele affirms, "That nable books lately dispersed among us, striking apparently at lanover succession, have passed almost without observation he generality of the people;" because it seems a certain sign he generality of the people are well disposed to that illustrious ; but I look upon it as a great evil to see seditious books dis- l among us, apparently striking at the queen and her adminis- , at the constitution in church and state, and at all religion; assing without observation from the generality of those in : but whether this remissness may be imputed to Whitehall stminster-hall, is other men's business to inquire. Mr. Steele s in his conscience that the queries concerning the pretender l from one of his own party And as for the poor nonjuring man who was trusted with committing to the press a late book e subject of hereditary right, by a strain of a *summum jus*, he r, as I am told, with half a score children, starving and rotting g thieves and pickpockets in the common room of a stinking I have never seen either the book or the publisher; how- I would fain ask one single person [Parker, afterward lord- ellor] in the world a question,—why he has so often drank the .—10

abdicated king's health upon his knees?—But the transition is natural and frequent, and I shall not trouble him for an answer.

It is the hardest case in the world that Mr. Steele should take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world as additional fears of a popish successor. I can assure him that no good subject of the queen's is under the least concern whether the pretender be converted or not, further than their wishes that all men would embrace the true religion. But reporting backward and forward upon this point helps to keep up the noise, and is a topic for Mr. Steele to enlarge himself upon, by showing how little we can depend upon such conversions, by collecting a list of popish cruelties, and repeating, after himself and the bishop of Sarum, the dismal effects likely to follow upon the return of that superstition among us.

But as this writer is reported by those who know him to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather in our uncertain climate, I am apt to believe the two last pages of his Crisis were written on a sunshiny day. This I guess from the general tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary assertion, which if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domestic fears of a popish successor. "As divided a people as we are, those who stand for the house of Hanover are infinitely superior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts, military and civil, to those in the contrary interest; beside which, we have the laws, I say, the laws on our side. The laws, I say, the laws." This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place; for the stress might better have been laid upon so great a majority of the nation; without which I doubt the laws would be of little weight, although they be very good additional securities. And if what he here asserts be true, as it certainly is, although he assert it (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be against the pretender), there can be no danger of a popish successor, except from the unreasonable jealousies of the best among that party, and from the malice, the avarice, or ambition of the worst; without which, Britain would be able to defend her succession against all her enemies both at home and abroad. Most of the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates as the consequences of this very bad peace made by the queen and approved by parliament, must have subsisted under any peace at all; unless, among other projects equally feasible, we could have stipulated to cut the throats of every popish relation to the royal family.

Well, by this author's own confession, a number infinitely superior, and the best circumstantiated imaginable, are for the succession in the house of Hanover. This succession is established, confirmed, and secured by several laws; her majesty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her subjects, engage both her and them to preserve what those laws have settled. This is a security indeed, a security adequate at least to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the Whig scheme, as delivered to us by Mr. Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether insufficient; and the succession will be defeated, the pretender brought in, and popery established among us, without the further assistance of this writer and his faction.

And what securities have our adversaries substituted in the place of these? A club of politicians where Jenny Man presides; a Crisis written by Mr. Steele; a confederacy of knavish stock-jobbers to ruin credit; a report of the queen's death; an effigy of the pretender run twice through the body by a valiant peer; a speech by the author of the Crisis; and, to sum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her majesty and those she employs.

I have now finished the most disgustful task that ever I undertook. I could with more ease have written three dull pamphlets than remarked upon the falsehoods and absurdities of one. But I was quite confounded last Wednesday when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the same author, and entitled "The Englishman, being the Close of the Paper so called," &c. He desired I would read it over, and consider it in a paper by itself; which last I absolutely refused. Upon perusal, I found it chiefly an invective against Toby, the ministry, the Examiner, the clergy, the queen, and the Postboy.; yet, at the same time, with great justice exclaiming against those who presumed to offer the least word against the heads of that faction whom her majesty discarded. The author likewise proposes an equal division of favor and employments between the Whigs and Tories; for if the former "can have no part or portion in David, they desire no longer to be his subjects." He insists that her majesty has exactly followed Monsieur Tugghe's memorial against the demolishing of Dunkirk. He reflects with great satisfaction on the good already done to his country by the Crisis. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*, &c. He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, and consult his own quiet and happiness; and concludes with a letter to a friend at court. I suppose, by the style of "old friend," and the like, it

must be somebody there of his own level; among whom his party have indeed more friends than I could wish. In this letter he asserts that the present ministers were not educated in the Church of England, but are now converts from presbytery. Upon which I can only reflect how blind the malice of that man must be who invents a groundless lie in order to defame his superiors, which would be no disgrace if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands for the satisfaction of himself and other malecontents. First, the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk. Secondly, that Great Britain and France would heartily join against the exorbitant power of the duke of Lorraine, and force the pretender from his asylum at Bar le Duc. Lastly, "that his electoral highness of Hanover would be so grateful to signify to all the world the perfect good understanding he has with the court of England, in as plain terms as her majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house on her part."

As to the first of these demands, I will venture to undertake it shall be granted; but then Mr. Steele and his brother malecontents must promise to believe the thing is done, after those employed have made their report, or else bring vouchers to disprove it. Upon the second; I cannot tell whether her majesty will engage in a war against the duke of Lorraine, to force him to remove the pretender; but I believe, if the parliament should think it necessary to addr upon such an occasion, the queen would move that prince to send him away. His last demand, offered under the title of a wish, of so insolent and seditious a strain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly charges her majesty with delivering a falsehood t her parliament from the throne; and declares he will not believe her, until the elector of Hanover himself shall vouch for the truth of what she has so solemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer that it is an idle thing in his antagonists to trouble themselves upon the articles of his birth, education, or fortune; for whoever writes at this rate of his sovereign, to whom he owes so many personal obligations, I should never inquire whether he be a *gentleman born*, but whether he be a human creature.

THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES,

AND OF THE LATE MINISTRY, IN BEGINNING AND CARRYING ON THE WAR.

Partem tibi Gallia nostri
Eripuit: Partem duris Hispania bellis:
Pars jacet Hesperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.

Odimus accipitrem quia semper vivit in armis
Victrix Provincia plorat.

"The Conduct of the Allies," "Remarks on the Barrier Treaty," the "Examiner," and the "Public Spirit of the Whigs," all conspire to lay open the secret springs of affairs, not only in England, but throughout Europe. The first of them particularly will be the basis for all who write the history of those times to build upon; as it detects the artifices of the ministry, which the nation was at that time diverted from attending to by a course of victories; and exposes the baldness of our general, that ought not to be concealed by his laurels. The author, being admitted to an intimacy with the new prime minister, received, no doubt, assistance from so able a friend; and he tells us he detained the publication of three several editions of this piece, that he might have all the advantage he could from his enemies. This tract (which was written preparatory to the peace which the ministers were then concluding) and the Remarks on the Barrier Treaty contain the principal facts which the author of John Bull has thrown into allegory; and greatly illustrate that piece, of which indeed it is possible they were the groundwork.

The purpose of this pamphlet was to persuade the nation to a peace; and never had any writer more success. The people, who had been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, and looked with idolatry on the general and his friends, who, as they thought, had made England the arbitress of nations, were confounded between shame and rage when they found that "mines had been exhausted, and millions destroyed," to secure the Dutch, or aggrandize the emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that we had been bribing our neighbors to fight their own quarrel; and that amongst our enemies we might number our allies. That is now no longer doubted, of which the nation was then first informed, that the war was unnecessarily protracted to fill the pockets of Marlborough; and that it would have been continued without end, if he could have continued his annual plunder. But Swift, I suppose, did not yet know what he has since written, that a commission was drawn which would have appointed him general for life, had it not become ineffectual by the resolution of lord Cowper, who refused the seal. — JOHNSON.

PREFACE.

I CANNOT sufficiently admire the industry of a sort of n wholly out of favor with the prince and people, and openly pro fessing a separate interest from the bulk of the landed men, whc yet are able to raise at this juncture so great a clamor against a peace, without offering one single reason but what we find in thei ballads. I lay it down for a maxim that no reasonable man, whether Whig or Tory (since it is necessary to use those foolish terms), can be of opinion for continuing the war upon the footing it now unless he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occasion some new turn of affairs at home, to the advantage of his party; or, lastly, unless he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two first cases, where interest is concerned, I have nothing to say; but as to the last, I think it highly necessary that the public should be freely and impartially told what circumstances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by those whom they trusted so many years with the disposal of their blood and treasure, and what the consequences of this management are likely to be upon themselves and their posterity.

Those who, either by writing or discourse, have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late ministry in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenberg, have spent time in celebrating the conduct and valor of our leaders and their troops, in summing up the victories they have gained and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high articles were insisted on by our ministers and those of the confederates, and what pains both were at in persuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the least satisfaction to the just complaints of the kingdom. As to the war, our grievances are, that a greater load has been laid on us than was either just or necessary, or than we have been able to bear; that the grossest impositions have been submitted to, for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous designs of a faction, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been most beneficial to us and destructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a mock treaty; in which those who negotiated took care to make such demands as they knew were

...e to be complied with, and therefore might securely press ...very ...icle as if they were in earnest.

... are some of the points I design to treat of in the following ...; with several others, which I thought it necessary at this ... for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not mistaken in those facts I mention; at least not in any circumstance so material ... weaken the consequences I draw from them.

After ten years' war with perpetual success, to tell us it is yet impossible to have a good peace is very surprising, and seems so different from what has ever happened in the world before, that a ... of any party may be allowed suspecting that we have been ... ill-used, or have not made the most of our victories, and ... therefore desire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is ... to inquire into our present condition; how long we shall be ... to go on at this rate; what the consequences may be upon the ... and future ages; and whether a peace, without that im... ...ible point which some people do so much insist on, be really ... in itself, or equally so with the continuance of the war.

THE CONDUCT, &c.

THE motives that may engage a wise prince or state in a war I take to be one or more of these: either to check the overgrown power of some ambitious neighbor; to recover what has been unjustly taken from them; to revenge some injury they have received, which all political casuists allow; to assist some ally in a just quarrel; or, lastly, to defend themselves when they are invaded. In all these cases the writers upon politics admit a war to be justly undertaken. The last is, what has been usually called *pro aris et focis;* where no expense or endeavor can be too great, because all we have is at stake, and consequently our utmost force to be exerted; and the dispute is soon determined, either in safety or utter destruction. But in the other four I believe it will be found that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree: never proceeding so far as to exhaust the strength and substance of their country by anticipations and loans, which in a few years must put them in a worse condition than any they could reasonably apprehend from those evils for the preventing of which they first entered into the war; because this would be to run into

real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perl but appear so by a probable speculation.

And as a war should be undertaken upon a just and pru motive, so it is still more obvious that a prince ought naturally consider the condition he is in when he enters on it; whether coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numero rich, by a long peace and free trade, not overpressed with burdensome taxes; no violent faction ready to dispute his ju rogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home and lessen reputation abroad. For if the contrary of all this happen to be case he will hardly be persuaded to disturb the world's quiet his own, while there is any other way left of preserving the lat with honor and safety.

Supposing the war to have commenced upon a just motive, next thing to be considered is, when a prince ought in prudence receive the overtures of a peace; which I take to be, either wh the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for, when that point is found impossible to be ever obtained; or wl contending any longer, although with probability of gaining t point at last, would put such a prince and his people in a wor condition than the present loss of it. All which considerations of much greater force where a war is managed by an alliance o many confederates, which, in a variety of interests among tl several parties, is liable to so many unforeseen accidents.

In a confederate war it ought to be considered which party l the deepest share in the quarrel: for, although each may have th particular reasons, yet one or two among them will probably more concerned than the rest, and therefore ought to bear tl greatest part of the burden, in proportion to their strength. Fo example: two princes may be competitors for a kingdom; and will be your interest to take the part of him who will probabl allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other wh may possibly not. However, that prince whose cause you espou although never so vigorously, is the principal in that war, and you properly speaking, are but a second. Or a commonwealth may li in danger to be overrun by a powerful neighbor, which in time may produce very bad consequences upon your trade and liberty it is therefore necessary, as well as prudent, to lend them assistances, and help them to win a strong secure frontier; but, as they must, in course, be the first and greatest sufferers, so, in justice, they

t to bear the greatest weight. If a house be on fire, it behoves
a the neighborhood to run with buckets to quench it, but the
· is sure to be undone first; and it is not impossible that those
ıext door may escape by a shower from Heaven, or the stillness
the weather, or some other favorable accident.

if any ally, who is not so immediately concerned in the good
li fortune of the war, be so generous as to contribute more than
ncipal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he
t at least to have his share in what is conquered from the
ıy; or, if his romantic disposition transport him so far as to
ı et little or nothing from this, he might however hope that the
ipals would make it up in dignity and respect; and he would
ly think it monstrous to find them intermeddling in his domes-
ic affairs, prescribing what servants he should keep or dismiss,
ıg him perpetually with the most unreasonable demands, and
very turn threatening to break the alliance if he will not comply.

From these reflections upon war in general I descend to consider
wars wherein England has been engaged since the Conquest.
he civil wars of the barons, as well as those between the houses
f York and Lancaster, great destruction was made of the nobility
nd gentry; new families raised, and old ones extinguished; but
money spent on both sides was employed and circulated at
ome; no public debts contracted, and a very few years of peace
uickly set all right again.

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion against
ing Charles I. The usurpers maintained great armies in constant
ay, had almost continual war with Spain or Holland; but manag-
ing it by their fleets, they increased very much the riches of the
kingdom, instead of exhausting them.

Our foreign wars were generally against Scotland or France; the
first being in this island, carried no money out of the kingdom,
and were seldom of long continuance. During our first wars with
France we possessed great dominions in that country, where we
preserved some footing till the reign of queen Mary; and although
some of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither,
a subsidy and two or three fifteenths cleared all the debt. Besides,
our victories were then of some use as well as glory; for we were
so prudent as to fight, and so happy as to conquer, only for ourselves.

The Dutch wars in the reign of king Charles II., although begun
and carried on under a very corrupt administration, and much to

the dishonor of the crown, did indeed keep the king needy and poo by discontinuing or discontenting his parliament when he n needed their assistance; but neither left any debt upon the na nor carried any money out of it.

At the Revolution a general war broke out in Europe, wl many princes joined in alliance against France, to check the bitious designs of that monarch; and here the emperor, the Dutc and England, were principals. About this time the began among us of borrowing millions upon funds of inter was pretended that the war could not possibly last above one or t campaigns; and that the debts contracted might be easily paid in few years by a gentle tax, without burdening the subject. But t true reason for embracing this expedient was the security of a n prince, not firmly settled on the throne. People were tempted lend by great premiums and large interest; and it concerned th nearly to preserve that government which they had trusted wi their money. The person[1] said to have been author of so det able a project lived to see some of its fatal consequences, where his grandchildren will not see an end. And this pernicious c sel closed very well with the posture of affairs at that time: for set of upstarts, who had little or no part in the Revolution, b valued themselves upon their noise and pretended zeal when t work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of b coming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds; these, fin ing that the gentlemen of estates were not willing to come into the measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in or to create a moneyed interest, that might in time vie with the land and of which they hoped to be at the head.

The ground of the first war for ten years after the Revolution, to the part we had in it, was to make France acknowledge the king, and to recover Hudson's Bay. But during that whole the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of six millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch; for the king was a general, but not an admiral, and, although king of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years' fighting to little purpose, after the loss of abov a hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the empire and Holland, but none at all t

[1] Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Sarum.

and clogged soon after with the famous treaty of partition, by which Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain were to be added to the French dominions; or, if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty, upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would to the several parties at the very time of the transacting it, then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event; for the late king of Spain, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes during his own life, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger son of France; and this prince was acknowledged for king of Spain both by us and Holland.

It must be granted that the counsels of entering into this war were violently opposed by the church party, who first advised the late king to acknowledge the duke of Anjou; and particularly it is d that a certain great person [earl of Godolphin], who was n in the church interest, told the king, in November, 1701, that e his majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his private opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; although he happened afterwards to change his mind when he was to be at the head of the treasury and have the sole management of affairs at home, while those abroad were to be in the hands of one [duke of Marlborough] whose advantage, by all sorts of ties, he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States they say, very truly, that they are nearest and most exposed to the fire; that they are blocked up on all sides, and actually attacked by the kings of France and Spain; that their declaration is the effect of an urging and pressing necessity; with other expressions to the same purpose. They desire the assistance of all kings and princes, &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other prince or state; such as the French refusing to grant the tariff promised by the treaty of Ryswick; the loading of the Dutch inhabitants settled in France with excessive duties, contrary to the said treaty; the violation of the partition treaty by the French accepting the king of Spain's will, and threatening the States if they would not comply; the seizing of the Spanish Netherlands by the French troops, and turning out the Dutch, who, by permission of the late king of Spain, were in garrison there; by

which means that republic was deprived of her barrier, contrary the treaty of partition, where it was particularly stipulated that Spanish Netherlands should be left to the archduke. They alle that the French king governed Flanders as his own, although un the name of his grandson, and sent great numbers of troops thit to fright them; that he had seized the city and citadel of Lieg had possessed himself of several places in the archbishopric Cologne, and maintained troops in the country of Wolfenbuttle, order to block up the Dutch on all sides; and caused his reside to give in a memorial, wherein he threatened the States to against them if they refused complying with the contents of t memorial.

The queen's declaration of war is grounded upon the grand al ance, as this was upon the unjust usurpations and encroachments the French king; whereof the instances produced are, his keepi in possession a great part of the Spanish dominions, seizing Mil and the Spanish Low Countries, making himself master of Cad &c.; and instead of giving satisfaction in these points, his puttii an indignity and affront on her majesty and kingdoms, by declari the pretended prince of Wales king of England, &c. Which l was the only personal quarrel we had in the war; and even this positively denied by France, that king being willing to acknowled her majesty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations that Engla ought no more to have been a principal in this war than Prussia any other power who came afterward into that alliance. Holla was first in danger, the French troops being at that time just at t gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declarati to all, except the last, as much, or more, concern almost every prin in Europe.

For among the several parties who came first or last into this c federacy there were few but who, in proportion, had more to get to lose, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill success of this wa than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themselves from i mediate ruin; and by a successful war they proposed to have a extent of country and a better frontier against France. The empe hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or some part of it, for younger son, chiefly at the expense of us and Holland. The ki of Portugal had received intelligence that Philip designed to ren the old pretensions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is surround

by the other on all sides, except toward the sea, and could therefore only be defended by maritime powers. This, with the advantageous terms offered by king Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that prince to enter into the alliance. The duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: the main charge of the war on that side was to be supplied by England, and the profit to redound to him. In case Milan should be conquered, it was stipulated that his highness should have the duchy of Montserrat, belonging to the duke of Mantua, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, and Lomellino, with other lands between the Po and the Tanaro, together with the Vigevenasco, or in lieu of it an equivalent out of the province of Novara, adjoining to his own state; beside whatever else could be en from France on that side by the confederate forces. Then he was in terrible apprehension of being surrounded by France, who had so many troops in the Milanese, and might have easily swal-ed up his whole duchy.

The rest of the allies came in purely for subsidies, whereof they sunk considerable sums into their own coffers, and refused to send their contingent to the emperor, alleging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

Some time after, the duke of Anjou succeeding to the monarchy of Spain in breach of the partition treaty, the question here in England was, whether the peace should be continued, or a new war begun? Those who were for the former alleged the debts and difficulties we labored under; that both we and the Dutch had already acknowledged Philip for king of Spain; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the house of Austria, and their aversion for that of Bourbon, were not so surely to be reckoned upon as some would pretend; that we thought it a piece of insolence as well as injustice in the French to offer putting a king upon us, and the Spaniards would conceive we had as little reason to force one upon them; that it was true, the nature and genius of those two people differed very much, and so would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood as one of Austrian; but that if we would engage in a war for dethroning the duke of Anjou we should certainly effect what, by the progress and operations of it, we endeavored to prevent, I mean a union of interest and affections between the two nations; for the Spaniards must, of necessity, call in French troops to their assistance; this would introduce French counsellors into king Philip's court, and this by degrees would

habituate and reconcile the two nations; that to assist king Char by English and Dutch forces would render him odious to his n subjects, who have nothing in so great abomination as those wh they hold for heretics; that the French would by this means l come masters of the treasures in the Spanish West Indies; that the last war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria were in our allian and by a modest computation brought sixty thousand men into t field against the common enemy; when Flanders, the seat of w was on our side, and his majesty, a prince of great valor and c duct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had reason to boast of our success: how then should we be able oppose France with those powers against us, which would car sixty thousand men from us to the enemy, and so make us l the balance weaker by one hundred and twenty thousand men, the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other side, those whose opinion, or some private motiv inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new w alleged how dangerous it would be for England that Philip sho be king of Spain; that we could have no security for our tr while that kingdom was subject to a prince of the Bourbon fami nor any hopes of preserving the balance of Europe, because t grandfather would in effect be king, while his grandson had l the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of p suing his design for universal monarchy. These and the lik arguments prevailed; and so, without taking time to consider t consequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we hastily engag in a war, which has cost us sixty millions; and after repeated well as unexpected success in arms, has put us and our posterity a worse condition, not only than any of our allies, but even conquered enemies themselves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, wit reference to our allies abroad and to a prevailing faction at home is what I shall now particularly examine; where, I presume, it wil appear by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever so long o so scandalously abused, by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, and the ambition of its domestic enemies; or treated with so much insolence, injustice, and ingratitude, by its foreign friends.

This will be manifest by proving the three following points:—

First, That, against all manner of prudence or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we spent all our vigor in pursuing that part of war which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves.

Lastly, That we suffered each of our allies to break every article of the treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burden upon us.

Upon the first of these points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: just come out of the most tedious, expensive, and unsuccessful war that ever England had been engaged in; sinking under heavy debts of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our ancestors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, although it brought no other advantage but itself; no sudden prospect of lessening our taxes, which were grown as necessary to pay our debts as to raise armies; a sort of artificial wealth of funds and stocks in the hands of those who for ten years before had been plundering the public; many corruptions in every branch of our government that needed reformation. Under these difficulties, from which twenty years' peace and the wisest management could hardly recover us, we declare war against France, fortified by the accession and alliance of those powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former war, had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious what a change must be made in the balance by such weights taken out of our scale and put into theirs; since it was manifest, by ten years' experience, that France, without those additions of strength, was able to maintain itself against us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other side; and in this case nothing under the most extreme necessity should force any state to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for king of Spain; neither does the queen's declaration of war take notice of the duke of Anjou's succession to that monarchy as a subject of quarrel, but the French king's governing it as if it were his own; his seizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spanish Low Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the pretender. In all which we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us excepting the last; and this, although indeed a great affront, might easily have been redressed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknow-

ledge the pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which allowed to Augustus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven out of Poland and forced him to acknowledge Stanislaus.

It is true, indeed, the danger of the Dutch by so ill a neigl hood in Flanders might affect us very much in the consequen it; and the loss of Spain to the house of Austria, if it should governed by French influence and French politics, might in t be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been dent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbor; so we might have done without injuring ourselves; for by an treaty with Holland we were bound to assist that republic with thousand men whenever they were attacked by the French, wl troops, upon the king of Spain's death, taking possession of l ders in right of Philip, and securing the Dutch garrisons till would acknowledge him, the states-general, by memorials from t envoy here, demanded only the ten thousand men we were obl to give them by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt the Dutch would have exerted themselves so vigorously as to able with that assistance alone to defend their frontiers; or if had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor dismembe their monarchy, would never have suffered the French to pc themselves of Flanders. At that time they had none of those dearments to each other which this war has created; and what hatred and jealousy were natural between the two nations w then have appeared. So that there was no sort of necessity fo to proceed further, although we had been in a better condi But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new must be undertaken upon the advice of those who, with their tisans and adherents, were to be sole gainers by it. A grand ance was therefore made between the emperor, England, and states-general; by which, if the injuries complained of from F were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were ob mutually to assist each other with their whole strength.

Thus we became principal in a war in conjunction with two al whose share in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater ours. However, I can see no reason, from the words of the g alliance, by which we were obliged to make those prodigious penses we have since been at. By what I have always heard read, I take the whole strength of the nation, as understood in treaty, to be the utmost that a prince can raise annually from

ects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home broad, it is not properly speaking his own strength, or that of nation, but the entire substance of particular persons, which ot being able to raise out of the annual income of his kingdom, he upon security, and can only pay the interest. And by this od one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly possibility left of being ever redeemed.

ely it would have been enough for us to have suspended the nt of our debts contracted in the former war, and to have inued our land and malt tax, with those others which have since rt ed: these, with some additions, would have made up a m as, with prudent management, might, I suppose, have ained a hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable in all conscience, for that ally who apprehended least danger expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine that either of confederates, when the war began, would have been so unreasonable as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect we should every year go between three and four millions in which hath been our case), because the French could hardly e contrived any offers of a peace so ruinous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at a loss to conceive what kind of spirit could possess their ancestors, who, after ten years' suffering by the unexampled politics of a nation maintaining a war by annually pawning itself, and during a short peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy load of debts they had contracted, universally condemning those pernicious counsels which had occasioned them, racking their invention for some remedies or expedients to mend their shattered condition; I say that these very people, without giving themselves time to breathe, should again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and extensive war, for the same or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent necessity. It is obvious, in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the same expenses, must every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, so does his inability to pay it. By the same proportion we have suffered twice as much by this last ten years' war as we did by the former; and if it were possible to continue it five years longer at the same rate, it would be as great a burden as the whole twenty. This computation being so easy and trivial as it is almost a shame to mention it, posterity will think that those who

first advised the war wanted either the sense or the honesty consider it.

As we have wasted our strength and vital substance in this pro fuse manner, so we have shamefully misapplied it to ends at le very different from those for which we undertook the war, and ofte to effect others, which after a peace we may severely repent. Thi is the second article I proposed to examine.

We have now for ten years together turned the whole force and expense of the war where the enemy was best able to hold us at bay; where we could propose no manner of advantage to ourselves where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conquests; utterly ne glecting that part which would have saved and gained us man millions; which the perpetual maxims of our government teach to pursue; which would have soonest weakened the enemy, a must either have promoted a speedy peace, or enabled us to contin the war.

Those who are fond of continuing the war cry up our co success at a most prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely grea than in all human probability we had reason to hope. Ten glorio campaigns are passed; and now at last, like the sick man, we a just expiring with all sorts of good symptoms. Did the advisers this war suppose it would continue ten years, without expecting t successes we have had; and yet at the same time determine th France must be reduced, and Spain subdued, by employing c whole strength upon Flanders? Did they believe the last war le us in a condition to furnish such vast supplies for so long a period without involving us and our posterity in inextricable debts? I after such miraculous doings we are not yet in a condition of bring ing France to our terms, nor can tell when we shall be so, althou we should proceed without any reverse of fortune, what could look for in the ordinary course of things, but a Flanders war of least twenty years longer? Do they indeed think a town taken fo the Dutch is a sufficient recompense to us for six millions of money which is of so little consequence to determine the war, that th French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a tow every campaign at the same price?

I say not this by any means to detract from the army or leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, passing rivers, and taki towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumstanc but when all this brings no real solid advantage to us, when it

no other end than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and to increase the fame and wealth of our general; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they should be; and that surely our forces and money might be better employed, both toward reducing our enemy, and working out some benefit to ourselves. But the case is still much harder; we are destroying many thousand lives, exhausting our substance, not for our own interest, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be sufficient folly; but perhaps to our own destruction, which is perfect madness. We may live to feel the effects of our own valor more sensibly than all the consequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain sufficient troops to defend itself, and feed many hundred thousand inhabitants; where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their skill, industry, and parsimony, will enable them to undersell us in every market of the world.

. Our supply of forty thousand men, according to the first stipulation, added to the quotas of the emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furnish, would have made an army of near two hundred thousand, exclusive of garrisons: enough to withstand all the power that France could bring against it; and we might have employed the rest much better, both for the common cause and our own advantage.

The war in Spain must be imputed to the credulity of our ministers, who suffered themselves to be persuaded by the imperial court that the Spaniards were so violently affected to the house of Austria, as upon the first appearance there with a few troops under the archduke, the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the emperor to have deceived either us or himself. Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious disadvantage, with great expense; and by a most corrupt management, the only general [earl of Peterborough] who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost miraculous, had nearly put us into possession of the kingdom, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German ministry, and at last called home in discontent. By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a sacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.

In common prudence we should either have pushed that war with the utmost vigor in so fortunate a juncture, especially since the gaining of that kingdom was the great point for which we pretended to continue the war; or at least, when we had found, or made that design impracticable, we should not have gone on in so expensive a management of it, but have kept our troops on the defensive in Catalonia, and pursued some other way more effectual for distressing the common enemy and advantaging ourselves.

And what a noble field of honor and profit had we before us wherein to employ the best of our strength, which, against the maxims of British policy, we suffered to lie wholly neglected! I have sometimes wondered how it came to pass that the style of maritime powers, by which our allies in a sort of contemptuo manner usually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the sea; and while some politicians were showing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others to Savoy or Naples, that the West Indies should never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at we might have maintained our original quota of forty thousand men in Flanders, and at the same time by our fleets and naval forces have so distressed the Spaniards in the north and south seas of America as to prevent any returns of money from thence except in our own bottoms. This is what best became us to do as a maritime power; this with any common degree of success would soon have compelled France to the necessities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the archduke. But while we for ten years have been squandering away our money upon the continent, France has been wisely engrossing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ships to Lima and other ports, and their receiving ingots of gold and silver for French goods of little value; which, beside the mighty advantage to their nation at present, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, so beneficial to us, who used to receive annually such vast sums at Cadiz for our goods sent thence to the Spanish West Indies. All this we tamely saw and suffered without the least attempt to hinder it, except what was performed by some private men at Bristol, who, inflamed by a true spirit of courage and industry, did about three years ago, with a few vessels fitted out at their own charge, make a most successful voyage into those parts; took one of the Acapulco ships, very narrowly missed of the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth, to show what might have been done with the like management by a

public undertaking. At least we might easily have prevented those great returns of money to France and Spain, although we could not have taken it ourselves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now so impoverished, in what condition must they have been if that issue of wealth had been stopped.

But great events often turn upon very small circumstances. It was the kingdom's misfortune that the sea was not the duke of Marlborough's element; otherwise the whole force of the war would infallibly have been bestowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made such an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the house of Austria would have been discontented. This has been the style of late years; which, whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to speak after them. Otherwise it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we are confederates in a war with those who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double share of the burden upon us, we dare not think of any design (although against the common enemy) where there is the least prospect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies, while we are ruining ourselves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confess with shame that this objection is true: for it is very well known that, while the design of Mr. Hill's expedition[1] remained a secret, it was suspected in Holland and Germany to be intended against Peru; whereupon the Dutch made everywhere their public complaints; and the ministers at Vienna talked of it as an insolence in the queen to attempt such an undertaking; the failure of which (partly by the accidents of a storm, and partly by the stubbornness or treachery of some in that colony for whose relief and at whose entreaty it was in some measure designed) is no objection at all to an enterprise so well concerted and with such fair probability of success.

It was something singular that the States should express their uneasiness when they thought we intended to make some attempt in the Spanish West Indies; because it is agreed between us, whatever is conquered there by us or them shall belong to the conque-

[1] This expedition was designed for the reduction of India and Canada, and regaining the Newfoundland fishery, which the French had taken from us; but was unsuccessful.

ror; which is the only article that I can call to mind in all treaties or stipulations with any view of interest to this kingdom; and for that very reason I suppose among others has been altogether neglected. Let those who think this a severe reflection examine the whole management of the present war by sea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, stipulations, and conventions, and consider whether the whole does not look as if some particular care and industry had been used to prevent any benefit or advantage that might possibly accrue to Britain?

This kind of treatment from our principal allies has taught the same dialect to all the rest; so that there is hardly a petty prince whom we half maintain by subsidies and pensions, who is not ready upon every occasion to threaten us that he will recall his troops (although they must rob or starve at home) if we refuse to comply with him in any demand, however unreasonable.

Upon the third head I shall produce some instances to show how tamely we have suffered each of our allies to infringe every article in those treaties and stipulations by which they were bound, and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large subject, I shall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties, which may let us perceive how much those ministers valued or understood the true interest, safety, or honor of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, an offensive and a defensive: the first is to remain in force only during the present war; the second to be perpetual. In the offensive alliance the emperor, England, and Holland are parties with Portugal; in the defensive only we and the States.

Upon the first article of the offensive alliance it is to be observed, that although the grand alliance, as I have already said, allows England and Holland to possess for their own whatever each of them shall conquer in the Spanish West Indies, yet there we are quite cut out by consenting that the archduke shall possess the dominions of Spain in as full a manner as their late king Charles. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favor of Portugal by subsequent stipulations, where we agree that king Charles shall deliver up Estremadura, Vigo, and some other places to the Portuguese as soon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They who are guilty of so much folly and contradiction know best whether it proceeded from corruption or stupidity.

By two other articles (besides the honor of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portuguese ships and coasts) we are to guess the enemy's thoughts, and to take the king of Portugal's word, whenever he has a fancy that he shall be invaded. We are also to furnish him with a strength superior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are his Portuguese majesty is sole judge what strength is superior, and what will be able to prevent an invasion, and may send our fleets whenever he pleases upon his errands to some of the farthest parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coasts till he thinks fit to dismiss them. These fleets must likewise be subject in all things not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in a humor to apprehend an invasion that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defensive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the same care, in almost the same words, is taken for our fleet to attend their coasts and foreign dominions, and to be under the same obedience. We and the States are likewise to furnish them with twelve thousand men at our own charge, which we are constantly to recruit, and these are to be subject to the Portuguese generals.

In the offensive alliance, we took no care of having the assistance of Portugal whenever we should be invaded; but in this it seems we are wiser, for that king is obliged to make war on France or Spain whenever we or Holland are invaded by either; but before this, we are to supply them with the same forces, both by sea and land, as if he were invaded himself. And this must needs be a very prudent and safe course for a maritime power to take upon a sudden invasion, by which, instead of making use of our fleets and armies for our own defence, we must send them abroad for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article we are told what this assistance is which the Portuguese are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furnish ten men-of-war; and when England and Holland shall be invaded by France and Spain together, or by Spain alone, in either of these cases, those ten Portuguese men-of-war are to serve only upon their own coasts, where, no doubt, they will be of mighty use to their allies, and terror to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances is not very material to inquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them, nor I suppose ever intended it, but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine that the king of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenor of them quite through running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships which, at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier treaty between Great Britain and Holland was concluded at the Hague on the 29th of October, in the year 1709. In this treaty neither her majesty nor her kingdoms have any interest or concern further than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles; by the former, the States are to assist the queen in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace till France has acknowledged the queen, and the succession of Hanover, and promised to remove the pretender out of that king's dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States-General that the protestant succession should be preserved in England, because such a popish prince as we apprehend would infallibly join with France in the ruin of that republic. And the Dutch are as much bound to support our succession as they are tied to any part of a treaty, or league offensive and defensive against a common enemy, without any separate benefit upon that consideration. Her majesty is in the full peaceable possession of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people, among whom hardly one in five thousand is in the pretender's interest. And whether the assistance of the Dutch, to preserve a right so well established, be an equivalent to those many unreasonable exorbitant articles in the rest of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impression of our settlement must it give abroad to see our ministers offering such conditions to the Dutch, to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! Neither perhaps is it right, in point of policy or good sense, that a foreign power should be called in to confirm our succession by way of guarantee, but only to acknowledge it, otherwise we put it out of the power of our own legislature to

change our succession without the consent of that prince or state who is guarantee,[1] however our posterity may hereafter, by the tyranny and oppression of any succeeding princes, be reduced to the fatal necessity of breaking in upon the excellent happy settlement now in force.

As to the other articles, it is a natural consequence that must attend any treaty of peace we can make with France, being only the acknowledgment of her majesty as queen of her own dominions, and the right of succession by our own laws, which no foreign power has any pretence to dispute.

However, in order to deserve these mighty advantages from the States, the rest of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the present war, the Spanish Low Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the king of Spain; but by this treaty that prince is to possess nothing in Flanders during the war; and after a peace the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependencies, and four hundred thousand crowns a-year from the king of Spain, to maintain their garrisons. By which means they will have the command of all Flanders from Newport-on-the-Sea to Namur-on-the-Maese, and be entirely masters of the Pais de Waas, the richest part of those provinces. Further, they have liberty to garrison any place they shall think fit in the Spanish Low Countries whenever there is an appearance of war, and consequently to put garrisons into Ostend, or where else they please, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty likewise, the Dutch will in effect be entire masters of all the Low Countries; may impose duties, restrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleasure; and in that fertile country may set up all sorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the disobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees who are scattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture increases abroad the clothing-people of England will be necessitated, for want of employment, to follow, and in few years, by the help of the low interest of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade which we got from them. The landed men of England will then be forced to re-establish the staples of

[1] In the first edition the sentence finished thus—*how much so ever the necessities of the kingdom may require it.* — See the postscript.

wool abroad, and the Dutch, instead of being only the carriers, will become the original possessors of those commodities with which the greatest part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increase their trade it is obvious they will enlarge their strength at sea, and that ours must lessen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be subject to the like duties that the Dutch shall lay upon the Schelde, which is to be closed on the side of the States; thus all other nations are in effect shut out fr trading with Flanders. Yet in the very same article it is said that the States shall be favored in all the Spanish dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people most favored. We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worse condition, as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great support of the king of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed anything at all, and yet they are to be equally favored with us in all his dominions. Of all this the queen is under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee, and that they shall possess their barrier and their four hundred thousand crowns a-year, even before a peace.

It is to be observed that this treaty was only signed by one of our plenipotentiaries [lord Townshend], and I have been told that the other [duke of Marlborough] was heard to say he would rather lose his right hand than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he had then at court, he might have saved much of his country's honor, and got as much to himself; therefore if the report be true I am inclined to think he only said it. I have been likewise told that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty, but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honor of the crown and the safety of their country than not ratify what one of their favorites had transacted.

Let me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the empire, England, and Holland, we were to assist the other two *totis viribus* by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions which the several parties should contribute toward the war were adjusted in the following manner: The emperor was obliged to furnish ninety

thousand men against France, either in Italy or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons; and we forty thousand. In winter, 1702, which was the next year, the duke of Marlborough proposed raising ten thousand men more by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigor, to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a par, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs, and therefore it was granted with a condition that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed; the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off by concert between our general and the States, without any reason assigned for the satisfaction of the kingdom. The next and some ensuing campaigns, further additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new supply the Dutch gradually lessened their proportions, although the parliament addressed the queen that the States might be desired to observe them according to agreement, which had no other effect than to teach them to elude it by making their troops nominal troops, as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but sinking a fifth part of the men and money; so that now things are just inverted. And in all new levies we contributed a third more than the Dutch, who at first were obliged to the same proportion more than we.

Besides, the more towns we conquer for the States the worse condition we are in toward reducing the common enemy, and consequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no scruple of employing the troops of their quota toward garrisoning every town as fast as it is taken, directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garrisons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived, by several steps, to such a height, that there are at present in the field not so many forces under the duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that service, nor have been for some years past.

The duke of Marlborough, having entered the enemy's lines and taken Bouchain, formed the design of keeping so great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Lisle, Tournay, Douay, and the country between, as should be able to harass all the neighboring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from

erecting their magazines, and by consequence from subsisting their forces next spring, and render it impossible for them to assemble their army another year without going back behind the Soam to do it. In order to effect this project it was necessary to be at an expense extraordinary of forage for the troops, for building stables, finding fire and candle for the soldiers, and other incident charges. The queen readily agreed to furnish her share of the first article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the States insisting that her majesty should likewise come into a proportion of the other articles, which in justice belonged totally to them, she agreed even to that rather than a design of this importance should fail. And yet we know it has failed, and that the Dutch refused their consent till the time was past for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of those who proposed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contribution, submitted to by such of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cause of defeating this project, since one great advantage to have been gained by it was, as before is mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in those treaties of contributions is, that the product of those countries shall pass free and unmolested. So that the question was reduced to this short issue; whether the Dutch should lose this paltry benefit, or the common cause an advantage of such mighty importance?

The sea being the element where we might most probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourselves, it was agreed that we should bear five-eighths of the charge in that service, and the Dutch the other three; and by the grand alliance, whatever we or Holland should conquer in the Spanish West Indies was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped that this maritime ally of ours would have made up in their fleet what they fell short in their army; but quite otherwise; they never once furnished their quota either of ships or men; or if some few of their fleet now and then appeared it was no more than appearing, for they immediately separated, to look to their merchants and protect their trade. And we may remember very well when these guarantees of our succession, after having not one ship for many months together in the Mediterranean, sent that part of their quota thither, and furnished nothing to us, at the same time that they alarmed us with the rumor of an invasion. And last year, when sir James Wishart was despatched into Holland to expostulate with the States, and to desire they would

od their agreements in so important a part of the service, with such a reception as ill became a republic to give that der so many great obligations to us; in short, such a one as ly deserve who are content to take it.

s likewise been no small inconvenience to us, that the Dutch ays slow in paying their subsidies; by which means the and pressure of the payment lies upon the queen, as well as me if her majesty be not very exact. Nor will this always our allies: for in July, 1711, the king of Spain was paid all sidies to the first of January next; nevertheless he has since ined for want of money; and his secretary threatened that, would not further supply his majesty, he could not answer for night happen; although king Charles had not at that time rd of the troops for which he was paid; and even those he re neither paid nor clothed.

not forbear mentioning here another passage concerning es, to show what opinion foreigners have of our easiness, and ich they reckon themselves masters of our money, whenever ink fit to call for it. The queen was by agreement to pay ndred thousand crowns a-year to the Prussian troops; the one hundred thousand; and the emperor only thirty thou- r recruiting, which his imperial majesty never paid. Prince e happening to pass by Berlin, the ministers of that court l to him for redress in this particular; and his highness very promised them that, in consideration of this deficiency, and the States should increase their subsidies to seventy nd crowns more between them; and that the emperor should ctual for the time to come. This was done by that prince t any orders or power whatsoever. The Dutch very reason- fused consenting to it; but the Prussian minister here, making plications at our court, prevailed on us to agree to our propor- efore we could hear what resolution would be taken in Hol-

It is therefore to be hoped that his Prussian majesty, at the this war, will not have the same cause of complaint which l at the close of the last; that his military chest was emptier enty thousand crowns than at the time that war began.

emperor, as we have already said, was by stipulation to fur- inety thousand men against the common enemy, as having no to maintain, and in right of his family being most concerned war. However, this agreement has been so ill observed, that

from the beginning of the war to this day neither of the two last emperors had ever twenty thousand men on their own account in the common cause, excepting once in Italy, when the imperial court exerted itself in a point they have much more at heart than that of gaining Spain or the Indies to their family. When they had succeeded in their attempts on the side of Italy, and observed our blind zeal for pushing on the war at all adventures, they soon found out the most effectual expedient to excuse themselves. They computed easily that it would cost them less to make large presents to one single person than to pay an army, and turn to as good account. They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wisely left us to fight their battles.

Besides, it appeared by several instances how little the emperor regarded his allies, or the cause they were engaged in, when once he thought the empire itself was secure. It is known enough that he might several times have made a peace with his discontented subjects in Hungary, upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or interest; but he rather chose to sacrifice the whole alliance to his private passion, by entirely subduing and enslaving a miserable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms to free themselves from the oppressions under which they were groaning; yet this must serve as an excuse for breaking his agreement, and diverting so great a body of troops, which might have been employed against France.

Another instance of the emperor's indifference, or rather dislike, to the common cause of the allies, is the business of Toulon. This design was indeed discovered here at home by a person whom everybody knows to be the creature of a certain great man, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politics, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers; which was then so common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in business, who, having the curiosity to inquire how wagers went upon the Exchange, found some people deep in the secret to have been concerned in that kind of traffic; as appeared by premiums named for towns which nobody but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding, yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the emperor had not thought fit in that very juncture to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize Naples, as an enterprise that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest that I

imperial majesty had no mind to see Toulon in possession of the allies; for even with these discouragements the attempt might yet have succeeded, if prince Eugene had not thought fit to oppose it, which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politic reasons of his court. The duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy as soon as our army arrived; but when the mareschal de Thesse's troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place in the condition we were at that time was a farce and a jest. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would in a great measure have been destroyed.

But a much greater instance than either of the foregoing, how little the emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to save his imperial crown and to assert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged that a war carried on upon the side of Italy would cause a great diversion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progress of our arms in Spain as well as Flanders. It was proposed to the duke of Savoy to make this diversion, and not only a diversion during the summer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this side of the hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this work, two points were to be settled: first, it was necessary to end the dispute between the imperial court and his royal highness, which had no other foundation than the emperor's refusing to make good some articles of that treaty, on the faith of which the duke engaged in the present war, and for the execution whereof Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the request of the late emperor Leopold. To remove this difficulty, the earl of Peterborow was despatched to Vienna, got over some part of those disputes to the satisfaction of the duke of Savoy, and had put the rest in a fair way of being accommodated at the time the emperor Joseph died. Upon which great event the duke of Savoy took the resolution of putting himself immediately at the head of the army, although the whole matter was not finished, since the common cause required his assistance; and that, until a new emperor were elected, it was impossible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he asked was that he should be reinforced by the imperial court with eight thousand men before the end of the campaign. Mr. Whitworth was sent to Vienna to make this proposal; and it is credibly reported that he was empowered, rather than fail,

to offer forty thousand pounds for the march of those eight thousand men, if he found it was want of ability and not inclination that hindered the sending of them. But he was so far from succeeding, that it was said the ministers of that court did not so much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular sums, but cut off all his hopes at once by alleging the impossibility of complying with the queen's demands upon any consideration whatsoever. They could not plead their old excuse of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end. They had nothing to offer but some general speculative reasons, which it would expose them to repeat; and so, after much delay and many trifling pretences, they utterly refused so small and seasonable an assistance, to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified France, and caused a greater diversion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus, for want of eight thousand men, for whose winter campaign the queen was willing to give forty thousand pounds, and for want of executing the design I lately mentioned of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, toward which her majesty was ready not only to bear her own proportion, but a share of that which the States were obliged to, our hopes of taking winter quarters in the north and south parts of France are eluded, and the war left in that method which is likely to continue it longest. Can there an example be given, in the whole course of this war, where we have treated the pettiest prince with whom we had to deal in so contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once consider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our assistance was desired, even while we lay under immediate apprehensions of being invaded?

When Portugal came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was stipulated that the empire, England, and Holland, should each maintain four thousand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of patacoons to the king of Portugal, for the support of twenty-eight thousand Portuguese, which number of forty thousand was to be the confederate army against Spain on the Portugal side. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a short time after the emperor declared himself unable to comply with this part of the agreement, and so left the two-thirds upon us, who very generously undertook that burden, and at the same time two-thirds of the subsidies for maintenance of the Portuguese troops. But neither is this the worst part of the

story; for although the Dutch did indeed send their own particular quota of four thousand men to Portugal (which, however, they would not agree to but upon condition that the other two-thirds should be supplied by us), yet they never took care to recruit them; for, in the year 1706, the Portuguese, British, and Dutch forces, having marched with the earl of Galway into Castile, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found necessary to raise a new army on the Portugal side, where the queen has, at several times, increased her establishment to ten thousand five hundred men, and the Dutch never replaced one single man, nor paid one penny of their subsidies to Portugal in six years.

The Spanish army on the side of Catalonia is, or ought to be, about fifty thousand men exclusive of Portugal. And here the war has been carried on almost entirely at our cost. For this whole army is paid by the queen, excepting only seven battalions and fourteen squadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of these are likewise in our pay; beside the sums given to king Charles for subsidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the charge of transporting the forces first sent from Genoa to Barcelona, and of all the imperial recruits from time to time; and have likewise paid vast sums, as levy-money, for every individual man and horse so furnished to recruit, although the horses were scarce worth the price of transportation. But this has been almost the constant misfortune of our fleet during the present war; instead of being employed on some enterprise for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in transporting soldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augsbourg, Landau, and great part of Alsace, for the emperor; and by the troops we have furnished, the armies we have paid, and the diversions we have given to the enemies' forces, have chiefly contributed to the conquests of Milan, Mantua, and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the duchy of Modena. The last emperor drained the wealth of those countries into his own coffers, without increasing his troops against France by such mighty acquisitions, or yielding to the most reasonable requests we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have consented by the barrier treaty that all those which were not in the

possession of Spain upon the death of the late Catholic king shall be part of the States' dominions, and that they shall have the military power in the most considerable of the rest; which is, in effect, to be the absolute sovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made such good use of their time, that, in conjunction with our general, the oppressions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, has been pretty well copied by most other princes in the confederacy with whom we have any dealings. For instance, seven Portuguese regiments after the battle of Almanza went off with the rest of that broken army to Catalonia; the king of Portugal said he was not able to pay them while they were out of his country; the queen consented therefore to do it herself, provided the king would raise as many more to supply their place. This he engaged to do, but he never performed. Nothwithstanding which, his subsidies were constantly paid him by my lord Godolphin for almost four years, without any deduction upon account of those seven regiments, directly contrary to the seventh article of our offensive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed that a deduction shall be made out of those subsidies in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the king is to maintain. But, whatever might have been the reasons for this proceeding, it seems they are above the understanding of the present lord-treasurer [earl of Oxford], who, not entering into those refinements of paying the public money upon private considerations, has been so uncourtly as to stop it. This disappointment, I suppose, has put the court of Lisbon upon other expedients, of raising the price of forage, so as to force us either to lessen our number of troops or to be at double expense in maintaining them; and this, at a time when their own product as well as the import of corn was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the soldiers' clothes we carried over for those troops which have been their sole defence against an inveterate enemy; whose example might have infused courage, as well as taught them discipline, if their spirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year in the same proportion as those for whom we fight diminish theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from several princes of the empire, whose ministers and residents here have perpetually importuned the court with un-

reasonable demands, under which our late ministers thought fit to be passive. For those demands were always backed with a threat to recall their soldiers, which was a thing not to be heard of, because it might discontent the Dutch. In the mean time, those princes never sent their contingent to the emperor, as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do, but gave for their excuse, that we had already hired all they could possibly spare.

But, if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reason; if, as the other party themselves upon all occasions acknowledge, the success we have had was more than we could reasonably expect; if, after all our success, we have not made that use of it which in reason we ought to have done; if we have made weak and foolish bargains with our allies, suffered them tamely to break every article, even in those bargains to our disadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with insolence and contempt, at the very instant when we were gaining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any prospect of interest to ourselves; if we have consumed all our strength in attacking the enemy on the strongest side, where (as the old duke of Schomberg expressed it) to engage with France was to take a bull by the horns, and left wholly unattempted that part of the war which could only enable us to continue or to end it; if all this, I say, be our case, it is a very obvious question to ask, by what motives or what management we are thus become the dupes and bubbles of Europe? Surely it cannot be owing to the stupidity arising from the coldness of our climate, since those among our allies who have given us most reason to complain are as far removed from the sun as ourselves.

If, in laying open the real cause of our present misery, I am forced to speak with some freedom, I think it will require no apology. Reputation is the smallest sacrifice those can make us who have been the instruments of our ruin, because it is that for which, in all probability, they have the least value. So that, in exposing the actions of such persons, I cannot be said, properly speaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be some satisfaction to our people to know by whom they have been so long abused, so it may be of great use to us and our posterity not to trust the safety of their country in the hands of those who act by such principles and from such motives.

I have already observed that, when the counsels of this war were

debated in the late king's time, a certain great man was then so averse from entering into it, that he rather chose to give up his employment and tell the king he could serve him no longer. Upon that prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this lord thought fit to alter his sentiments; for the scene was quite changed: his lordship, and the family with whom he was engaged by so complicated an alliance, were in the highest credit possible with the queen. The treasurer's staff was ready for his lordship; the duke was to command the army; and the duchess, by her employments and the favor she was possessed of, to be always nearest her majesty's person; by which the whole power at home and abroad would be devolved upon that family. This was a prospect so very inviting that, to confess the truth, it could not be easily withstood by any who have so keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement subsequent to the grand alliance, we were to assist the Dutch with forty thousand men, all to be commanded by the duke of Marlborough. So that, whether this war was prudently begun or not, it is plain that the true spring or motive of it was the aggrandizing of a particular family; and in short, a war of the general and the ministry, and not of the prince or people; since those very persons were against it, when they knew the power, and consequenly the profit, would be in other hands.

With these measures fell in all that set of people who are called the moneyed men; such as had raised vast sums by trading with stocks and funds, and lending upon great interest and premiums; whose perpetual harvest is war, and whose beneficial way of traffic must very much decline by a peace.

In that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced, and under these several grimpositions from other princes, if any one should ask why our general continued so easy to the last, I know no other way so probable, or indeed so charitable, to account for it, as by that unmeasurable love of wealth which his best friends allow to be his predominant passion. However, I shall waive anything that is personal upon this subject. I shall say nothing of those great presents made by several princes which the soldiers used to call winter foraging, and said it was better than that of the summer; of 2½ per cent. subtracted o[illegible] of all the subsidies we pay in those parts, which amounts to no inconsiderable sum; and lastly, of the grand perquisites in a long

successful war which are so amicably adjusted between him and the States.

But when the war was thus begun, there soon fell in other incidents here at home which made the continuance of it necessary for those who were the chief advisers. The Whigs were at that time out of all credit or consideration. The reigning favorites had always carried what were called the Tory principles at least as high as our constitution could bear; and most others in great employments were wholly in the church interest. These last, among whom were several persons of the greatest merit, quality, and consequence, were not able to endure the many instances of pride, insolence, avarice, and ambition, which those favorites began so early to discover, nor to see them presuming to be sole dispensers of the royal favor. However, their opposition was to no purpose; they wrestled with too great a power and were soon crushed under it. For those in possession, finding they could never be quiet in their usurpations while others had any credit who were at least upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the discarded Whigs, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this solemn league and covenant, which has ever since been cultivated with so much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the Whigs, who had first raised them. The army, the court, and the treasury, continued under the old despotic administration: the Whigs were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed interest, and worry the church. Meantime, our allies, who were not ignorant that all this artificial structure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, resolved to make the best use of it as long as it should last. And the general's credit being raised to a great height at home by our success in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impositions; lessening their quotas, breaking their stipulations, garrisoning the towns we took for them without supplying their troops; with many other infringements; all which were we forced to submit to, because the general was made easy; because the moneyed men at home were fond of the war; because the Whigs were not yet firmly settled; and because that exorbitant degree of power which was built upon a supposed necessity of employing particular persons would go off in a peace. It is needless to add that the emperor and other princes followed the example of the Dutch, and succeeded as well, for the same reasons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our general and allies, wherein they both so well found their accounts; to the fears of the money-changers, l their tables should be overthrown; to the designs of the Whigs, who apprehended the loss of their credit and employments in a peace; and to those at home, who held their immoderate engrossments of power and favor by no other tenure than their own presumption upon the necessity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indisputable, by considering with what unanimity and concert these several parties acted toward that great end.

When the vote passed in the house of lords against any peace without Spain being restored to the Austrian family, the earl of Wharton told the house that it was indeed impossible and impracticable to recover Spain; but, however, there were certain reasons why such a vote should be made at that time. Which reasons wanted no explanation; for the general and ministry, having refused to accept very advantageous offers of a peace after the battle of Ramilies, were forced to take in a set of men with a previous bargain to screen them from the consequences of that miscarriage. And accordingly, upon the first succeeding opportunity that fell, which was that of the prince of Denmark's[1] death, the chief leaders of the party were brought into several great employments.

Thus, when the queen was no longer able to bear the tyranny and insolence of those ungrateful servants, who, as they waxed the fatter, did but kick the more, our two great allies abroad and our stock-jobbers at home took immediate alarm; applied the nearest way to the throne, by memorials and messages jointly, directing her majesty not to change her secretary or treasurer, who, for the true reasons that these officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the least degree of trust; since what they did was nothing less than betraying the interest of their native country to those princes, who, in their turns, were to do what they could to support them in power at home.

Thus it plainly appears that there was a conspiracy on all sides to go on with those measures which must perpetuate the war; and a conspiracy founded upon the interest and ambition of each party; which begat so firm a union that, instead of wondering why it lasted so long, I am astonished to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmness of her majesty, in all the steps

[1] Prince George, the husband of queen Anne.

of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very shining part in her story; nor is her judgment less to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only persons who had skill, credit, and resolution enough to be her instruments in overthrowing so many difficulties.

Some would pretend to lessen the merit of this by telling us that the rudeness, the tyranny, the oppression, the ingratitude of the late favorites towards their mistress were no longer to be borne. They produce instances to show her majesty was pursued through all her retreats, particularly at Windsor, where, after the enemy had possessed themselves of every inch of ground, they at last attacked and stormed the castle, forcing the queen to fly to an adjoining cottage, pursuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us "It is better to live on the house-top than with a scolding woman in a large house." They would have it that such continued ill usage was enough to inflame the meekest spirit. They blame the favorites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary that the queen should be at the end of her patience, and resolve to discard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is so apt to break even the bravest spirits as a continual chain of oppressions; one injury is best defended by a second, and this by a third. By these steps the old masters of the palace in France became masters of that kingdom;[1] by these steps, a general during pleasure might have grown into a general for life, and a general for life unto a king. So that I still insist upon it as a wonder how her majesty, thus besieged on all sides, was able to extricate herself.

Having thus mentioned the real causes, although disguised under specious pretences, which have so long continued the war, I must beg leave to reason a little with those persons who are against any peace but what they call a good one, and explain themselves that no peace can be good without an entire restoration of Spain to the house of Austria. It is to be supposed that what I am to say upon this part of the subject will have little influence on those whose particular ends or designs of any sort lead them to wish the continuance of the war: I mean the general and our allies abroad, the knot of late favorites at home, the body of such as traffic in stocks, and lastly, that set of factious politicians who were so violently bent at least upon clipping our constitution in church and state.

[1] See the Tale of a Tub.

Therefore I shall not apply myself to any of those, but to all others indifferently, whether Whigs or Tories, whose private interest is best answered by the welfare of their country. And if among these there be any who think we ought to fight on till king Charles be quietly settled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are several points which they have not thoroughly considered.

For first, it is to be observed that this resolution against any peace without Spain is a new incident, grafted upon the original quarrel by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the sanction of a vote in both houses of parliament, to justify those whose interest lay in perpetuating the war. And as this proceeding was against the practice of all princes and states whose intentions were fair and honorable, so is it contrary to common prudence, as well as justice; I might add that it was impious too, by presuming to control events which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the States' complaint against France and Spain are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretensions specified in the eighth article of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of these the least mention of demanding Spain for the house of Austria, or of refusing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both declarations of war, I shall here give a translation of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of dispute.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

When the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy but jointly and in concert with the other. Nor is peace to be made without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean majesty, and for his royal majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the lords of the States-General of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce; and a sufficient provision that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same may never be king of both kingdoms: and particularly, that the French may never be in possession of the Spanish West Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation, for conveniency of trade, under any pretence whatsoever, neither directly nor indirectly, except it is agreed that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy

all the same privileges, rights, immunities, and liberties of commerce, by land and sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late king of Spain at the time of his death was in possession of, as well in Europe as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the subjects of both or each nation could use and enjoy by virtue of any right obtained before the death of the said king of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever.

Here we see the demands intended to be insisted on by the allies upon any treaty of peace are a just and reasonable satisfaction for the emperor and king of Great Britain, a security to the States-General for their dominions, &c., and a sufficient provision that France and Spain be never united under the same man as king of both kingdoms. The rest relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the Dutch, but not a syllable of engaging to dispossess the duke of Anjou.

But to know how this new language, of no peace without Spain, was first introduced and at last prevailed among us, we must begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition treaty which begot the will in favor of the duke of Anjou; for this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince supported by a great power, whose interest as well as affection engaged them to preserve that monarchy entire rather than to oppose him in favor of another family, who must expect assistance from a number of confederates whose principal members had already disposed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus the duke of Anjou got into the full possession of all the kingdoms and states belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the house of Austria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the duke's side.

However, a war was resolved on; and in order to carry it on with great vigor, a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends proposed to be obtained are plainly and distinctly laid down as I have already quoted them. It pleased God, in the course of this war, to bless the arms of the allies with remarkable successes; by which we were soon put into a condition of demanding and expecting such terms

of a peace as we proposed to ourselves when we began the war. But instead of this, our victories only served to lead us on to further visionary prospects; advantage was taken of the sanguine temper which so many successes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were proposed, and the old, reasonable, sober design was forgot.

This was the artifice of those here who were sure to grow richer as the public became poorer, and who, after the resolutions which the two houses were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with safety to themselves till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general excise was established and the dixième denier raised by collectors in red coats. And this was just the circumstance which it suited their interests to be in.

The house of Austria approved this scheme with reason, since whatever would be obtained by the blood and treasure of others was to accrue to that family, while they only lent their name to the cause.

The Dutch might, perhaps, have grown resty under their burden; but care was likewise taken of that, by a barrier-treaty made with the States, which deserves such epithets as I care not to bestow, but may perhaps consider it, at a proper occasion, in a discourse by itself.

By this treaty the condition of the war with respect to the Dutch was widely altered; they fought no longer for security but for grandeur, and we, instead of laboring to make them safe, must beggar ourselves to make them formidable.

Will any one contend that, if at the treaty of Gertruydenberg we could have been satisfied with such terms of a peace as we proposed to ourselves by the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to insist on when the war began; and they had reason to grant as well as we to demand them, since conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But surely there is some measure to be observed in this; those who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenberg dwell very much upon their zeal and patience in endeavoring to work the French up to their demands, but say nothing to justify those demands, or the probability that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were so extravagant that, in all human probability, we could not

have obtained them by a successful war of forty years. One of them was inconsistent with common reason; wherein the confederates reserved to themselves full liberty of demanding what farther conditions they should think fit; and, in the mean time, France was to deliver up several of their strongest towns in a month. These articles were very gravely signed by our plenipotentiaries and those of Holland; but not by the French, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the secretary of the embassy, and the ministers here prevailed on the queen to execute a ratification of articles which only one part had signed. This was an absurdity in form as well as in reason; because the usual form of a ratification is with a preamble, showing that, whereas our ministers and those of the allies and of the enemy have signed, &c., we ratify, &c. The person[1] who brought over the articles said in all companies (and perhaps believed) that it was a pity we had not demanded more, for the French were in a disposition to refuse us nothing we would ask. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the same concern, and particularly that we had not obtained some further security for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

What could be the design of all this grimace but to amuse the people and to raise stocks for their friends in the secret to sell to advantage? I have too great a respect for the abilities of those who acted in this negotiation to believe they hoped for any other issue from it than what we found by the event. Give me leave to suppose the continuance of the war was the thing at heart among those in power both abroad and at home; and then I can easily show the consistency of their proceedings, otherwise they are wholly unaccountable and absurd. Did those who insisted on such wild demands ever intend a peace? Did they really think that going on with the war was more eligible for their country than the least abatement of those conditions? Was the smallest of them worth six millions a-year and a hundred thousand men's lives? Was there no way to provide for the safety of Britain or the security of its trade, but by the French king turning his arms to beat his grandson out of Spain? If these able statesmen were so truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning as well as continuance, why did they so neglect it in those very preliminaries where the enemy made so many conces-

[1] Horatio Walpole, secretary to that embassy

sions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expressly settled? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a general treaty; no tariff agreed on with France or the Low Countries, only the Schelde was to remain shut, which must have ruined our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the same way; but this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that kingdom was to be under the house of Austria, and we had already made a treaty with king Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince for settling our commerce with Spain; but, whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand and hand with it,—I mean that of barrier, wherein a clause was inserted by which all advantages proposed for Britain are to be in common with Holland.

Another point, which I doubt those have not considered who are against any peace without Spain, is that the face of affairs in Christendom, since the emperor's death, has been very much changed. By this accident the views and interests of several princes and states in the alliance have taken a new turn, and I believe it will be found that ours ought to do so too. We have sufficiently blundered once already, by changing our measures with regard to a peace while our affairs continued in the same posture; and it will be too much in conscience to blunder again, by not changing the first; when the others are so much altered.

To have a prince of the Austrian family on the throne of Spain is undoubtedly more desirable than one of the house of Bourbon, but to have the empire and Spanish monarchy united in the same person is a dreadful consideration, and directly opposite to that wise principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected that the indolent character of the Austrian princes, the wretched economy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote distances of their several territories from each other, would never suffer an emperor, although at the same time king of Spain, to become formidable: on the contrary, that his dependence must continually be on Great Britain; and the advantages of trade, by a peace founded upon that condition, would soon make us amends for all the expenses of the war.

In answer to this, let us consider the circumstances we must be in before such a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We must become not only poor for the present, but reduced

by further mortgages to a state of beggary for endless years to come. Compare such a weak condition as this with so great an accession of strength to Austria, and then determine how much an emperor in such a state of affairs would either fear or need Britain.

Consider that the comparison is not formed between a prince of the house of Austria, emperor and king of Spain, and with a prince of the Bourbon family, king of France and Spain, but between a prince of the latter, only king of Spain, and one of the former uniting both crowns in his own person.

What returns of gratitude can we expect when we are no longer wanted? Has all that we have hitherto done for the imperial family been taken as a favor, or only received as the due of the *augustissima casa*?

Will the house of Austria yield the least acre of land, the least article of strained and even usurped prerogative, to resettle the minds of those princes in the alliance who are alarmed at the consequences of this turn of affairs, occasioned by the emperor's death? We are assured it never will. Do we then imagine that those princes who dread the overgrown power of the Austrian as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance upon a system contrary to that which they engage with us upon? For instance, what can the duke of Savoy expect in such a case? Will he have any choice left him but that of being a slave and a frontier to France, or a vassal, in the utmost extent of the word, to the imperial court? Will he not therefore of the two evils choose the least, by submitting to a master who has no immediate claim upon him, and to whose family he is nearly allied, rather than to another who has already revived several claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

Nor are the Dutch more inclined than the rest of Europe that the empire and Spain should be united in king Charles, whatever they may now pretend. On the contrary, it is known to several persons that upon the death of the late emperor Joseph the States resolved that those two powers should not be joined in the same person, and this they determined as a fundamental maxim by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was first given up by them; and since they maintain no troops in that kingdom, it should seem that they understand the duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, those who are against any peace without Spain, if they be such as no way find their private account by the war, may per-

haps change their sentiments if they will reflect a little upon our present condition.

I had two reasons for not sooner publishing this discourse; the first was, because I would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the same subject from general topics and reason, although they might be ignorant of several facts which I had the opportunity to know. The second was, because I found it would be necessary, in the course of this argument, to say something of the state to which the war has reduced us; at the same time I knew that such a discovery ought to be made as late as possible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiscreet, but might per be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many to mistake the echo of a London coffeehouse for the voice of the kingdom. The city coffeehouses have been for some years filled with people whose fortunes depend upon the bank, East India, or some other stock. Every new fund to these is like a new mortgage to a usurer, whose compassion for a young heir is exactly the same with that of a stock-jobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town, the like places of resort are frequented either by men out of place, and consequently enemies to the present ministry, or by officers of the army: no wonder then if the general cry in all such meetings be against any peace, either with Spain or without, which in other words is no more than this, that discontented men desire another change of ministry; that soldiers would be glad to keep their commissions; and that the creditors have money still, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rate while they have any security to give.

Now to give the most ignorant reader some idea of our present circumstances without troubling him or myself with computations in form, everybody knows that our land and malt tax amount annually to about two millions and a half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged to pay interest for what we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war is usually about six millions, to make up which sum we are forced to take up on the credit of new funds about three millions and a half. This last year the computed charge of the war came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive were sufficient to pay interest for, and so we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thousand pounds among the several branches of

our expense. This is a demonstration that, if the war be to last another campaign, it will be impossible to find funds for supplying it without mortgaging the malt-tax, or by some other method equally desperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to consider what circumstances we shall be in toward paying a debt of about fifty millions, which is a fourth part of the purchase of the whole island if it were to be sold.

Toward clearing ourselves of this monstrous incumbrance, some of these annuities will expire or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or a hundred years; the bulk of the debt must be lessened gradually by the best management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt taxes, after paying guards and garrisons, and maintaining and supplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not skill enough to compute what will be left after these necessary charges toward annually clearing so vast a debt, but believe it must be very little; however, it is plain that both these taxes must be continued, as well for supporting the government as because we have no other means for paying off the principal. And so likewise must all the other funds remain for paying the interest. How long a time this must require, how steady an administration, and how undisturbed a state of affairs both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, some people think all this very reasonable, and that, since the struggle has been for peace and safety, posterity, which is to partake of the benefit, ought to share in the expense, as if at the breaking out of this war had been such a conjuncture of affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful that our ancestors, in all their wars, should never fall under such a necessity; that we meet no examples of it in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew anything like it except Spain, about a hundred and twenty years ago, when they drew it upon themselves by their own folly, and have suffered for it ever since; no doubt we shall teach posterity wisdom, but they will be apt to think the purchase too dear, and I wish they may stand to the bargain we have made in their names.

It is easy to entail debts on succeeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to ensure peace for any term of years is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever cease to have the same passions, princes to entertain

designs of interest or ambition, and occasions of quarrel to arise? May not we ourselves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a necessity of recovering towns out of the very hands of those for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be said that those states with whom we may probably differ will be in as bad a condition as ourselves; for by the circumstances of our situation and the impositions of our allies, we are more exhausted than either they or the enemy: and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the opposition of factions, we shall be more slow in recovering.

It will no doubt be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they see a few rags hung up in Westminster Hall which cost a hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boast as beggars do that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that mistaken notion of credit so boasted of by the advocates of the late ministry: was not all that credit built upon funds raised by the landed men whom they now so much hate and despise? Is not the greatest part of those funds raised from the growth and product of land? Must not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garrisons be maintained, by the land and malt tax after a peace? If they call it credit to run ten millions in debt without parliamentary security, by which the public is defrauded of almost half, I must think such credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treasonable. Neither has anything gone further to ruin the nation than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look into his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money as they used to do.

Since the moneyed men are so fond of war, I should be glad they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge; it is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest at six per cent. remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is im

possible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, although the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But perhaps our allies will make up this deficiency on our side by great efforts on their own? Quite the contrary; both the emperor and Holland failed this year in several articles, and signified to us some time ago that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will I suppose be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long, hopeless war for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance nor consent. So that, since we have done their business, since they have no further service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them, and lastly, since we neither desire any recompense nor expect any thanks, we ought in pity to be dismissed and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardships upon us. The first overtures from France are made to England upon safe and honorable terms; we, who bore the burden of the war ought in reason to have the greatest share in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace others certainly will, and get the vantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened us that they would enter into separate measures of a peace, and by the strength of that argument, as well as by other powerful motives, prevailed on those who were then at the helm to comply with them on any terms rather than put an end to a war which every year brought them such great accessions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow, and then we must be content with such conditions as our allies, out of their great concern for our safety and interest, will please to choose. They have no further occasion for fighting, they have gained their point, and they now tell us it is our war; so that in common justice it ought to be our peace.

All we can propose by the desperate steps of pawning our land or malt tax, or erecting a general excise, is only to raise a fund of interest for running us annually four millions further in debt, without

any prospect of ending the war so well as we can do at present. And when we have sunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our encumbrances must of necessity remain perpetual.

We have hitherto lived upon expedients which in time will certainly destroy any constitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in Christendom had less occasion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a consumption, by plying it with physic instead of food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work we must inevitably die.

What arts have been used to possess the people with a strong delusion that Britain must infallibly be ruined without the recovery of Spain to the house of Austria! making the safety of a great and powerful kingdom, as ours was then, to depend upon an event which after a war of miraculous successes proves impracticable. As if princes and great ministers could find no way of settling the public tranquillity without changing the possessions of kingdoms, and forcing sovereigns upon a people against their inclinations. Is there no security for the island of Britain unless a king of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and seaports to give us for securing trade? Can he not deliver us possession of such places as would put him in a worse condition whenever he should perfidiously renew the war? The present king of France has but few years to live by the course of nature, and doubtless would desire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers, in private families, are not observed to have great influence on their grandsons, and I believe they have much l among princes; however, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother against his own interest and that of his subjects? Have not those two realms their separate maxims of policy, which must operate in the times of peace? These at least are probabilities, and cheaper by six millions a-year than recovering Spain or continuing the war, both which seem absolutely impossible.

But the common question is, if we must now surrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The answer is ready: we have been fighting for the ruin of the public interest and the advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raise the wealth and grandeur of a particular family, to enrich u ers and stockjobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious designs of a

by destroying the landed interest. The nation begins now to think these blessings are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore desires a peace.

But the advocates on the other side cry out that we might have had a better peace than is now in agitation above two years ago. Supposing this to be true, I do assert that, by parity of reason, we must expect one just so much the worse about two years hence. If those in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt that they did it not. Why did they insist upon conditions which they were certain would never be granted? We allow it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in some hope of recovering itself. And this is what we charge them with, as answerable to God, their country, and posterity,—that the bleeding condition of their fellow-subjects was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, it is pleasant to hear some men answer all that can be said by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhaustible riches of England. I have heard a man [lord Halifax], very sanguine upon this subject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thousand pounds in the funds, bidding us take courage, and warranting that all would go well. This is the style of men at ease, who lay heavy burdens upon others, which they would not touch with one of their fingers. I have known some people such ill computers as to imagine the many millions in stocks and annuities are so much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely lost to us, scattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men who now pay the interest must at last pay the principal.

Fourthly, Those who are against any peace without Spain have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of France, and the mighty consequences of our successes. As to the first, it must be confessed that after the battle of Ramilies the French were so discouraged with their frequent losses and so impatient for a peace, that their king was resolved to comply upon any reasonable terms. But when his subjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honor, and were unanimous to assist him in continuing the war at any hazard rather than submit. This fully restored his authority; and the supplies he has received from the Spanish West Indies, which in all are computed since the war to

amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in specie, have enabled him to pay his troops. Besides, the money is spent in his own country; and he has since waged war in the most thrifty manner by acting on the defensive; compounding with us every campaign for a town, which costs us fifty times more than it is worth, either as to the value or the consequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet further than providing privateers, wherewith l subjects carry on a piratical war at their own expense, and he shares in the profit, which has been very considerable to France and of infinite disadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual losses we have suffered, to an immense value, but by the general discouragement of trade, on which we so much depend. All this, considered with the circumstances of that government, where the prince is master of the lives and fortunes of so mighty a kingdom, shows that monarch not to be sunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourselves with the hopes of.

Those who are against any peace without Spain seem likewise to have been mistaken in judging our victories and other successes to have been of greater consequence than they really were.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into possession and we at home make bonfires. I have sometimes pitied the deluded people to see them squandering away their fuel to so little purpose. For example: what is it to us that Bouchain is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffeehouse make such a clutter? What though the garrison surrendered prisoners of war and in sight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honor. What advantage have we but that of spending three or four millions more to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for contributions and increase the perquisites of the general?

In that war of ten years under the late king, when our commanders and soldiers were raw and unexperienced in comparison of what they are at present, we lost battles and towns as well as we gained them of late since those gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now; nor was there anything decisive in their successes: they grew weary as well as we, and at last consented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough if it had not been followed by that wise treaty of partition, which revived the flame that has lasted ever since. I see nothing else in the modern way of making war but that the

side which can hold out longest will end it with most advantage. In such a close country as Flanders, where it is carried on by sieges, the army that acts offensively is at a much greater expense of men and money, and there is hardly a town taken in the common forms where the besiegers have not the worst of the bargain. I never yet knew a soldier who would not affirm that any town might be taken if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon sacrificing so much blood and treasure, the rest is all a regular established method which cannot fail. When the king of France, in the times of his grandeur, sat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day when it should surrender: the enemy, sensible of all this, has for some years past avoided a battle where he has so ill succeeded, and taken a surer way to consume us by letting our courage evaporate against stones and rubbish, and sacrificing a single town to a campaign, which he can so much better afford to lose than we to take.

Lastly, Those who are so violently against any peace without Spain's being restored to the house of Austria have not, I believe, cast their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raise, and may quickly break in a storm upon our heads.

The northern war has been on foot almost ever since our breach with France. The success of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the same, that sooner or later it would involve us in its consequences, and that whenever this happened, let our success be ever so great against France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

By our guaranty of the treaty of Travendall, we were obliged to hinder the king of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time understood by all parties, and so declared even by the British ministers, that this engagement specially regarded Denmark's not assisting king Augustus. But, however, if this had not been so, yet our obligation to Sweden stood in force by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a subsequent one concluded at the Hague by sir Joseph Williamson and Monsieur Lilienroot, about the latter end of the king's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded; and our not assisting Sweden was at least as well excused by the war which we were entangled in as his not contributing his contingent to the empire

whereof he is a member was excused by the pressures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war the king of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then exposed to? what fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony, and, if he had really been in the French interest, might at once have put us under the greatest difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himself with imposing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Rastadt; by which king Augustus makes an absolute cession of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Stanislaus, and then both he and the king of Sweden join in desiring the guaranty of England and Holland. The queen did not, indeed, give this guaranty in form; but as a step toward it, the title of king was given to Stanislaus by a letter from her majesty, and the strongest assurance were given to the Swedish minister in her majesty's name, and a committee of council, that the guaranty should speedily be granted, and that, in the mean while, it was the same thing as if the forms were passed.

In 1708 king Augustus made the campaign in Flanders: what measures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made use of, is not known; but immediately after he breaks through all he had done, marches into Poland, and reassumes the crown.

After this we apprehended that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guaranty for the neutrality of it. The king of Sweden refused, upon several accounts, to submit to the terms of this treaty, particularly because we went out of the empire to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore consider what is our case at present. If the king of Sweden return, and get the better, he will think himself under no obligation of having any regard to the interests of the allies, but will naturally pursue, according to his own expression, his enemy wherever he finds him. In this case, the corps of the neutrality is obliged to oppose him, and so we are engaged in a second war before the first is ended.

If the northern confederates succeed against Sweden, how shall we be able to preserve the balance of power in the north, so essential to our trade, as well as in many other respects? What will become of that great support of the protestant interest in Germany

which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or who shall answer that these princes, after they have settled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look southward, and make our peace with France according to their own schemes?

And lastly, if the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and other princes whose dominions lie contiguous, are forced to draw from those armies which act against France, we must live in hourly expectation of having those troops recalled which they now leave with us; and this recall may happen in the midst of a siege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our interest to toil on in a ruinous war, for an impracticable end, till one of these cases shall happen, or get under shelter before the storm?

There is no doubt but the present ministry (provided they could get over the obligations of honor and conscience) might find their advantage in advising the continuance of the war, as well as the last did, although not in the same degree, after the kingdom has been so much exhausted. They might prolong it till the parliament desire a peace, and in the mean time leave them in full possession of power. Therefore it is plain that their proceedings at present are meant to serve their country, directly against their private interest; whatever clamor may be raised by those who, for the vilest ends, would move heaven and earth to oppose their measures. But they think it infinitely better to accept such terms as will secure our trade, find a sufficient barrier for the States, give reasonable satisfaction to the emperor, and restore the tranquillity of Europe, although without adding Spain to the empire, rather than go on in a languishing way, upon the vain expectation of some improbable turn for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family, and at last be forced to a worse peace, by some of the allies falling off, upon our utter inability to continue the war.

P. S.—I have in this edition explained three or four lines which mention the succession, to take off, if possible, all manner of cavil; though, at the same time, I cannot but observe how ready the adverse party is to make use of any objections, even such as destroy their own principles. I put a distant case of the possibility that our succession, through extreme necessity, might be changed by the legislature in future ages, and it is pleasant to hear those people quarrelling at this who profess themselves for changing it as often as they please, and that even without the consent of the entire legislature.

SOME REMARKS

ON

THE BARRIER TREATY

BETWEEN

HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES-GENERAL;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

THE SAID BARRIER TREATY, WITH THE TWO SEPARATE ARTICLES; PART OF THE COUNTER-PROJECT; THE SENTIMENTS OF PRINCE EUGENE AND COUNT ZINZENDORF UPON THE SAID TREATY; AND A REPRESENTATION OF THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS AT BRUGES.

PREFACE.

WHEN I published the discourse called "The Conduct of the Allies," I had thoughts either of inserting or annexing the "Barrier Treaty" at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for public information; but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavors to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that famous treaty, sufficient as I thought to answer the design of my book. I have since heard that my readers in general seem d to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an im tience to have that treaty made public, especially since it has b laid before the house of commons.

That I may give some light to the reader who is not well versed in those affairs, he may please to know that a project for a treaty of barrier with the States was transmitted hither from Holland, but being disapproved of by our court in several parts, a new project or scheme of a treaty was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This last was called the counter-project, and was the measure whereby the duke of Marlborough and my lord Townshend were commanded and instructed to proceed in negotiating a treaty of barrier with the States.

I have added a translation of this counter-project in those articles where it differs from the barrier treaty, that the reader by compa-

ring them together may judge how punctually those negotiators observed their instructions. I have likewise subjoined the sentiments of prince Eugene of Savoy and the count de Zinzendorf, relating to this treaty, written I suppose while it was negotiating. And lastly, I have added a copy of the representation of the British merchants at Bruges, signifying what inconveniences they already felt and further apprehended from this barrier treaty.

SOME REMARKS, &c.

I GINE a reasonable person in China reading the following treaty, who was ignorant of our affairs or our geography, he would ve their high mightinesses the States-General to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome, and her majesty to be a petty prince, like one of those to whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure and place whom they thought in their stead. Such a man would think that the States had our prince and us into their protection, and in return honored so far as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in ir conquests and the enlargements of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of barbarians upon some of their out-lying provinces. l how must it sound in a European ear, that Great Britain, after intaing a war for so many years with so much glory and success such prodigious expense; after saving the empire, Holland, Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should toward the close of a war enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces, to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept as an equivalent the mean condition of those States assisting to preserve her queen on the throne, whom, by God's assistance, she is able to defend against all her majesty's enemies and allies put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us if the States had not found it their interest to use very powerful motives with the chief advisers (I say nothing of the person immediately employed), and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occasion for it.

The counter-project of this treaty, made here at London, was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the preface: her majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible that our good allies and friends could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk surely might have remained, which was of some benefit to the Stat as well as of mighty advantage to us, and which the French king has lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But let me now consider the treaty itself: among the one-and-twenty articles of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty until the queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well that it is in consequence the interest of the States as much as ours that Britain should be governed by a protestant prince. Besides, what is there more in this guaranty than in all common leagues, offensive and defensive, between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any invader with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the emperor, Britain, and Holland, which was, or ought to have been, as good a guaranty of our succession to all intents and purposes as this in the barrier treaty; and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient without any separate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the interest of Britain, that the States should have a sufficient barrier against France; but their high mightinesses, for some few years past, have put a different meaning upon the word barrier from what it formerly used to bear when applied to them. When the late king was prince of Orange, and commanded their armies against France, it was never once imagined that any of the towns taken should belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch, and Flanders was only a barrier to Holland as it was in the hands of Spain rather

than France. So in the grand alliance of 1701 the several powers promising to endeavor to recover Flanders for a barrier was understood to be the recovering of those provinces to the king of Spain; but in this treaty the style is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chattellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewise to be enlarged as much as possible), and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republic will be entirely masters of the richest part of all Flanders, and upon any appearance of war they may put their garrisons into any other place of the Low Countries: and further, the king of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a-year, to enable them to maintain those garrisons.

Why should we wonder that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when, by an article in this treaty, the king of Spain is not to possess one single town in the Low Countries until a peace be made? The duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained six-and-thirty thousand men out of those Spanish provinces he then possessed, to which if we add the many towns since taken, which were not in the late king of Spain's possession at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies, it is visible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chattellanies of this barrier always maintained their garrisons when they were in the hands of France; and, as it is reported, returned a considerable sum of money into the king's coffers; yet the king of Spain is obliged by this treaty (as we have already observed) to add, over and above, a revenue of four hundred thousand crowns a-year. We know likewise that a great part of the revenue of the Spanish Netherlands is already pawned to the States, so that after a peace nothing will be left to the sovereign, nor will the people be much eased of the taxes they at present labor under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this barrier treaty, will in effect be absolute sovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmost extent.

And here I cannot, without some contempt, take notice of a sort of reasoning offered by several people, that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, because the whole revenue of those towns is spent in maintaining them. For first, the fact is manifestly false, particularly as to Lisle and some others.

Secondly, the States after a peace are to have four hundred thousand crowns a-year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And lastly, suppose all these acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treasury, what can be of greater consequence than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conquests, which before they always did by taxing their natural subjects?

How shall we be able to answer it to king Charles III. that, while we pretend to endeavor restoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join at the same time with the Dutch to deprive h of his natural right to the Low Countries?

But suppose by a Dutch barrier must now be understood only what is to be in possession of the States, yet, even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant except a barrier against France, whereas several towns demanded by the Dutch in this treaty can be of no use at all in such a barrier. And this is the sentiment even of Prince Eugene himself (the present oracle and idol of the party here), who says that Dendermond, Ostend, and the Castle of Gand, do in no sort belong to the barrier, nor can be of other use than to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder their trade with England; and further that those who are acquainted with the country know very well that to fortify Lier and Halle can give no security to the States as a barrier, but only raise a jealousy in the people that those places are only fortified in order to block up Brussels and the other great towns of Brabant.

In those towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garrisons, but the ecclesiastical and civil power to remain to the king of Spain after a peace, the States have power to send arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying customs, under which pretence they will engross the whole trade of those towns, exclusive of all other nations.

This prince Eugene likewise foresaw, and in his observations upon this treaty here annexed proposed a remedy for it.

And if the Dutch shall please to think that the whole Spanish Netherlands are not a sufficient barrier for them, I know no remedy from the words of this treaty but that we must still go on and conquer for them as long as they please. For the queen is obliged whenever a peace is treated to procure for them whatever shall be thought necessary besides, and where their necessity will terminate is not very easy to foresee.

Could any of her majesty's subjects conceive that in the towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their possession as a barrier, either the States should demand or our ministers allow that the subjects of Britain should, in respect to their trade, be used worse than they were under the late king of Spain? Yet this is the fact, as monstrous as it appears: all goods going to or coming from Newport or Ostend are to pay the same duties as those that pass by the Schelde under the Dutch forts; and this, in effect, is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain that, after they have paid the king of Spain's duty for goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are made liable to further duties when they are carried thence into the towns of the Dutch new conquests, and desire only the same privileges of trade they had before the death of the late king of Spain, Charles II. And in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off eight per cent. from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But what is very surprising, in the very same article where our good friends and allies are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the queen is obliged to procure that the States shall be used as favorably in their trade over all the king of Spain's dominions as her own subjects or as the people most favored. This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys'-play: "Cross I win, and pile[1] you lose," or "What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." Now, if it should happen that in a treaty of peace some ports or towns should be yielded us for the security of our trade, in any part of the Spanish dominions, at how great a distance soever, I suppose the Dutch would go on with their boys'-play and challenge half by virtue of that article: or would they be content with military government and the revenues, and reckon them among what shall be thought necessary for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced as subsequent to the treaty of Munster, made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmost confusion, and very much to our disadvantage. Those parts in that treaty, so unjust in themselves and so prejudicial to our trade, ought in reason to have been remitted rather than confirmed upon us for the time to come. But this is Dutch part-

[1] The two sides of our coin were once nominally distinguished by cross and pile, as they are now by heads and tails.

nership; to share in all our beneficial bargains, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from those which we have got for them.

In one part of the Conduct of the Allies, among other re upon this treaty, I make it a question whether it were right point of policy or prudence to call in a foreign power to be guarantee to our succession; because by that means we put it ou of the power of our legislature to alter the succession, how muc soever the necessity of the kingdom may require it? To compl with the cautions of some people, I explained my meaning in th following editions. I was assured that my lord chief-justice affirme that passage was treason. One of my answerer's, I think, decid as favorably; and I am told that paragraph was read very late during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, whi perhaps might have been spared. That the legislature should ha power to change the succession, whenever the necessities of t kingdom require, is so very useful toward preserving our religi and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worst of t opinion is, that at first sight it appears to be whiggish; but t distinction is thus: the Whigs are for changing the succ when they think fit, although the entire legislature do not consen I think it ought never to be done but upon great necessity, a that with the sanction of the whole legislature. Do these gentl men of revolution principles think it impossible that we sho ever have occasion again to change our succession? and if such accident should fall out, must we have no remedy until the Se Provinces will give their consent? Suppose that this virulent p among us were as able as some are willing to raise a rebellion reinstating them in power, and would apply themselves to the Dut as guarantees of our succession, to assist them with all their for under pretence that the queen and ministry, a great majority both houses, and the bulk of the people, were for bringing o France, popery, and the pretender? Their high mightinesses wo as I take it, be sole judges of the controversy, and probably deci it so well that in some time we might have the happiness of b coming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion that t are two qualities necessary to a reader before his judgment be allowed; these are, common honesty and common sense, and t no man could have misrepresented that paragraph in my disco unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.

The presumptive successor and her immediate heirs have so

blished a reputation in the world for their piety, wisdom, and humanity, that no necessity of this kind is likely to appear in their days; but I must still insist that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great Britain to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to consider that, if in ages to come such a prince should happen to be in succession to our throne as should be entirely unable to govern, that very motive might incline our guarantees to support him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confusion and disorder.

But to return: the queen is here put under the unreasonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier treaty; of the Dutch having possession of the said barrier and the revenues thereof before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thousand crowns by the king of Spain; that the States shall possess their barrier even before king Charles is in possession of the Spanish Netherlands, although by the fifth article of the grand alliance her majesty is under no obligation to do anything of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All kings, princes, and states, are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, seems to look very oddly in that of the barrier. Popish princes are here invited among others to become guarantees of our protestant succession: every petty prince in Germany must be entreated to preserve the queen of Great Britain upon her throne. The king of Spain is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles and recover his dominions, strip him in effect of all his ten provinces; a clear reason why they never sent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation not to enter into a treaty of peace with France until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary was struck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders because there they only fought for themselves. King Charles must needs accept this invitation very kindly, and stand by with great satisfaction while the Belgic lion divides the prey and assigns it all to himself. I remember there was a parcel of soldiers who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table while they devoured his victuals without giving him a morsel, and upon his expostulating had only for answer, "Why, sirrah, are we not come here to protect you?" And

thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes to lend their assistance, and become guarantees out of pure good nature for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryswick no care was taken to oblige the French king to acknowledge the right of succession in her present majesty; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for queen of Great Britain after the late king's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission, and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me whether it were a wilful omission or not. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his late majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the behavior, the language, and the principles of some certain persons in those days, and compare them with that omission, I am tempted to draw some conclusions which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who has done me the honor to write th discourses against that treatise of The Conduct of the Allies, , and promises for my comfort to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his First Part could possibly come out, and so went on through t kingdom while his limped slowly after, and if it arrived at all wa too late, for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus: Of those facts which he pretends to examin some he resolutely denies, others he endeavors to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural terms that I would engage by the same method to disprove any history, either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injuri epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not born to: yet after all he allows a very great point for which I contend, confessing in plain words that the burden of the war l chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it sufficient for the Dutch that, next to England, they have borne the greatest share. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains!

I am inclined to think that my intelligence was at least as good as his, and some of it I can assure him came from persons of his own party, although perhaps not altogether so inflamed. Hitherto, therefore, the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me as they please. But I think the great point of controversy between us is, whether the effects and consequences of things follow better from his premises or mine? And there I will not be satisfied unless he will allow the whole advantage to be on my side. Here is a flourishing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin by a most successful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent, and loyal ministry, a most faithful, just, and generous commander, and in conjunction with the most hearty, reasonable, and sincere allies. This is the case as that author represents it. I have heard a story, I think it was of the duke of * * *, who, playing at hazard at the groom-porter's in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but in the heat of play never observed a sharper who came once or twice under his arm and swept a great deal of it into his hat, the company thought it had been one of his servants. When the duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. "Yes," said he, "I held in very long; yet methinks I have won but very little." They told him his servant had got the rest in his hat, and then he found he was cheated.

It has been my good fortune to see the most important facts that I have advanced justified by the public voice; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe that I may be right in the rest. And I solemnly declare that I have not wilfully committed the least mistake. I stopped the second edition, and made all possible inquiries among those who I thought could best inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of; I did the same to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual answer to all cavils than a hundred pages of controversy.

But what disgusts me from having anything to do with the race of answer-jobbers is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings: to give one instance in this gentleman's Third Part, which I have been lately looking into. When I talk of the most petty princes he says that I mean crowned heads; when I say the soldiers of those petty princes are ready to rob or starve at home, he says I

call kings and crowned heads robbers and highwaymen. This is what the Whigs call answering a book.

I cannot omit one particular concerning this author, who is so positive in asserting his own facts and contradicting mine: he affirms that the business of Toulon was discovered by the clerk of a certain great man who was then secretary of state. It is neither wise nor for the credit of his party to put us in mind of that secretary, or of that clerk; however, so it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of Toulon did ever pass through that secretary's office; which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of false, scandalous, villanous, and the rest to the author and his fellows.

But to leave this author: let us consider the consequences of our triumphs, upon which some set so great a value as to think that nothing less than the crown can be a sufficient reward for the merit of the general. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land; our trade, which made us considerable in the world, is either given up by treaties or clogged with duties, which interrupt and daily lessen it. We see the whole nation groaning under excessive taxes of all sorts, to raise three millions of money for payment of the interest of those debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverse of the medal; we shall see our neighbors, who in their utmost distress called for our assistance, become by this treaty, even in time of peace, masters of a more considerable country than their own; in a condition to strike terror into us, with fifty thousand veterans ready to invade us from that country which we have conquered for them, and to commit insolent hostilities upon us in all other parts, as they have lately done in the East Indies.

THE BARRIER TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES GENERAL.

HER majesty the queen of Great Britain and the lords the States-General of the United Provinces, having considered how much it concerns the quiet and security of their kingdoms and states, and the public tranquillity, to maintain and to secure on one side the succession to the crown of Great Britain in such manner as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom; and on the other side, that the States-General of the United Provinces should have a strong and sufficient barrier against France and others who would surprise or attack them; and her majesty and the said States-General appre-

ling, with just reason, the troubles and the mischiefs which may

happen in relation to this succession if at any time there should be any person or any power who should call it in question; and that the countries and states of the said lords the States-General were not furnished with such a barrier:—for these said reasons her said majesty the queen of Great Britain, although in the vigor of her age and enjoying perfect health (in which may God preserve her many years!), out of an effect of her usual prudence and piety, has thought fit to enter with the lords the States-General of the United Provinces into a particular alliance and confederacy, the principal end and only aim of which shall be the public quiet and tranquillity, and to prevent, by measures taken in time, all the events which might one day excite new wars. It is with this view that her British majesty has given her full power to agree upon some articles of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances that she hath already with the lords the States-General of the United Provinces, to her ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles viscount Townshend, baron of Lynn-Regis, privy counsellor of her British majesty, captain of her said majesty's yeomen of the guard, and her lieutenant in the county of Norfolk; and the lords of the States-General of the United Provinces, to the sieurs John de Weldern, lord of Valburg, great bailiff of the Lower Betewe, of the body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; Frederick, baron of Reede, lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T'er Lee, of the order of the nobility of the province of Holland and West Friesland; Anthony Heinsius, counsellor-pensionary of the province of Holland and West Friesland, keeper of the great seal, and superintendent of the fiefs of the same province; Cornelius Van Gheel, lord of Spranbrook, Bulkesteyn, &c.; Gedeon Hocuft, canon of the chapter of the church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected counsellor in the states of the province of Utrecht; Hassal Van Sminia, secretary of the chamber of the accounts of the province of Friesland; Ernest Ittersum, lord of Osterbof, of the body of the nobility of the province of Overyssel; and Wicher Wichers, senator of the city of Gröningen; all deputies to the assembly of the said lords of the States General on the part respectively of the provinces of Guelder, Holland, West Friesland, Zeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyssel, and Gröningen, and Ommelands; who, by virtue of their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I.—The treaties of peace, friendship, alliance, and confederacy, between her Britannic majesty and the States-General of the

United Provinces, shall be approved and confirmed by the present treaty, and shall remain in their former force and vigor as if they were inserted word for word.

ART. II.—The succession to the crown of England having been settled by an act of parliament passed the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty king William III., the title of which is, "An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject;" and lately, in the sixth year of the reign of her present majesty, the succession having been again established and confirmed by another act made for the greater security of her majesty's person and government, and the succession to the crown of Great Britain, &c., in the line of the most serene house of Hanover, and in the person of the princess Sophia, and of her heirs and successors, and descendants, male and female, already born or to be born; and although no power hath any right to oppose the laws made upon this subject by the crown and parliament of Great Britain; if it shall happen nevertheless, that under any pretence, or by any cause whatever, any person or any power or state may pretend to dispute the establishment which the parliament hath made of the aforesaid succession in the most serene house of Hanover, to oppose the said succession, to assist or favor those who may oppose it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting seditions and conspiracies against her or him to whom the crown of Great Britain shall descend, according to the acts aforesaid; the States-General engage and promise to assist and maintain in the said succession her or him to whom it shall belong by virtue of the said acts of parliament, to assist them in taking possession if they should not be in actual possession, and to oppose those who would disturb them in the taking of such possession, or in the actual possession, of the aforesaid succession.

ART. III.—Her said majesty and the States-General, in consequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the emperor, the late king of Great Britain, and the States-General, the 7th of September, 1701, will employ all their force to recover the rest of the Spanish Low Countries.

ART. IV.—And further, they will endeavor to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and security to the said States.

ART. V.—And whereas, according to the ninth article of the said alliance, it is to be agreed, among other matters, how and in what

manner the States shall be made safe by means of this barrier, the queen of Great Britain will use her endeavors to procure that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed that all the Spanish Low Countries, and what else may be found necessary, whether conquered or unconquered places, shall serve as a barrier to the States.

ART. VI.—That to this end their high mightinesses shall have the liberty to put and keep garrison, to change, augment, and diminish it as they shall judge proper, in the places following: namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Lisle, Tournay and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which shall from henceforward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify, the ports off Perle, Philippe, Damme, the castle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St. Donas, being joined to the fortification of the Sluce, and being entirely incorporated with it, shall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rhodenhuysen on this side Gand shall be demolished.

ART. VII.—The States-General may, in case of an apparent attack or war, put as many troops as they shall think necessary in all the towns, places, and forts in the Spanish Low Countries, where the reason of war shall require it.

ART. VIII.—They may likewise send into the towns, forts, and places where they shall have their garrisons, without any hindrance, and without paying any duties, provisions, ammunitions of war, arms and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that shall be found convenient and necessary for the said garrisons and fortifications.

ART. IX.—The said States-General shall also have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing sixth article, where they may have garrisons, such governors and commanders, majors, and other officers, as they shall find proper, who shall not be subject to any other orders, whatsoever they be, or from whencesoever they may come, relating to the security and military government of the said places, but only to those of their high mightinesses (exclusive of all others); still preserving the rights and privileges, as well ecclesiastical as political, of king Charles III.

ART. X.—That besides, the States shall have liberty to fortify the said towns, places, and forts which belong to them, and repair

the fortifications of them, in such manner as they shall judge necessary; and further to do whatever shall be useful for their defence.

ART. XI.—It is agreed that the States-General shall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurisdictions, and their dependencies, which they shall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the time of the death of the late king Charles II.; and besides, a million of livres shall be settled for the payment of one hundred thousand crowns every three months out of the clearest revenues of the Spanish Low Countries, which the said king was then in possession of; both which are for maintaining the garrisons of the States, and for supplying the fortifications, as also the magazines and other necessary expenses in the towns and places above mentioned. And that the said revenues may be sufficient to support these expenses, endeavors shall be used for enlarging the dependencies and jurisdictions aforesaid as much as possible; and particularly for including with the jurisdiction of Ypres that of Cassel, and the forest of Niepe; and with the jurisdiction of Lisle the jurisdiction of Douay, both having been so joined before the present war.

ART. XII.—That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spanish Low Countries shall be granted, transferred, or given, or descend to the crown of France, or any one of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, sale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, succession by will, or through want of will, from no title whatsoever, nor be put into the power or under the authority of the most christain king, or any one of the line of France.

ART. XIII.—And whereas the said States-General, in consequence of the ninth article of the said alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with Charles III. for putting the States in a condition of safety by means of the said barrier, the queen of Great Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars relating to the barrier of the States may be inserted in the aforesaid treaty or convention; and that her said majesty will continue her good offices until the abovementioned convention between the States and the said king Charles III. be concluded agreeably to what is before mentioned; and that her majesty will be guarantee of the said treaty or convention.

ART. XIV. — And that the said States may enjoy from henceforward as much as possible a barrier for the Spanish Low Countries, they shall be permitted to put their garrisons in the towns

already taken, and which may hereafter be so, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the mean time the said king Charles III. shall not be allowed to enter into possession of the said Spanish Low Countries, neither entirely nor in part: and during that time the queen shall assist their high mightinesses to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a-year above mentioned.

ART. XV.—And whereas their high mightinesses have stipulated by the treaty of Munster, in the 14th article, that the river Schelde, as also the canals of Sas, Swyn, and other mouths of the sea bordering thereupon, should be kept shut on the side of the States:

And in the 15th article, that the ships and commodities going in and coming out of the harbors of Flanders shall be and remain charged with all such imposts and other duties as are raised upon commodities going and coming along the Schelde and the other canals above mentioned:

The queen of Great Britain promises and engages that their high mightinesses shall never be disturbed in their right and possession in that respect, neither directly nor indirectly; as also, that the commerce shall not, in prejudice of the said treaty, be made more easy by the seaports than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the sea, on the side of the States of the United Provinces, neither directly nor indirectly.

And whereas, by the 16th and 17th articles of the same treaty of Munster, his majesty the king of Spain is obliged to treat the subjects of their high mightinesses as favorably as the subjects of Great Britain and the Hans-towns, who were then the people the most favorably treated; her Britannic majesty and their high mightinesses promise likewise to take care that the subjects of Great Britain and of their high mightinesses, shall be treated in the Spanish Low Countries as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and states belonging to it, equally, and as well the one as the other, as the people most favored.

ART. XVI. — The said queen and States-General oblige themselves to furnish by sea and land the succors and assistance necessary to maintain by force her said majesty in the quiet possession of her kingdoms, and the most serene house of Hanover in the said succession, in the manner it is settled by the acts of parliament before mentioned; and to maintain the said States-General in the possession of the said barrier.

ART. XVII. — After the ratifications of the treaty a particular convention shall be made of the conditions by which the said queen and the said lords the States-General will engage themselves to furnish the succors which shall be thought necessary, as well by sea as by land.

ART. XVIII.—If her British majesty, or the States-General of the United Provinces, be attacked by anybody whatsoever by reason of this convention, they shall mutually assist one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the said convention.

ART. XIX. — There shall be invited and admitted into the present treaty as soon as possible all the kings, princes, and states, who shall be willing to enter into the same, particularly his imperial majesty, the kings of Spain and Prussia, and the elector of Hanover. And her British majesty and the States-General of the United Provinces, and each of them in particular, shall be permitted to require and invite those whom they shall think fit to require and invite to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

ART. XX. — And as time has shown the omission which was made in the treaty signed at Ryswick in the year 1697, between England and France, in respect of the right of the succession of England in the person of her majesty the queen of Great Britain now reigning; and that, for want of having settled in that treaty this indisputable right of her majesty, France refused to acknowledge her for queen of Great Britain after the death of the late king William III., of glorious memory; her majesty the queen of Great Britain, and the lords the States-General of the United Provinces, do agree and engage themselves likewise not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her majesty to the crown of Great Britain, as also the right of succession of the most serene house of Hanover to the aforesaid crown, in the manner it is settled and established by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France, and that France has promised at the same time to remove out of its dominions the person who pretends to be king of Great Britain; and that no negotiation or formal discussion of the articles of the said treaty of peace shall be entered into but jointly, and at the same time, with the said queen or with her ministers.

ART. XXI.—Her British majesty and the lords the States-General of the United Provinces shall ratify and confirm all that is con-

tained in the present treaty within the space of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the signing. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and the deputies of the lords the States-General, have signed this present treaty, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) TOWNSHEND.	(L. S.) J. V. WELDEREN.
(L. S.) J. B. VAN REEDE.	(L. S.) A. HEINSIUS.
(L. S.) G. HOEUFT.	(L. S.) H. SMINIA.
(L. S.) E. V. ITTERSUM.	(L. S.) W. WICHERS.

The separate Article.

As in the preliminary articles signed here at the Hague, the 28th of May, 1709, by the plenipotentiaries of his imperial majesty, of her majesty the queen of Great Britain, and of the lords the States-General of the United Provinces, it is stipulated among other things that the lords the States-General shall have with entire property and sovereignty the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the 52nd article of the treaty of Munster of the year 1648; as also that the garrisons which are, or hereafter shall be, on the part of the lords the States-General, in the town of Huy, the citadel of Liege, and the town of Bonne, shall remain there, until it shall be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire: and as the barrier which is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty for the mutual guaranty between her British majesty and the lords the States-General cannot give to the United Provinces the safety for which it is established, unless it be well secured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together, for which the upper quarter of Guelder, and the garrisons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne, are absolutely necessary: (experience having thrice shown that France, having a design to attack the United Provinces, has made use of the places above mentioned, in order to come at them and to penetrate into the said provinces): And further, as in respect to the equivalent for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded to the United Provinces, according to the 52nd article of the treaty of Munster above mentioned, his majesty king Charles III. will be much more gratified and advantaged in other places than that equivalent can avail: to the end therefore, that the lords of the States-General may have

the upper quarter of Guelder with entire property and sovereignty; and that the said upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in manner to the said lords the States-General, in the convention or the treaty that they are to make with his majesty king Charles III. according to the 13th article of the treaty concluded this day; as also, that their garrisons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, and in Bonne, may remain there until it be otherwise agreed upon with his imperial majesty and the empire; her majesty the queen of Great Britain engages herself, and promises by this separate article, which shall have the same force as if it was inserted in the principal treaty, to make the same efforts for all this as she engaged herself to make for the obtaining the barrier in the Spanish Low Countries. In testimony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her British majesty, and deputies of the lords the States-General, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) TOWNSHEND. (L. S.) J. V. WELDEREN.
(L. S.) J. B. VAN REEDE. (L. S.) A. HEINSIUS.
(L. S.) G. HOEUFT. (L. S.) H. SMINIA.
(L. S.) E. V. ITTERSUM. (L. S.) W. WICHERS.

The second separate Article.

As the lords of the States-General have represented, that in Flanders the limits between Spanish Flanders and that of the States are settled in such a manner as that the land belonging to the States is extremely narrow there, so that in some places the territory of Spanish Flanders extends itself to the fortifications, and under the cannon of the places, towns, and forts of the States, which occasions many inconveniences, as has been seen by an example a little before the beginning of the present war, when a fort was designed to have been built under the cannon of the Sas Van Gand, under pretence that it was upon the territory of Spain; and as it is necessary for avoiding these and other sorts of inconveniences that the lands of the States upon the confines of Flanders should be enlarged, and that the places, towns, and forts, should by that means be better covered; her British majesty, entering into the just motives of the said lords the States-General in this respect, promises and engages herself by this separate article, that in the convention which the said lords the States-General are to make

his majesty king Charles III. she will assist them, as that it be agreed that, by the cession to the said lords the States- of the property of an extent of land necessary to obviate like and other inconveniences, their limits in Flanders shall enlarged more conveniently for their security, and those of the Flanders removed further from their towns, places, and to the end that these may not be so exposed any more. In mony whereof, the underwritten ambassador extraordinary and nipotentiary of her British majesty, and deputies of the lords States-General, have signed the present separate article, and e affixed their seals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, 1709.

(L. S.) TOWNSEND. (L. S.) G. HOEUFT.
(L. S.) J. B. VAN REEDE. (L. S.) H. SMINIA.
(L. S.) A. HEINSIUS. (L. S.) E. V. ITTERSUM.

The ARTICLES of the COUNTER-PROJECT, which were struck out or altered by the Dutch in the Barrier Treaty; with some Remarks.

ART. VI. To this end their high mightinesses shall have power o put and keep garrisons in the following places, viz., Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Lisle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the fort of Perle, Damme, and the castle of Gand.

REMARKS.

In the barrier treaty the States added the following places to those mentioned in this article, viz., Furnes, Ypres, towns of Lisle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort of St. Donas (which is to be property to the States), and the fort of Rhodenhuysen to be lished. To say nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demolishing of the fort of Rhodenhuysen, situate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only serve to defraud the king of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ART. VII. The said States may put into the said towns, forts, es, and in case of open war with France, into all the other , places, and forts, whatever troops the reason of war shall ire.

REMARKS.

But in the barrier treaty it is said, in case of an apparent att or war, without specifying against France; neither is the number of troops limited to what the reason of war shall require, but what the States shall think necessary.

ART. IX. Beside some smaller differences, ends with a salvo, not only for the ecclesiastical and civil rights of the king of Spain, but likewise for his revenues in the said towns, which revenues, in t barrier-treaty, are all given to the States.

ART. XI. The revenues of the chattellanies and dependencies of the towns and places which the States shall have for their barrier against France, and which were not in the possession of the crown of Spain at the late king of Spain's death, shall be settled to be a fund for maintaining garrisons and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other necessary charges, of the said towns of the barrier.

REMARKS.

I desire the reader to compare this with the 11th article of the barrier treaty, where he will see how prodigiously it is enlarged.

ART. XIV. All this to be without prejudice to such other treaties and conventions as the queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses may think fit to make for the future with the king Charles III., relating to the Spanish Netherlands, or to the said barrier.

ART. XV. And to the end that the said States may enjoy at present, as much as it is possible, a barrier in the Spanish Netherlands, they shall be permittted to put their garrisons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken before a peace be made.

REMARKS.

These two articles are not in the barrier treaty, but two others in their stead, to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly necessary for the Dutch to strike out the former of these articles when so great a part of the treaty is so highly and manifestly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the king of Spain, especially in the two articles inserted in the place of these, which I desire the reader will examine.

ART. XX. And whereas, by the 5th and 9th articles of the alliance between the emperor, the late king of Great Britain, and the

General, concluded the 7th of Sept., 1701, it is agreed and ɔulated that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the de- encies of the crown of Spain in Italy, shall be recovered from possession of France, as being of the last consequence to the e of both nations, as well as the Spanish Netherlands, for a bar- ner for the States-General; therefore the said queen of Great ı and the States-General agree and oblige themselves not to into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France before the ution of the said kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, as well as the Spanish I ' Countries, with the other towns and places in the possession France above mentioned in this treaty, and also after the manner cified in this treaty, as likewise all the rest of the entire monarchy Spain, be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ART. XXII. And whereas experience has shown of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces that the fortress and port of Dunkirk should not be in the possession of France in the condition they are at present, the subjects of both nations having undergone such great losses and suffered so much in their trade by the prizes taken from them by privateers sent out from that port; insomuch that France, by her unmeasurable ambition, may be always tempted to make some enterprises upon the territories of the queen of Great Britain and their high mightinesses, and interrupt the public repose and tranquillity; for the preservation of which, and the balance of Europe against the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themselves in this long and burdensome war; therefore the said queen of Great Britain and their mightinesses agree and oblige themselves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France before it shall be yielded and stipulated by France, as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the said town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demolished and rased, and that the port be entirely ruined and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

These two articles are likewise omitted in the barrier treaty; whereof the first regards particularly the interests of the house of Austria, and the other about demolishing those of Great Britain. It is something strange that the late ministry, whose advocates raise such a clamor about the necessity of recovering Spain from the house of Bourbon, should suffer the Dutch to strike out this article.

which I think clearly shows the reason why the States never troubled themselves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily to the emperor, but were wholly fixed upon the conquest of Flanders, because they had determined those provinces as a property for themselves.

As for the article about demolishing Dunkirk, I am not at all surprised to find it struck out; the destruction of that place, although it would be useful to the States, does more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that such ministers could more easily get over.

The sentiments of Prince EUGENE of Savoy, and of the Count de ZINZENDORF, relating to the Barrier of the States-General, to the Upper Quarter of Guelder, and to the Towns of the Electorate of Cologn, and of the bishopric of Liege.

Although the orders and instructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona upon the matters above mentioned do not go so far as to give directions for what follows; notwithstanding the prince and count above mentioned, considering the present state of affairs, are of the following opinion: —

First. That the counter-project of England, relating to the plac where the States-General may put and keep garrisons, ought to be followed, except Lier, Halle, to fortify, and the castle of Gand. Provided likewise that the sentiments of England be particularly conformed to relating to Dendermond and Ostend, as places in nowise belonging to the barrier, and which, as well as the castle of Gand, can only serve to make the States-General masters of the Low Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lier and Halle, those who are acquainted with the country know that these towns cannot give any security to the States-General, but can only make people believe that these places being fortified would rather serve to block up Brussels and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly. As to what is said in the 7th article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garrisons in the towns of the barrier in case of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the said prince and count, who think likewise that there ought to be added to the eighth article that no goods or merchandize should be sent into the towns where the States-General shall have garrisons, nor be comprehended under the names of such things as the said garrisons and fortifications shall have need of. And to t

the said things shall be inspected in those places where they are to pass; as likewise the quantity shall be settled that the gar- may want.

Thirdly. As to the 9th article, relating to the governors and commanders of those towns, forts, and places where the States-General shall have their garrisons, the said prince and count are of opinion that the said governors and commanders ought to take an as well to the king of Spain as to the States-General; but they may take a particular oath to the latter that they will not admit foreign troops without their consent, and that they will depend exclusively upon the said States in whatever regards the military power. But, at the same time, they ought exclusively to promise the king of Spain that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, ecclesiastical or civil, unless at the desire of the king's officers to assist them in the execution; in which case the said commanders should be obliged not to refuse them.

Fourthly. As to the 10th article, there is nothing to be added, unless that the States-General may repair and increase the fortifications of the towns, places, and forts, where they shall have their garrisons; but this at their own expense. Otherwise, under that pretext, they might seize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly. As to the 11th article, they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chattellanies and dependencies of these towns and places which are to be their barrier against France, this being a sort of sovereignty, and very prejudicial to the ecclesiastical and civil economy of the country. But the said prince and count are of opinion that the States-General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garrisons and fortifications, a sum of money, of a million and a half or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the king's officers, who shall be ordered to pay that sum before any other payment.

Sixthly. And the convention which shall be made on this affair between his catholic majesty and the States-General shall be for a limited time.

These are the utmost conditions to which the said prince and count think it possible for his catholic majesty to be brought; and they declare, at the same time, that their imperial and catholic majesties will sooner abandon the Low Countries than to take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expensive, shameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other side, the said prince and count are persuaded t the advantages at this time yielded to the States-General, may here after be very prejudicial to themselves; forasmuch as they may put the people of the Spanish Netherlands to some dangerous extremity, considering the antipathy between the two nations; a that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the said prince and count are of opinion that the States-General may be allowed the power of putting in garrisons into Venlo, Ruremond, and Steffenswaert, with orders to furnish the said States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thousand florins.

As to Bonne belonging to the electorate of Cologn, Liege and Huy to the bishopric of Liege, it is to be understood that, these being imperial towns, it does not depend upon the emperor to consent that foreign garrisons should be placed in them upon any pretence whatsoever. But, whereas the States-General demand t only for their security, it is proposed to place in those towns a garrison of imperial troops, of whom the States may be in no suspicion, as they might be of a garrison of an elector who might possibly have views opposite to their interests. But this is proposed only in case that it shall not be thought more proper to raise one or other of the said towns.

The Representation of the English Merchants at Bruges, relating to the Barrier Treaty.

DAVID WHITE, and other Merchants, her Majesty's Subjects, residing at Bruges and other Towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to represent:

THAT whereas the cities of Lisle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conquests in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war by the united forces of her majesty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States-General, and that we, her majesty's subjects, may be made liable to such duti and impositions on trade as the said States-General shall think fit to impose on us: we humbly hope and conceive that it is her majesty's intention and design that the trade of her dominions and subjects, which is carried on with these new conquests, may be on an equal foot with that of the subjects and dominions of the States-

General, and not be liable to any new duty when transported from Spanish Netherlands to the said new conquests, as, to our great prise, is exacted from us on the following goods, viz., butter, ow, salmon, hides, beef, and all other products of her majesty's nions which we import at Ostend and there pay the duty of entry to the king of Spain, and consequently ought not to be liable to r new duty when they carry the same goods and all others f their dominions by a free pass or transire to the said new con- : and we are under apprehension that if the said new con- que be settled or given entirely into the possession of the States- Ge l for their barrier (as we are made to believe, by a treaty lately made by her majesty's ambassador, the lord viscount Townshend, at the Hague), that the States-General may also soon declare all goods and merchandise, which are contraband in their provinces, to be also contraband or prohibited in these new conquests or new barrier, by which her majesty's subjects will be deprived of the sale and consumption of the following products of her majesty's dominions, which are and have long been declared contraband in the United Provinces, such as English and Scotch salt, malt spirits, or corn brandy, and all other sorts of distilled English spirits, whale and rape oil, &c.

It is therefore humbly conceived that her majesty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her subjects and dominions, may be pleased to direct, by a treaty of commerce or some other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot in all the Spanish Netherlands and the new conquests of barrier with the subjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the king of Spain; and by a provision that no product of her majesty's dominions shall ever be declared contraband in these new conquests, except such goods as were esteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. king of Spain. And it is also humbly prayed that the product and manufacture of the new conquests may be also exported without paying any new duty beside that of exportation at Ostend, which was always paid to the king of Spain; it being impossible for any nation in Europe to assort an entire cargo for the Spanish West Indies without a considerable quantity of several of the manufactures of Lisle; such as caradoros, cajant, picoses, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of France are to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings and all other

fish to France on the same terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryswick. The enlarging her majesty's p tions in America, &c., is naturally recommended.

AN APPENDIX TO THE

CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES,

AND ADDITIONAL REMARKS ON THE BARRIER TREATY.

Nihil est aliud in fœdere, nisi ut pia et æterna pax sit.
CICERO, *pro C. Balbo.*

Jan. 16, 1712–13.

I BEGIN to think that, though perhaps there may be several very exact maps of Great Britain to be had at the shops in Amsterdam or the Hague; and some shining genii in that country can, it may be, look out the most remarkable places in our island, especially those upon the sea-coast or near it, as Portsmouth, Chatham, Torbay, and the like; yet it is highly necessary that "Chamberlaine's Present State," or some other good book of that sort, were carefully translated into Dutch, *in usum illustrissimorum ordinum*, or with any other sounding and pompous title, only signifying that it done for the use of our good allies, and to set them right in the nature of our government, constitution, and laws, with which they do not appear to be so well acquainted as might be expected. I am sensible that, as things now stand, if a manifesto or memorial should be sent them, humbly representing to their high mightinesses that Great Britain is an independent monarchy, governed by its own laws; that the queen is supreme over all orders of the realm; that no other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, has or ought to have any authority and jurisdiction over us; that where the queen, lords, and commons solemnly consent, it is a law; and where the collective body of the people agree, it is the sense of the nation; that the making war and peace is the prerogative of the crown; and that all alliances are to be observed only so far as they answer the ends for

which they were made: in such a case it is not unlikely but the Amsterdam Gazette, or some other paper in the Seven Provinces, would immediately answer all this by publicly protesting that it came from the Jacobites and Frenchified highfliers, and therefore ought not to be admitted as genuine: for of late that celebrated writer and two or three of his seconds have undertaken to tell us poor Britons who are our best subjects, and how we ought to behave ourselves toward our allies. So that in this unhappy juncture I do not see when we shall come to a right understanding. On the other hand, suppose we agreed to give them the precedence and left the first proposal for overtures of accommodation to their management; this perhaps might quickly bring us to be better acquainted. Let them therefore lay aside all clumsy pretences to address; tell us no re of former battles, sieges, and glories; nor make love to us in prose, and extol our beauty, our fortune, and their own passion for us, to the stars; but let them come roundly to the business, and in plain terms give us to understand that they will not recognise any other government in Great Britain but Whiggarchy only; that they treated with us as such, and are not obliged to acknowledge a ed power called a monarchy, to which they are utter strangers; t they have a just demand upon us ever since the Revolution, which is a precedent for their interposing whenever popery and arbitrary power are coming in upon us, which at present they are informed by their friends is our case; and besides, they are advised by able counsel that we are only tenants for life, and they, being mentioned in the entail, are obliged to have a watchful eye over us, and to see that neither waste nor dilapidation be done upon the premises. If all this be not the case, and a true state of the controversy, as I heartily hope it is not, I leave any rational creature, pick him where you will between the Danube and Ganges, to judge of the following remonstrance.

A war is undertaken by several potentates in conjunction, upon certain causes and conditions plainly expressed in a writing called "The Grand Alliance." This war is carried on with success; the enemy offers to treat, and proposes to satisfy all the just demands of the several parties engaged against them. Great Britain makes her claim, so does Portugal, and both are fully satisfied. The Dutch produce their barrier of Gertruydenberg, and are assured they shall have it except two or three places at most. Savoy and Prussia have more than ever they asked. Only the emperor will have all Spain

contrary to the reasons upon which his brother's renunciation w founded, and in direct violation of a fundamental maxim, "the balance of power," so that he would involve us in a second war, and a new "grand alliance" under pretence of observing the old one. This, in short, is the case; and yet after all the bloodshed, expense, and labor to compass these great ends, though her Britannic majesty finds by experience that every potentate in the grand alliance except herself has actually broke it every year; though she stands possessed of an undoubted right to make peace and war; though she has procured for her allies all that she was obliged to by treaty; though her two houses of parliament humbly entreat her to finish the great work; though her people with one voice admire and congratulate the wise steps she has taken, and cry aloud to her to defer their happiness no longer; though some of the allies and one or two of the provinces have declared for peace, and her majesty's domestic enemies dread it as the utter downfall of their faction; yet still the blessing depends, and expectation is our lot. The menaci pensionary has scruples; he desires time to look out for something to demand; there are a dozen or two of petty princes who want silk stockings, and lace round their hats; we must stay till the second part of Denain comes upon the stage, and squire South promises to go directly to Madrid the next time we show him the way thither.

Her majesty is all goodness and tenderness to her people and her allies. A brighter example of piety could not adorn the life of her royal grandfather, whose solemn anniversary we must shortly celebrate. She has now prorogued the best parliament that ever assembled in her reign, and respited her own glory and the wishes, prayers, and wants of her people, only to give some of her allies an opportunity to think of the returns they owe her, and try if there be such things as gratitude, justice, or humanity in Europe. This conduct of her majesty is without parallel. Never was so great a condescension made to the unreasonable clamors of an insolent faction, now dwindled into the most contemptible circumstances. It is certainly high time they should begin to meditate other measures, unless they vainly imagine the government must part with both its attributes of mercy and justice till they are pleased to be dutiful and obedient. What ill-grounded hopes and expectati they have underhand administered to any of the allies is not worth my while to inquire, since, whatever they are, they must come nded with the blackest treason and ingratitude. The Dut

have the least reason in the world to rely on such a broken reed; and after having solemnly promised to conform themselves to her y's wisdom and depend on her conduct, which is the language ir latest professions, such clandestine management would fully deserve all those appellations with which the writings of the Whigs are so richly embellished.

After all, when her majesty and her subjects have waited one period more, and affixed a new date to their wishes and their patience; since peace is the only end of every alliance, and since all that we fought for is yielded up by the enemy, in justice to her prerogative, to her parliament and her people, the desirable blessing will no doubt be reached out to us; our happiness will not be put off till they who have ill-will at us can find time and power to prevent it. All that a stubborn ally can then expect is time to come in and accept those terms which himself once thought reasonable. The present age will soon taste the sweets of such conduct, and posterity as highly applaud it. Only they who now rail and calumniate will do so still, and who are disposed to give everything the same treatment which makes for our safety and welfare, and spoils their game of disorder and confusion.

It is true the present stagnation of affairs is accounted for another way, and the party give out that France begins to draw back and would explain several articles upon us; but the authors of this forgery know very well I do not miscall it, and are conscious to the criminal reasons why it is with so much industry bandied about. France rather enlarges her offers than abates or recedes from them, so happy are we in finding our most inveterate and ungenerous enemies within our bowels! The Whigs, according to custom, may chuckle and solace themselves with the visionary hopes of coming mischief; and imagine they are grown formidable because they are to be humored in their extravagancies and to be paid for their perverseness. Let them go on to glory in their projected schemes of government, and the blessed effects they have produced in the world. It was not enough for them to make obedience the duty of the sovereign, but this obedience must at length be made passive; and that non-resistance may not wholly vanish from among the virtues, since the subject is weary of it, they would fairly make it over to their monarch. The compact between prince and people is supposed to be mutual; but grand alliances are, it seems, of another nature: a failure in one party does not disengage the rest; they are

tied up and entangled so long as any one confederate adheres to the negative, and we are not allowed to make use of the Polish : ment and plead *non loquitur*. But these artifices are too thin to hold; they are the cobwebs which the faction have spun out of the last dregs of their poison, made to be swept away with the unnec sary animals who contrived them. Their tyranny is at an end, : their ruin very near; I can only advise them to become their fall, like Cæsar, and "die with decency."

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF QUEEN ANNE.

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO THE EDITION OF 1758.

THUS the long-wished for "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign" is at length brought to light, in spite of all attempts to suppress it!

As this publication is not made under the sanction of the or names which the author and the world had a right to expect, it is fit some account of the work's appearing in this manner should be here given.

Long before the dean's apparent decline, some of his intimate friends with concern foresaw the impending fate of his fortune and his works. To this it is owing that these sheets, which the world now despaired of ever seeing, are rescued from obscurity, perhaps from destruction.

For this the public is indebted to a gentleman, now in Irel of the greatest probity and worth, with whom the dean long lived in perfect intimacy. To this gentleman's hands the dean ent ed a copy of his History, desiring him to peruse and give his judgi t of it, with the last corrections and amendments the author had gi it, in his own hand.

His friend read, admired, and approved. And from a dread of valuable and so interesting a work's being by any accident lost ed, as was probable by its not being intended to be pub- in the author's lifetime, he resolved to keep this copy till the or should press him for it; but with a determined purpose it l never see the light while there were any hopes of the author's copy being published or even preserved.

Tl resolution he inviolably kept till he and the world had full ce. that the dean's executors, or those into whose hands the original copy fell, were so far from intending to publish it that it was actually suppressed, perhaps destroyed.

Then he thought himself not only at liberty, but judged it his duty to his departed friend and to the public, to let this copy, which he had now kept many years most secretly, see the light.

Thus it has at length fallen into the hands of a person who publishes it for the satisfaction of the public, abstracted from all private regards; which are never to be permitted to come into competition with the common good.

Every judicious eye will see that the author of these sheets wrote with strong passions, but with stronger prepossessions and prejudices in favor of a party. These, it may be imagined, the editor in some measure may have adopted, and published this work as a kind of support of that party or some surviving remnant thereof.

It is but just to undeceive the reader, and inform him from what kind of hand he has received this work. A man may regard a good piece of painting, while he despises the subject; if the subject be ever so despicable, the masterly strokes of the painter may demand our admiration, while he in other respects is entitled to no portion of our regard.

In poetry we carry our admiration still further; and like the poet while we actually contemn the man. Historians share the like fate; hence some, who have no regard to propriety or truth, are yet admired for diction, style, manner, and the like.

The editor considers this work in another light: he long knew the author, and was no stranger to his politics, connexions, tendencies, passions, and the whole economy of his life. He has long been hardily singular in condemning this great man's conduct amid the admiring multitude; nor ever could have thought of making an interest in a man whose principles and manners he could by no rule of reason or honor approve, however he might have admired his wit and parts.

Such was judged the disposition of the man whose history of the most interesting period of time in the annals of Britain is now herein offered to the reader. He may well ask from what motives? The answer is easily, simply given.

The causes assigned for delaying the publication of this history were principally these: That the manuscript fell into the hands of men who, whatever they might have been by the generality deemed, were by the dean believed to be of his party; though they did not, after his death, judge it prudent to avow his principles more than to deny them in his lifetime. These men, having got their beavers, tobacco-boxes, and other trifling remembrances of former friendship, by the dean's will, did not choose publicly to avow principles that had marred their friend's promotion, and might probably put a stop to theirs; therefore, they gave the inquisitive world to understand that there was something too strong against many great men, as well as the succeeding system of public affairs in general, in the dean's History of the Four Last Years of the Queen's Reign, to admit of a publication in our times; and with this poor insinuation excused themselves, and satisfied the weakly well-affected in suppressing the manifestation of displeasing truths, of however great importance to society.

This manuscript has now fallen into the hands of a man who never could associate with, or even approve, any of the parties or factions that have differently distracted, it might be said disgraced, these kingdoms; because he has as yet known none whose motives or rules of action were truth and the public good alone; of one who judges that perjured magistrates of all denominations, and their most exalted minions, may be exposed, deprived, or cut off by the fundamental laws of his country; and who, upon these principles, from his heart approves and glories in the virtues of his predecessors, who revived the true spirit of the British polity in laying aside a priest-ridden, a hen-pecked, tyrannical tool, who had overturned the political constitution of his country, and in reinstituting the dissolved body politic by a revolution, supported by the laws of nature and the realm, as the only means of preserving the tural and legal, the civil and religious liberties of the members of the commonwealth.

Truth, in this man's estimation, can hurt no good cause. And falsehood and fraud, in religion and politics, are ever to be detect to be exploded.

tions that this history contained something injurious to present establishment, and therefore necessary to be suppressed, serve better the purposes of mistaken or insidious malcontents than real publication can. And if anything were by this or any history to be shown essentially erroneous in our politics, who calls himself a Briton can be deemed such an impious slave as to conceal the destructive evil? The editor of this work disdains and abhors the servile thought, and wishes to live no longer than he dares to think, speak, write, and in all things to act worthy of a Briton.

From this regard to truth and to his country, the editor of this History was glad of an opportunity of rescuing such a writing from those who meant to suppress it: the common cause, in his estimation, required and demanded it should be done, and the sooner it is published, he judged, the better; for if the conduct of the queen and her ministers does not deserve the obloquy that has been long industriously cast upon it, what is more just than to vindicate it? what more reasonable than that this should be done while living witnesses may yet be called to prove or disprove the several allegations and assertions; since in a few years more such witnesses may be as much wanting as to prevent a canonization, which is therefore prudently procrastinated for above an age? Let us then coolly hear what is to be said on this side the question, and judge like Britons.

The editor would not be thought to justify the author of this History in all points, or even to attempt to acquit him of unbecoming prejudices and partiality: without being deeply versed in history or politics, he can see his author in many instances blinded with passions that disgrace the historian, and blending with phrases worthy of a Cæsar or a Cicero, expressions not to be justified by truth, reason, or common sense; yet think him a most powerful orator and a great historian.

No unprejudiced person will blame the dean for doing all that is consistent with truth and decency to vindicate the government of the queen, and to exculpate the conduct of her ministers and her last general; all good men would rejoice at such a vindication. But if he meant no more than this, his work would ill deserve the title of history. That he generally tells truth, and founds his most material assertions upon facts, will I think be found very evident. But there is room to suspect that while he tells no more than the truth,

he does not tell the whole truth. However, he makes it very clear that the queen's allies, especially our worthy friends the Dutch, were much to blame for the now generally condemned conduct of the queen with regard to the prosecution of the war and the bringing about the peace.

The author's drawings of characters are confessedly partial; for he tells us openly he means not to give characters entire, but such parts of each man's particular passions, acquirements, and habits, as he was most likely to transfer into his political schemes. What writing, what sentence, what character, can stand this torture? What extreme perversion may not, let me say does not, this produce? Yet thus does he choose to treat all men that were not favorers of the latest measures of the queen, when the best that has been said for her shows no more than that she was blindfolded and held in leading-strings by her ministers.

He does not spare a man confessed by all the world to have discharged the duties of his function like a soldier, like a hero; but charges prince Eugene with raising and keeping up a most horrible mob with intent to assassinate Harley. For all which odious charges he offers not one individual point of proof.

He is not content with laying open again the many faults alre[illegible] publicly proved upon the late duke of Marlborough; but insinuat a new crime by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the throne. But this is done in a manner peculiar to this author.

On the other hand he extols the ministers and minions of the queen in the highest terms; and while he robs their antagonists of every good quality, generally gives those wisdom and every virtue that can adorn human nature.

He is not ashamed to attempt to justify what all thinking good men must condemn, the queen's making twelve peers at once to serve a particular turn.

All these may be ascribed to the strength of his passions, and to the prejudices early imbibed in favor of his indulgent royal mistress and her favorites and servants. The judicious will look through the elegant clothing, and dispassionately consider these as mere human errors to which no well-informed mind can assent. The editor thinks himself bound to protest against them.

He makes a few lapses on the other side, without being as clear as an impartial historian would choose to appear. He more than hints at the queen's displeasure at its being moved in parliament

that the prince elector should be invited to reside in England, to whose crown he was by law declared presumptive heir; but is always open upon the queen's insisting on the pretender's being sent out of France. It is easy to see how incompatible these things appear: nothing could tend more to secure the Hanover succession and to enlarge its benefits to Britain than the bringing over the successor, who should in every country be well instructed in the language, customs, manners, religion, and laws of his future subjects, before he comes to hold the reins of government. And our author does not take the proper care to inform us how far the French thought fit to comply with banishing the pretender their dominions; since many still live in doubt that if he was sent out of France he was sent into England.

But there is one expression of our author too perverse, too grossly abused, to admit of any apology, of any palliation. It is not to be supposed that he was ignorant of any word in the English language; and least of all can be supposed ignorant of the meaning of a word which, had it been ever so doubtful before, had a certain meaning impressed upon it by the authority of parliament, of which no sensible subject can be ignorant.

Notwithstanding this, where our author speaks of the late king James he calls him the *abdicated king*, and gives the same epithet even to his family. Though this weak, ill-advised, and ill-fated prince in every sense of the word with Romans and English, and to all intents and purposes, *abdicated*, yet can he in no sense be called *abdicated;* unless the people's asserting their rights and defending themselves against a king, who broke his compact with his subjects and overturned their government, can be called *abdication* in them; which no man in his senses can be hardy enough to support upon any principle of reason or the laws of England. Let the reader judge which this is most likely to be, error or design.

These exceptions the editor thought himself bound to make to some parts of this work, to keep clear of the disagreeable imputations of being of a party of whatsoever denomination, in opposition to truth and the rights and liberties of the subject.

These laid aside, the work will be found to have many beauties, many excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this history, from an insinuation made only since the author's death, to wit, that he was never admitted into the secrets of the administration, but made to believe he was a confidant, only to engage him in the list of the ministerial writers of that reign.

The falsehood of this will readily appear upon perusal of this work. This shows he knew the most secret springs of every movement in the whole complicated machine; that he states facts too well known to be contested, in elegant simplicity, and reasons upon them with the talents of the greatest historian; and thus makes a history composed rather of negotiations than actions most entertaining, affecting, and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull, and disagreeable.

It is now fit to apologise for some errors which the judicious must discover upon a perusal of this work. It is for this among other reasons much to be lamented that this History was not published under the author's own inspection. It is next to impossible to copy or print any work without faults; and most so where the author's eye is wanting.

It is not to be imagined that even our author, however accurate, however great, was yet strictly and perfectly correct in his writings. Yet where some seeming inaccuracies in style or expression have been discovered, the deference due to the author made any alteration too presumptuous a task for the editor. These are therefore left to the amending hand of every sensible and polite reader.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

HAVING written the following History at Windsor in the happy reign of her majesty queen Anne, of ever glorious, blessed, and immortal memory, I resolved to publish it for the satisfaction of my fellow-subjects, in the year 1713: being under a necessity of going to Ireland to take possession of the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, I left the original with the ministers, and having stayed in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found at my return that my lord treasurer Oxford, and the secretary my lord Bolingbroke, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publishing it without some alterations which I would not submit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majesty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever since preserved the original very safely, too well knowing what a turn the world would take upon the German family's succeeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been established solemnly by the act of an

undisputed parliament, brought into the house of commons by Mr. Harley, who was then speaker.

But, as I have said in another discourse, it was very well understood some years before her majesty's death how the new king would act immediately upon his entrance, in the choice of those (and those alone) whom he resolved to trust, and consequently what reports would industriously be raised as well as spread, to expose the proceedings of her majesty herself, as well as of her servants, who have ever since been blasted as enemies to the present establishment by the most ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot to have been daily conversant with the persons then in power; never absent in times of business or conversation until a few weeks before her majesty's death; and a witness of almost every step they made in the course of their administration; I must have been very unfortunate not to be better informed than those miserable pamphleteers or their patrons could pretend to. At the same time I freely confess it appeared necessary as well as natural, upon such a mighty change as the death of a sovereign, that those who were to be in power upon the succession, and resolved to act in every part by a direct contrary system of politics, should load their predecessors with as much infamy as the most inveterate malice and envy could suggest, or the most stupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings could swallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write with the utmost impartiality the following History of the Four Last Years of her Majesty's Reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced persons at present as well as posterity, I am persuaded in my own mind, as likewise by the advice of my oldest and wisest friends, that I am doing my duty to God and man by endeavoring to set future ages right in their judgment of that happy reign; and as a faithful historian I cannot suffer falsehoods to run on any longer, not only against all appearance of truth as well as probability, but even against those happy events which owe their success to the very measures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials of this history, beside what I have already mentioned,—I mean the confidence reposed in me for those four years by the chief persons in power,—were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambassadors abroad, and from the answers as well as instructions sent them by our secretaries of state, or by the first minister the earl of Oxford. The former were all

originals, and the latter copies entered into books in the secretaries' office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention several memorials given me by the ministers at home. Further, I was a constant witness and observer of all that passed, and entered every particular of any consequence upon paper.

I was so far from having any obligation to the crown, that, on the contrary, her majesty issued a proclamation offering three hundred pounds to any person who would discover the author of a certain short treatise [Public Spirit of the Whigs], which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me. I very often dined indeed with the treasurer and secretary; but in those days that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time since. I absolutely refused to be chaplain to the lord-treasurer, because I thought it would ill become me to be in a state of dependence.

I say this to show that I had no other bias than my own opinion of persons and affairs. I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. Addison and Mr. Congreve, neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treasurer, who much esteemed them both; and by his lordship's commands I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. Steele might have been safe enough if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberless prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of those who, to serve their own interest or ambition, have cast off all religion, morality, justice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the present age, yet I hope to be so in the next by all who will bear any regard for the honor and liberty of England, if either of these shall then subsist or not.

I have no interest or inclination to palliate the mistakes, or omissions, or want of steadiness, or unhappy misunderstandings, among a few of those who then presided in affairs.

Nothing is more common than the virulence of superficial and ill-informed writers against the conduct of those who are now called prime ministers; and since factions appear at present to be at a greater height than in any former times, although perhaps not so

equally poised, it may probably concern those who are now in their height, if they have any regard to their own memories in future ages, to be less warm against others who humbly differ from them in some state opinions. Old persons remember, at least by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed against the first earl of Clarendon, whose character as it now stands might be a pattern for all ministers; although even bishop Burnet of Sarum, whose principles, veracity, and manner of writing are so little esteemed upon many accounts, has been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treasurer and secretary Bolingbroke, after my utmost endeavors for above two years to reconcile them, I retired to a friend in Berkshire, where I stayed until her majesty's death, and then immediately returned to my station in Dublin, where I continued about twelve years without once seeing England. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs, neither changing nor adding further than by correcting the style; and if I have been guilty of any mistakes, they must be of small moment; for it was hardly possible I could be wrong informed with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

I shall not be very uneasy under the obloquy that may perhaps be cast upon me by the violent leaders and followers of the present prevailing party. And yet I cannot find the least inconsistence with conscience or honor, upon the death of so excellent a princess as her late majesty, for a wise and good man to submit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful protestant successor, whose hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houses of parliament with the greatest unanimity, after it had been made an article in the treaty that every prince in our alliance should be a guarantee of that succession. Nay, I will venture to go one step further; that if the negotiators of that peace had been chosen out of the most professed zealots for the interest of the Hanover family, they could not have bound up the French king or the Hollanders more strictly than the queen's plenipotentiaries did in confirming the present succession; which was in them so much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, because they perfectly well knew that they should never receive the least mark of favor when the succession had taken place.

BOOK THE FIRST.

I PROPOSE to give the public an account of the most important affairs at home during the last session of parliament, as well as of our negotiations of peace abroad, not only during that period but some time before and since. I shall relate the chief matters transacted by both houses in that session, and discover the designs carried on by the heads of a discontented party, not only against the ministry, but in some manner against the crown itself: I likewise shall state the debts of the nation; show by what mismanagement, and to serve what purposes, they were at first contracted; by what negligence or corruption they have so prodigiously grown; and what methods have since been taken to provide not only for their payment, but to prevent the like mischief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I shall strictly follow truth, or what reasonably appeared to me to be such after the most impartial inquiries I could make, and the best opportunities of being informed by those who were the principal actors or advisers.

Neither shall I mingle panegyric or satire with a history intended to inform posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present age who may be ignorant or misled, since facts, truly related, are the best applauses or most lasting reproaches.

Discourses upon subjects relating to the public usually seem to be calculated for London only, and some few miles about it; while the authors suppose their readers to be informed of several particulars to which those that live remote are, for the generality, utter strangers. Most people who frequent this town acquire a sort of smattering, such as it is, which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by innuendoes, or hints at facts or persons, and initial letters of names; wherein gentlemen at a distance, although perhaps of much better understandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that the Memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the reader a short view of the state and disposition of affairs when the last session of parliament began. And because the party leaders who had lost their power and places were, upon that juncture, employing all their engines in an attempt to re-establish themselves, I shall venture one step further, and represent so much of their characters as may be supposed to have influenced their politics.

On the 7th day of December, 1711, began the second session of

parliament. It was now above a year since the queen had thought fit to put the great offices of state and of her own household into other hands; however, three of the disconted lords were still in possession of their places; for the duke of Marlborough continued general, the duke of Somerset master of the horse, and the earl of Cholmondeley treasurer of her majesty's household: likewise great numbers of the same party still kept employments of value and importance, which had not been usual of late years upon any changes of ministry. The queen, who judged the temper of her people by this house of commons, which a landed interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honorable peace, and disposed to leave the management of it to her own wisdom and that of her council; she had therefore several months before the session began sent to inform the States-General of some overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and during that summer her majesty took several further steps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congress at Utrecht, for a general peace, was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negotiations between our court and that of France I shall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot with respect to its debts; for the earl of Oxford, lord-treasurer, had, in the preceding session, proposed and effected ways and means in the house of commons, where he was then a member, for providing a parliamentary fund to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greatest part lay upon the navy) without any new burden (at least after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the same time he took care to prevent further incumbrances upon that article by finding ready money for naval provisions, which has saved the public somewhat more than cent. per cent. in that mighty branch of our expenses.

The clergy were altogether in the interests and the measures of the present ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their defence during a prosecution against one of their members [Sacheverell], where the whole sacred order was understood to be concerned. The zeal shown for that most religious bill to settle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of London,[1] was a fresh obligation; and they were further highly gratified by her majesty's choosing one of their body to be a great officer of state.[2]

[1] Which owed its origin to Dr. Swift.

[2] Dr. Robinson, bishop of Bristol, to be lord privy seal.

By this time likewise all disputes about those principles which used originally to divide Whig and Tory were wholly dropped; and those fantastical words ought in justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient names whereby to distinguish lovers of peace from lovers of war; or those who would leave her majesty some degree of freedom in the choice of her ministers from others who could not be satisfied with her choosing any, except such as she was most averse from; but where a nation is once divided, interest and animosity will keep open the breach without being supported by any other principles; or at worst a body of discontented people can change and take up what principles they please.

As to the disposition of the opposite party, we all remember that the removal of the last ministry was brought about by several degrees; through which means it happened that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one astonishment before they fell into another. This scene lasted for some months, and was followed by a period of rage and despair natural to those who reflect that they have lost a secure game by their own rashness, folly, and want of common management; when at the same time they knew by experience that a watchful and dextrous adversary lay ready to take the advantage. However, some time before the session the heads of that party began to recollect themselves and rally their forces, like an enemy who has been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not pursued; for although the chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little esteem or friendship for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end, of distressing by all possible methods the new administration; wherein if they could succeed so far as to put the queen under any great necessity, another parliament must be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The issue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houses, although under a different form, upon the very first day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greatest privacy and application, which must be acknowledged to have for several days disconcerted some of the ministry, as well as dispirited their friends, and the consequences thereof, which have in reality been so very pernicious to the kingdom.

But because the principal leaders in this design are the same per-

sons to whom, since the loss of their power, all the opposition has been owing which the court received, either in treaties abroad or the administration at home, it may not be improper to describe those qualities in each of them which few of their admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the public stage; for I do not intend to draw their characters entire, which would be tedious and little to the purpose; but shall only single out those passions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were most likely to transfer into their political schemes, and which were most subservient to the designs they seemed to have in view.

The lord Somers may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he has raised himself, by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune; he has constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. That accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops whom king James had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honorable as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit which the Revolution had restored began to teach other lessons — that since we had accepted a new king from a Calvinistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims in religion and government. But since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down from the ancestors, it was the practice of those politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favor of a prince; never offending in word or gesture; in the highest degree courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow; but this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished; and in private conversation, where he observes it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal. Two reasons are assigned for this behavior: first, from the consciousness of his humble original, he keeps all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; the second, that, being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoids all

incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect. And it is, indeed, true that no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of provocation; which temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence upon himself; so that his breast has been seen to heave and his eyes to sparkle with rage in those very moments when his words and the cadence of his voice were in the humblest and softest manner: perhaps that force upon his nature may cause that insatiable love of revenge which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he has none; and his ambition is gratified by being the uncontested head of his party. With an excellent understanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he has very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of his time amuses himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favorite servant.

These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person who now presides over the discontented party, although he be not answerable for all their mistakes; and if his precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanor of some persons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared her majesty was firmly resolved upon a treaty of peace he advised his friends not to oppose it in its progress, but find fault with it after it was made; which would be a copy of the like usage themselves had met with after the treaty of Ryswick, and the safest as well as the most probable way of disgracing the promoters and advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius, because, whatever attempt has hitherto been made, with any appearance of conduct or probability of success, to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I prophesy the same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

The duke of Marlborough's character has been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side, without the suspicion of flattery or de-

traction. I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers have rendered problematical; but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners who deny him personal valor seem not to consider that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle, and continued with a strong bias that way till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his soliciting to be general for life: I am persuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquisites by continuing the war; and that he had *then* no intentions of settling the crown in his family, his only son having been dead some years before. He is noted to be master of great temper, able to govern or very well to disguise his passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him with respect to money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises: but this perfection so necessary in courts is not very successful in camps, among soldiers who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His wife, the duchess, may justly challenge her place in this list. It is to her the duke is chiefly indebted for his greatness and his fall; for above twenty years she possessed without a rival the favors of the most indulgent mistress in the world, nor ever missed one single opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She has preserved a tolerable court reputation with respect to love and gallantry; but three Furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage; by the last of these often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without some degree of wit, and has in her time affected the character of it by the usual method of arguing against religion, and proving the doctrines of Christianity

to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favor, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting; and then I have said enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the earl of Godolphin. It is said he was originally intended for a trade before his friends preferred him to be a page at court; which some have very unjustly objected as a reproach. He has risen gradually in four reigns, and was much more constant to his second master king James than some others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated king to the sea-side, and kept constant correspondence with him till the day of his death. He always professed a sort of passion for the queen at St. Germain's; and his letters were to her in the style of what the French call *double entendre*. In a mixture of love and respect, he used frequently to send her from hence little presents of those things which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always asked king William's leave, as if without her privity; because, if she had known that circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting the aspect of this lord, that his predominant passions were love and play; that he could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of his mistress with a pencil and card; or that he has tears at command, like a woman, to be used either in an intrigue of gallantry or politics. His alliance with the Marlborough family, and his passion for the duchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party whose principles he naturally disliked, and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert by a perfect trifle; taking fire at a nickname [Volpone] delivered by Dr. Sacheverell, with great indiscretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himself: and this is one among many instances given by his enemies that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The earl of Sunderland is another branch of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned his divinity from his uncle and his politics from his tutor. It may be thought a blemish in his character that he has much fallen from the height of those republican principles with which he began; for in his father's lifetime, while he was a member of the house of commons, he would often, among his familiar friends, refuse the title of lord (as he has done to myself), swear he would never be called otherwise than Charles Spencer, and hoped to see the day

when there should not be a peer in England. His understanding, at the best, is of the middling size; neither has he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign from the lady he is allied to,[1] or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he has done renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those to whom he has given greatest cause to complain; for which reason he will never forgive either the queen or the present treasurer.

The earl of Wharton has filled the province allotted him by his colleagues with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He has imbibed his father's principles in government; but dropped his religion and took up no other in its stead: excepting that circumstance, he is a firm presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleasure for making converts of young men of quality upon their first appearance; in which public service he contracted such large debts that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him; for beside his talents above mentioned, he is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ his gifts upon such occasions where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an incontestable instance to discover the true nature of faction; since, being overrun with every quality which produces contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he has notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a figure.

The lord Cowper, although his merits are later than the rest, deserves a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising lawyer; but as he was raised to be a chancellor and a peer without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which in late times had been the constant practice, and little skilled in the nature of government or the true interest of princes, further than the municipal or common law of England, his abilities as to foreign affairs did not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that

[1] Second daughter of the duchess of Marlborough.

office by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily overruled by the authors of l promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs; wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a *piece of a scholar* and a good logical reasoner; if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which made him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list is the earl of Nottingham, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to which he contributed his assistance; I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession of principles directly opposite to those of his new friends. His vehement and frequent speeches against admitting the prince of Orange to the throne are yet to be seen; and although a numerous family gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master; of which his friends produce several instances, and some while he was secretary of state to king William. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse, of that stiffness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His adust complexion disposes him to rigor and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He has some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least. A facility of utterance descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, has brought himself and some few admirers into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother Guernsey, but chiefly in those talents which he most values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheless, he preserves an ascendent. His great ambition was to be the head of those who were called the church party; and indeed grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgment and wisdom; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause; but then it plainly appeared that he had not credit to bring over one single proselyte to keep himself in countenance.

These lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what sort of persons those were who had the boldness to encounter the queen and ministry at the head of a great majority of the landed interest; and this upon a point where the quiet of her majesty's reign, the security, or at least the freedom, of her person, the lives of her most faithful friends, and the settling of the nation by a peace, were in the consequences deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addresses had been procured from both houses to the queen, representing their opinion that no peace could be secure for Britain while Spain or the West Indies remained in the possession of the Bourbon family. But her majesty, having, for reasons which have been often told to the world and which will not soon be forgotten, called a new parliament and chosen a new set of servants, began to view things and persons in another light. She considered the necessities of her people; the distant prospect of a peace upon such an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or understood in the grand alliance; the unequal burden she bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of some whom she most trusted, or perhaps by the practices of these upon the allies; and lastly, by the changes which death had brought about in the Austrian and Bourbon families. Upon all which motives she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from France in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negotiation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this history. Let it suffice for the present to say that such proposals were received from France as were thought sufficient by our court whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and soon after the opening of the session, the bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, was despatched to Utrecht, where he and the earl of Strafford were appointed plenipotentiaries for the queen of Great Britain.

The managers of the discontented party, who during the whole summer had observed the motions of the court running fast toward a peace, began to gather up all their forces in order to oppose her majesty's designs when the parliament should meet. Their only strength was in the house of lords, where the queen had a very crazy majority, made up by those whose hearts were in the other interest, but whose fears, expectations, or immediate dependence,

had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two lords up whose abilities and influence of a very different nature the managers built their strongest hopes. The first was the duke of Some master of the horse. This duke, as well as his duchess, was in a good degree of favor with the queen, upon the score of some civilities and respects her majesty had received from them while she was princess. For some years after the Revolution he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favorer of the abdicated family; and it was the late earl of Rochester who first presented him to king William. However, since the time he came into employ which was toward the close of the last reign, he has been a constant zealous member of the other party, but never failed either in attendance or respect toward the queen's person; or at most only threatened sometimes that he would serve no longer while such or such men were employed; which as things went then was not reckoned any offence at all against duty or good behavior. He had been much caressed and flattered by the lords of the junto, who sometimes went so far as to give him hopes of the crown in reversion to his family, upon failure of the house of Hanover. All this worked so far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they soon grew weary of his indigested schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him with little ceremony when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole assembly of party leaders; so that, upon the queen's first intention of changing her ministry, soon after the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, he appointed several meetings with Mr. Harley alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least liable to suspicion. He employed all his credit with the queen to drive on the removal of my lord Godolphin and the rest; and in the council treated the small remainder who continued some time longer in their places with all possible marks of hatred or disdain. But when the question came for dissolving the parliament he stopped short; he had already satiated his resentments, which were not against things but persons; he furiously opposed that counsel, and promised to undertake for the parliament himself. When the queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution he flew off in greater rage than ever; opposed the court in all elections where he had influence or

power; and made very humble advances to reconcile himself with the discarded lords, especially the earl of Godolphin, who is reported to have treated him at Newmarket in a most contemptuous manner. But the sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his duchess, with the queen, at length begat a reconcilement.

He still kept his employment and place in the cabinet council; but had never appeared there, from an avowed dislike of all persons and proceedings. It happened about the end of summer, 1711, at Windsor, when the cabinet council was summoned, this duke, whether by direction from his teachers or the instability of his nature, took a fancy to resume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which, Mr. secretary St. John refused to assist, and gave his reasons "That he would never sit in council with a man who had so often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction which endeavored to obstruct all her majesty's measures."

Thus the council was put off to next day, and the duke made no further attempts to be there. But upon this incident he declared open war against the ministry, and from that time to the session employed himself in spiriting up several depending lords to adhere to their friends when an occasion should offer. The arguments he made use of were, "That those in power designed to make an ignominious and insecure peace, without consulting the allies: that this could be no otherwise prevented than by an address from the lords to signify their opinion that no peace could be honorable or secure while Spain or the West Indies remained in any of the Bourbon family; upon which several further resolutions and inquiries would naturally follow: that the differences between the two houses upon this point must either be made up by the commons agreeing with the lords or must end in a dissolution, which would be followed by a return of the old ministry; who by the force of money and management could easily get another parliament to their wishes." He further assured them boldly, "That the queen herself was at the bottom of this design, and had empowered him to desire their votes against the peace as a point that would be for her service; and therefore they need not be in pain upon account of their pensions, or any further marks of favor they expected." Thus, by reviving the old arts of using her majesty's authority against her person, he prevailed over some who were not otherwise in a station of life to

oppose the crown; and his proselytes may pretend to some share of pity, since he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favor after all he had done to deserve the loss of both.

The other lord in whom the discontented managers placed much of their hopes was the earl of Nottingham, already mentioned; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more or to be more pleased at their fall; partly from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had of sharing in their spoils. But it fell out that he was no way acceptable to the queen or her new servants: these apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the public business from his restless, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was suffered to have any part in affairs; and he stood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the house of lords, and in her majesty's presence, "That the electoral prince of Hanover might be invited to reside in England;" although he had before declared to the queen how much he was against that proposal, when it was first offered by the other party. However, some very considerable employments had been given to his nearest relations; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the earl of Rochester's decease he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for president of the council, and deeply resented that disappointment. But the duke of Newcastle, lord privy-seal, dying some time after, he found that office was first designed for the earl of Jersey, and upon this lord's sudden death was actually disposed of to the bishop of Bristol: by which he plainly saw that the queen was determined against giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or displaying his eloquence in the cabinet council. He had now shaken off all remains of patience or temper; and from the contemplation of his own disappointments fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to assure his neighbors in the country "That the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined." The discontented lords were soon apprised of this great change; and the duke of Roxburgh, the earl's son-in-law, was despatched to Burleigh-on-the-Hill, to cultivate his present dispositions and offer him whatever terms he pleased to insist on. The earl immediately agreed to fall in with any measures for distressing or destroying the ministry: but in order to preserve his reputation with the church p y and perhaps bring them over to his interests, he proposed t a bill should be brought into the house of lords for preventing o

sional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the low-church principle; which would convince the world of their good intentions to the established religion, and that their oppositions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation and concern for its honor and safety.

These preparations were public enough, and the ministers had ient time to arm themselves, but they seem to have acted in tl juncture like men who trusted to the goodness of their cause general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to those which our corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed that there would be a majority of ten upon the side of the court. I remember to have told my lord Harcourt and Mr. Prior that a majority of ten was only a majority of five, because if their adversaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and so it happened to prove, for the mistake lay in counting upon the bare promises of those who were wholly in the interest of the old ministry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the crown and losing their sub ence, wherein the duke of Somerset had given them full tion.

With these dispositions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the 7th of December, 1711 The queen's speech (excepting what related to supplies) was chiefly en up in telling both houses what progress she had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. As soon as her majesty was withdrawn the house of lords, in a com- ee, resolved upon an address of thanks, to which the earl of N ingham proposed an addition of the following clause:

"And we do beg leave to represent it to your humble majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of this house, that no peace can be safe or honorable to Great Britain and Europe, if Spain and the West Indies are to be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon."

He was seconded by the earl of Scarborough; and after a debate of several hours the question for the clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day the house agreed with the committee. The depending lords (having taken fresh courage from their principals, and some who professed themselves very humble servants to the present ministry and enemies to the former) went along with the stream, pretending not to see the con-

sequences that must visibly follow. The address was presented on the 11th, to which her majesty's answer was short and dry. She distinguished their thanks from the rest of the piece, and in return to lord Nottingham's clause said, "She should be sorry that anybody could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the house of Bourbon."

Upon the 15th of December the earl of Nottingham likewise brought in the bill to prevent occasional conformity (although under a disguised title), which met with no opposition, but was swallowed by those very lords who always appeared with the utmost viol against the least advantage to the established church.

But in the house of commons there appeared a very differ spirit, for when one Mr. Robert Walpole offered a clause of the sa nature with that of the earl of Nottingham, it was rejected with contempt by a very great majority. Their address was, in the m dutiful manner, approving of what her majesty had done toward a peace, and trusting entirely to her wisdom in the future management of it.

This address was presented to the queen a day before that of the lords, and received an answer distinguishedly gracious. But the other party was nowise discouraged by either answer, which they looked upon as only matter of course, and the sense of the ministry, contrary to that of the queen.

The parliament sat as long as the approaching festival would allow, and upon the 22d, the land-tax and occasional bills havi received the royal assent, the house of commons adjourned to the 14th of January following; but the adjournment of the lords v only to the 2d, the prevailing party there being in haste to pursue the consequences of the earl of Nottingham's clause, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treasurer, and overthrow the ministry, and therefore took the advantage of this interval that they might not be disturbed by the commons.

When this address against any peace without Spain, &c., was carried in the house of lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most men's passions. The partisans of the old ministry triumphed loudly and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The earl of Wharton was observed in the house smile and put his hands to his neck when any of the ministry were speaking, by which he would have it understood that some hea were in danger. Parker, the chief-justice, began already with g t

and officiousness to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers writ in defence of the administration; in short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.

On the other side, all well-wishers to the queen, the church, or peace, were equally dejected; and the treasurer stood the fore-st mark both of his enemies' fury and the censure of his friends: ng the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his pro-tinating nature; other to his unmeasurable public thrift. Both parties agreed that a first minister with very moderate skill in affairs ght easily have governed the event; and some began to doubt whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other stations, were what he justly deserved. All this he knew well enough, and h d it with great phlegm; neither did it make any great altera-n in his countenance or humor. He told Monsieur Buys, the ch envoy, two days before the parliament sat, "That he was sorry for what was likely to pass, because the States would be the first sufferers, which he desired the envoy to remember." And to his nearest friends, who appeared in pain about the public or themselves, he only said "That all would be well;" and desired them not to be frighted.

It was, I conceive, upon these motives that the treasurer advised her majesty to create twelve new lords, and thereby disable the sting of faction for the rest of her lifetime. This promotion was so ordered that a third part were of those on whom, or their posterity, peerage would naturally devolve; and the rest were such whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverse party, being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did—"That it was a pernicious example set for ill princes to follow, who by the same rule might make at any time a hundred as well as twelve, and by these means become masters of the house of lords whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our liberties." To this it was answered "That ill princes seldom trouble themselves to look for precedents; that men of great estates will not be less fond of preserving their liberties when they are created peers; that in such a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the nobility and people, it is the very nature of his office to remove from one scale into the other, or sometimes put his own weight in the lightest, so as to bring both to an equili-brium; and lastly, that the other party had been above twenty years

corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which but the royal prerogative could hinder from overspreading

The conformity-bill above mentioned was prepared by the Nottingham before the parliament met, and brought in at th time with the clause against peace, according to the bargain between him and his new friends. This he hoped would n save his credit with the church party, but bring them over politics, since they must needs be convinced, that instead of cl his own principles he had prevailed on the greatest enemies established religion to be the first movers in a law for the pe settlement of it. Here it was worth observing with what r tion the junto lords (as they were then called) were submitted their adherents and followers, for it is well known that the among the dissenting teachers in town were consulted up affair, and such arguments used as had power to convince th nothing could be of greater advantage to their cause than the ing of this bill. I did indeed see a letter at that time from them to a great man complaining "That they were betray undone by their pretended friends;" but they were in gene well satisfied upon promises that this law should soon be r and others more in their favor enacted, as soon as their should be re-established.

But nothing seemed more extraordinary than the event refined management, by which the earl of Nottingham was from bringing over proselytes (wherein his abilities fell very even of the duke of Somerset's), or preserving the reputati firm churchman, that very few people did so much as im had any such design; only when he brought in the bill the ceived it was some wonderful deep reach of politics, which could not comprehend: however, they liked the thing, and troubling themselves about the persons or motives from wh rose it had a very speedy passage through both houses. It n confessed that some attempt of this nature was much more sary to the leaders of that party than is generally thought. desire of power and revenge was common to them all; but among them were also conscious that they stood in need of tion, whose safety was therefore concerned in the design of the ministry as well as their ambition. The duke of Marl foresaw those examinations which were afterwards made int parts of his management, and was apprehensive of a gr

e; that the parliament would perhaps inquire into the particulars of the negotiation at the Hague, 1709; for what ends and by whose advice the propositions of peace from France were rejected. Besides, he dreaded lest that mysterious policy might be laid open to the world, of desiring the queen to constitute him general for which was a very tender point and would admit of much proof. It is true indeed that, while the duke's affair was under the consideration of the house of commons, one of his creatures (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the speaker with a very serious tenance "that the world was mistaken in censuring his lord this article, for it was the queen who pressed the duke to ac- that commission, and upon his humble refusal conceived her d leasure against him." How such a defence would have it had been offered in form is easier to be conceived than how any person in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it, which last it would indeed be hard to believe if there were any left for doubt.

The earl of Godolphin wanted protection notwithstanding the act of general pardon which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own security. He knew that his long neglect of compelling the accountants to pass their accounts might be punished as a breach of trust. He had run the kingdom into nse debts by taking up stores for the navy upon a vast discount, without parliamentary security, for which he could be able to plead neither law nor necessity; and he had given way at least to some proceedings not very justifiable in relation to remittances of money, whereby the public had suffered considerable losses. The barrier treaty sat heavy upon the lord Townshend's spirits, because, if it should be laid before the house of commons, whoever negotiated that affair might be subject to the most severe animadversions; and the earl of Wharton's administration in Ireland was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him at least for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The managers in Holland were sufficiently apprised of all this; and Monsieur Buys, their minister here, took care to cultivate that good correspondence between his masters and their English friends which became two confederates pursuing the same end.

This man had been formerly employed in England from that republic, and understood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been such as to furnish now and then a Latin quota-

tion, of which he is as liberal as his stock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no further than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of state for the r of the world. His reasonings upon politics are with great profusion at all meetings, and he leaves the company with entire satisfaction that he has fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of cunning which is the growth of his country, of a standard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them from the boor to the burgomaster. He came into England with instructions authorizing him to accommodate all differences between her majesty and the States; but having first advised with the confederate lords, he assured the ministry "he had powers to hear their proposals, but none to conclude:" and having represented to his masters what had be told him by the adverse party, he prevailed with them to revoke l powers. He found the interest of those who withstood the cc t would exactly fall in with the designs of the States, which were to carry on the war as they could at our expense, and to see th selves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to France or to receive overtures from thence.

The emperor, upon many powerful reasons, was utterly averse from all counsels which aimed at putting an end to the war without delivering him the whole dominion of Spain. Nay, the elector of Hanover himself, although presumptive heir to the crown of England, and obliged by all sorts of ties to cultivate her majesty's friendship, was so far deceived by misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer Monsieur Bothmar, his envoy here, to print and publish a memorial in English, directly disapproving all her majesty's proceedings; which memorial, as appears by the style and manner of it, was all drawn up or at least digested by some party pen on this side of the water.

Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger and to preserve the respect ever due to foreign princes, do usually charge the wrong steps in a court altogether upon the persons employed. But I should have taken a securer method, and have been wholly silent on this point, if I had not then conceived some hope that his electoral highness might possibly have been a stranger to the memorial of his resident: for, first, the manner of delivering it to the secretary of state was out of all form, and almost as extraordinary as the thing itself. Monsieur Bothmar, having obtained an hour of Mr.

secretary St. John, talked much to him upon the subject of which that memorial consists; and upon going away desired he might leave a paper with the secretary, which he said contained the substance of what he had been discoursing. This paper Mr. St. John l aside among others of little consequence; and a few days after saw a memorial in print, which he found upon comparing to be the same with what Bothmar had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and upon the 5th day of January, prince Eugene of Savoy landed in England. Before he left his ship, he asked a person who came to meet him, "Whether new lords were made, and what was their number?" He was at led through the streets with a mighty rabble of people to St. Jam ; where Mr. secretary St. John introduced him to the qu n, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been lo expected; and the project of his journey had as long been fo d here, by the party leaders, in concert with Monsieur Buys l Monsieur Bothmar, the Dutch and Hanover envoys. This e brought over credentials from the emperor, with offers to continue the war on a new foot, very advantageous to Britain; part of which, by her majesty's commands, Mr. St. John soon after produced to the house of commons, where they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The emperor's proposals, as far as they related to Spain, were communicated to the house in the words following:

"His imperial majesty judges that forty thousand men will be sufficient for this service; and that the whole expense of the war in Spain may amount to four millions of crowns; toward which his imperial majesty offers to make up the troops which he has in that country to thirty thousand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself."

On the other side, the house of commons voted a third part of those four millions as a sufficient quota for her majesty toward that service: for it was supposed the emperor ought to bear the greatest proportion, in a point that so nearly concerned him: or at least, that Britain contributing one-third, the other two might be paid by his imperial majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of prince Eugene's journey was to raise a spirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war; for nothing was thought impossible to a prince of such high reputation in arms, in

great favor with the emperor, and empowered to make such proposals from his master, as the ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from count Gallas (formerly the emperor's envoy here), that the prince was wholly left to his liberty of making what offers he pleased in the emperor's name; for if the parliament could once be brought to raise funds, and the war go on, the ministry here must be under a necessity of applying and expending those funds: and the emperor could find afterwards twenty reasons and excuses as he had hitherto done for not furnishing his quota. Therefore prince Eugene for some time kept himself within generals; until, being pressed to explain himself upon that particular of the war in Spain, which the house of Austria pretended to have most at heart, he made the offer above mentioned, as a most extraordinary effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before towards recovering that monarchy to themselves: but shameful as these proposals were, few believed the emperor would observe them; or indeed that he ever intended to spare so many men, as would make up an army of thirty thousand men to be employed in Spain.

Prince Eugene's visit to his friends in England continued longer than was expected. He was every day entertained magnificently by persons of quality of both parties. He went frequently to the treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private. He visited the other ministers and great officers of the court: but on all occasions, publicly owned the character and appellation of a Whig; and in secret held continual meetings with the duke of Marlborough and the other discontented lords, where M. Bothmar usually assisted. It is the great ambition of this prince to be perpetually engaged in war, without considering the cause or consequence; and to see himself at the head of an army, where only he can make any considerable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty sometimes charged upon the Italians; and his being nursed in arms has so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand men's lives to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treasurer, as the person who principally opposed this insatiable pa
war; said, "He had hopes of others; but that the treasurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved." Therefore, since it was impossible for him or his friends to compass their designs, while that minister continued at the head of affairs, he proposed an expedient

often practised by those of his country, "that the treasurer (to use his own expression) should be taken off *à la negligence;* that this might be easily done and pass for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper people to commit small riots in the night." And in several parts of the town a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commission, and mixing themselves with those disorderly people that often infest the streets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many persons, whom they cut and mangled in the face and arms and other parts of the body without any provocation. But an effectual stop was soon put to those enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main design.

I am very sensible that such an imputation ought not to be charged upon any person whatsoever, upon slight grounds or doubtful surmises; and that those who think I am able to produce no better will judge this passage to be fitter for a libel than a history. But as the account was given by more than one person who was at the meeting, so it was confirmed past all contradiction by several intercepted letters and papers: and it is most certain that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent disappointments, was so far inflamed as to make them capable of some counsels yet more violent and desperate than this; which, however, by the vigilance of those near the person of her majesty were happily prevented.

On the 30th day of December, 1711, the duke of Marlborough was removed from all his employments; the duke of Ormond succeeding him as a general, both here and in Flanders. This proceeding of the court (as far as it related to the duke of Marlborough) was much censured both at home and abroad, and by some who did not wish ill to the present situation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course of success, for many years, against a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war. Those who had least esteem for his valor and conduct thought it not prudent to remove a general whose troops were perpetually victorious while he was at their head; because this had infused into his soldiers an opinion that they should always conquer, and into the enemy that they should always be beaten; than which nothing is to be held of greater moment, either in the progress of a war or upon the day of battle: and I have good grounds to affirm, that these reasons had sufficient weight with the queen and ministry, to have kept the duke of Marl-

borough in his post, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any assurance of safety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure make usually much more noise than the causes. Thus the sound of the duke's fall was heard further than many of the reasons which made it necessary; whereof, though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the dark. Upon the duke's last return from Flanders, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwise) upon the 17th of November, called queen Elizabeth's day; when great numbers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the pope in effigy; for the performance of which with more solemnity they had made extraordinary preparations. From the several circumstances of the expense of this intended pageantry, and of the persons who promoted it, the court, apprehensive of a design to inflame the common people, thought fit to order that the several figures should be seized as popish trinkets; and guards were ordered to patrole for preventing any tumultuous assemblies. Whether this frolic was only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I must leave undetermined. The duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flourishing times, whenever he came back to England upon the close of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourse of the *mobile*, if they had been disposed to attend him; therefore, so very contrary a proceeding at this juncture made it suspected as if he had a design to have placed himself at their head. "France," "Popery," "The Pretender," "Peace without Spain," were the words to be given about at this mock parade; and if what was confidently asserted be true, that a report was to have been spread at the same time of the queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purposes intended, proving wholly abortive by the vigilance of those in power, the duke's arrival was without any noise or consequence; and upon consulting with his friends, he soon fell in with their new scheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many persons that the ministers might with little difficulty have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a trial; for, as he would probably have accepted any terms, to continue in a station of such prodigious profit, so there was sufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is seldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity), and this infirmity very

much increased by his unmeasurable possessions, which have rendered him *ipsique onerique timentem*. But reason, as well as the event, proved this to be a mistake; for the ministers being determined to bring the war to as speedy an issue as the honor and safety of their country would permit, could not possibly recompense the duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then, the other party had calculated their numbers; and by the accession of the earl of Nottingham, whose example they hoped would have many followers, and the successful solicitations of the duke of Somerset, found they were sure of a majority in the house of lords; so that in this view of circumstances the duke of Marlborough thought he acted with security, as well as advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the design of ruining the ministry, at the expense of his duty to his sovereign and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. WHIG and TORY were now no longer the dispute; but THE QUEEN, or THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. He was at the head of all the cabals and consults with Bothmar, Buys, and the discontented lords. He forgot that government of his passion for which his admirers used to celebrate him: fell into all the impotences of anger and violence upon every party debate: so that the queen found herself under a necessity, either on the one side to sacrifice those friends who had ventured their lives in rescuing her out of the power of some, whose former treatment she had little reason to be fond of; to put an end to the progress she had made towards a peace, and dissolve her parliament; or, on the other side, by removing one person from so great a trust, to get clear of all her difficulties at once. Her majesty therefore determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer course; and during the recess at Christmas sent the duke a letter, to tell him she had no further occasion for his service.

There has not perhaps in the present age been a clearer instance to show the instability of greatness which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an instruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular person, although supported by exorbitant wealth, can by a little resolution be reduced in a moment without any dangerous consequences. This lord, who was beyond all comparison the greatest subject in Christendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a sudden; and except a few friends or followers

by inclination, the rest dropped off in course. From directing in some manner the affairs of Europe, he descended to be a member of a faction, and with little distinction even there; that virtue of subduing his resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him when he stood most in need of its assistance; and upon trial was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE house of lords met upon the 2d day of January, accordi to their adjournment; but before they could proceed to business the twelve new created peers were, in the usual form, admitted to their seats in that assembly; who by their numbers turned the balance on the side of the court, and voted an adjournment to the same day with the Commons. Upon the 14th of January the two houses met: but the queen, who intended to be there in person, sent a message to inform them "That she was prevented by a sudden return of the gout; and to desire they would adjourn for three days longer, when her majesty hoped she would be able to speak to them." However, her indisposition still continuing, Mr. secretary St. John brought another message to the house of commons from the queen, containing the substance of what she intended to have spoken: "That she could now tell them her plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; had begun, in pursuance of her instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies: That she promised to communicate to them the conditions of peace, before the same should be concluded: That the world would now see how groundless these reports were and without the least color, that a separate peace had been treated: That her ministers were directed to propose that a day might be fixed for the finishing, as was done for the commencement, of this treaty; and that, in the meantime, all preparations were hastening for an early campaign," &c.

Her majesty's endeavors towards this great work having been in such a forwardness at the time that her message was sent, I shall here, in the most proper place, relate the several steps by which the intercourse between the courts of France and Britain was begun and carried on

The marquis de Torcy, sent by the most Christian king to the Hague, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies in his master's name, which our ministers, as well as those of the States, thought fit to refuse, and advanced other proposals in their stead; but of such a nature as no prince could digest who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, "That the French king should employ his own troops, in conjunction with those of the allies, to drive his grandson out of Spain." The proposers knew very well that the enemy would never consent to this; and if it were possible they could at first have any such hopes, Mons. de Torcy assured them to the contrary in a manner which might well be believed; for when the British and Dutch plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands, they desired that minister to assist them in the style and expression; which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last resolution, whether these were the lowest terms the allies would accept; and, having received a determinate answer in the affirmative, he spoke to this effect:—

"That he thanked them heartily for giving him the happiest day he had ever seen in his life: That in perfect obedience to his master he had made concessions in his own opinion highly derogatory to the king's honor and interest: That he had not concealed the difficulties of his court or the discontents of his country by a long and unsuccessful war, which could only justify the large offers he had been empowered to make: That the conditions of peace now delivered into his hands by the allies would raise a new spirit in the nation, and remove the greatest difficulty the court lay under; putting it in his master's power to convince all his subjects how earnestly his majesty desired to ease them from the burden of the war; but that his enemies would not accept of any terms which could consist either with their safety or his honor." Mons. de Torcy assured the pensionary, in the strongest manner, and bid him count upon it, "That the king his master would never sign those articles."

It soon appeared that the marquis de Torcy's predictions were true; for upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom as an appeal to his subjects against the unreasonableness and injustice of his enemies; which proceeding effectually answered the ut-

most he intended by it; for the French nation, extremely jealous of their monarch's glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes rather than submit to such ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the king their consecrated plate towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom (generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its wealth), when driven to a necessity by the imprudence of the allies or by the corruption of particular men who influenced their councils, recovered strength enough to support itself for three following campaigns; and in the last, by the fatal blindness or obstinacy of the Dutch (venturing to act without the assistance of Britain, which they had shamefully abandoned), was an overmatch for the whole confederate army.

Those who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negotiation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related; and express the zeal of the British and Dutch ministers for a peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after Mons. de Torcy and Mons. Rouille for a further conference. But in the mean time Mr. Horatio Walpole, secretary to the queen's plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither to have those abortive articles signed and ratified by her majesty at a venture; which was accordingly done: a piece of management altogether absurd and without example; contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to show what great things the ministry designed to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that France had refused to sign those articles, all was resolved by recourse to the old topic of the French perfidiousness. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations: "they were a nation never to be trusted." The parliament cheerfully continued their supplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the second and last session of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, and the occasions thereby given to the people to discover and exert their dispositions very opposite to the designs of those who were then in power. In the summer of 1710 ensued a gradual change of the ministry, and in the beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.

The king of France, whose real interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two maritime powers engaged against him, because of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in

concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly against the general dispositions of the people in either, as well as against their several maxims of government. But upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in England, the new parliament and ministers acting from other motives and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might arise of resuming his endeavors toward a peace.

There was at this time in England a French ecclesiastic, called the Abbé Gualtier, who had resided several years in London, under the protection of some foreign ministers in whose families he used upon occasion to exercise his function of a priest. After the battle of Blenheim this gentleman went down to Nottingham, where several French prisoners of quality were kept; to whom he rendered those offices of civility suitable to persons in their condition, which upon their return to France they reported to his advantage. Among the rest the Chevalier de Croissy told his brother, the marquis de Torcy, "That whenever the French court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with England, Monsieur Gualtier might be very usefully employed in handing them to the ministers here." This was no further thought of at present. In the mean time the war went on, and the conferences at the Hague and Gertruydenberg miscarried, by the allies insisting upon such demands as they neither expected nor perhaps desired should be granted.

Some time in July, 1710, Monsieur Gualtier received a letter from the marquis de Torcy, signifying "That a report being spread of her majesty's intentions to change her ministry, to take Mr. Harley into her councils, and to dissolve her parliament, the most Christian king thought it might be now a favorable conjuncture to offer new proposals of a treaty." Monsieur Gualtier was therefore directed to apply himself in the marquis's name either to the duke of Shrewsbury, the earl of Jersey, or Mr. Harley, and inform the French court how such a proposition would be relished. Gualtier chose to deliver his message to the second of those who had been ambassador from the late king to France. But the earl excused himself from entering into particulars with a stranger and a private person, who had no authority for what he said more than a letter from Monsieur de Torcy. Gualtier offered to procure another from that minister to the earl himself; and did so in a month after; but obtained no answer till December following, when the queen had made all necessary changes and summoned a free parliament to her

wishes. About the beginning of January, the abbé (after having procured his dismission from Count Gallas, the emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to Paris to inform Mons. de Torcy, "That her majesty would be willing his master should resume the treaty with Holland, provided the demands of England might be previously granted." Gualtier came back after a short stay with a return to his message, "That the Dutch had used the most Christian king and his ministers in such a manner, both at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, as made that prince resolve not to expose himself any more to the like treatment; that he therefore chose to address himself to England, and was ready to make whatever offers her majesty could reasonably expect for the advantage of her own kingdoms and the satisfaction of her allies."

After this message had been duly considered by the queen and her ministers, Monsieur Gaultier was dispatched a second time to France about the beginning of March 1710–11, with an answer to the following purpose: — "That since France had their particular reasons for not beginning again to treat with Holland, England was willing to remove that difficulty, and proposed it should be done in this manner: That France should send over hither the propositions for a treaty, which should be transmitted by England to Holland to be jointly treated on that side of the water; but it was to be understood that the same proposition formerly offered to Holland was to be made to England, or one not less advantageous to the allies: for although England would enter most sincerely into such a treaty, and show in the course of it the clearness of their intentions, yet they could not with honor entertain a less beneficial proposal than what was offered to the States."

That prince, as well as his minister Monsieur de Torcy, either felt or affected so much resentment of the usage the latter had met at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, that they appeared fully determined against making any application to the States, where the same persons continued still in power, of whose treatment they so heavily complained. They seemed altogether to distrust the inclination of that republic towards a peace; but at the same time showed a mighty complaisance to the English nation, and a desire to have her majesty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the first overture in form sent from that kingdom, and signed by Mons. de Torcy on the 22nd of April, N. S., 1711, to the following effect:

"That as it could not be doubted but the king was in a condition

of continuing the war with honor, so it could not be looked on as a mark of weakness in his majesty to break the silence he had kept since the conferences at Gertruydenberg, and that before the opening of the campaign he now gives further proof of the desire he always had to procure the repose of Europe. But after what he has found by experience of the sentiments of those persons who now govern the republic of Holland, and of their industry in rendering all negotiations without effect, his majesty will, for the public good, offer to the English nation those propositions which he thinks fit to make for terminating the war, and for settling the tranquillity Europe upon a solid foundation. It is with this view that he is to enter into a treaty of peace founded on the following conditions:

"First, The English nation shall have real securities for carrying their trade in Spain, the Indies, and ports of the Mediterranean.

"Secondly, The king will consent to form a sufficient barrier in Low Countries for the security of the republic of Holland; and barrier shall be such as England shall agree upon and approve; his majesty promising at the same time entire liberty and security to the trade of the Dutch.

"Thirdly, All reasonable methods shall be thought of with sincerity and truth, for giving satisfaction to the allies of England and Holland.

"Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the king of Spain are in so good a condition as to furnish new expedients for putting an end to the disputes about that monarchy, and for settling it to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned, all sincere endeavors shall be used for surmounting the difficulties arisen upon this occasion; and the trade and interest of all parties engaged in the present war shall be secured.

"Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat of a peace upon these conditions, shall be immediately opened; and the plenipotentiaries whom the king shall name to assist thereat shall treat with those of England and Holland, either alone or in conjunction with those of their allies, as England shall choose.

"Sixthly, His majesty proposes the town of Aix la Chapelle or Liege for the place where the plenipotentiaries shall assemble; leaving the choice likewise to England of either of the said towns wherein to treat of a general peace."

These overtures, although expressing much confidence in the

ministry here, great deference to the queen, and displeasure against the Dutch, were immediately transmitted by her majesty's command to her ambassador in Holland, with orders that they should be communicated to the pensionary. The Abbé Gaultier was desired to signify this proceeding to the marquis de Torcy; at the same time to let that minister understand "that some of the above articles ought to be explained." The lord Raby, now earl of Strafford, was directed to tell the pensionary "That her majesty, being resolved in making peace as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the States, would not lose a moment in transmitting to him a paper of this importance: That the queen earnestly desired that the secret might be kept among as few as possible; and that she hoped the pensionary would advise upon this occasion with no person whatsoever, except such as by the constitution of that government are unavoidably necessary: That the terms of the several propositions were indeed too general; but, however, they contained an offer to treat: and that, although there appeared an air of complaisance to England through the whole paper, and the contrary to Holland, yet this could have no ill consequence as long as the queen and the States took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers so nearly allied in interest; which rule on the part of Britain should be inviolably observed." It was signified likewise to the pensionary "That the duke of Marlborough had no communication of this affair from England, and that it was supposed he would have none from the Hague."

After these proposals had been considered in Holland, the ambassador was directed to send back the opinion of the Dutch ministers upon them. The court here was indeed apprehensive that the pensionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of Monsieur de Torcy's paper, and particularly at these expressions, "That the English shall have real securities for their trade, &c.; and that the barrier for the States-General shall be such as England shall agree upon and approve." It was natural to think that the fear which the Dutch would conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain, might put them upon trying underhand for themselves, and endeavoring to overreach us in the management of the peace as they had hitherto done in that of the war; the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful in discovering any workings which might tend that way.

When the lord Raby was first sent to the Hague, the duke of

Marlborough and lord Townshend had, for very obvious reasons, used their utmost endeavors to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which and other accounts, needless to mention, it was thought proper that his grace, then in Flanders, should not be let into the secret of this affair.

The proposal of Aix or Liege for a place of treaty was only a further mark of their old discontent against Holland, to show they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The pensionary, having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the negotiations of peace, and enjoined them the utmost secrecy to avoid the jealousy of the foreign ministers there, desired the ambassador to return her majesty thanks for the obliging manner of communicating the French overtures, for the confidence she placed in the States, and for her promise of making no step towards a peace but in concert with them; assuring her of the like on their part: "That although the States endeavored to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily desirous of a good and lasting peace, as well as ready to join in any method which her majesty should think proper to obtain it: That the States looked upon these propositions as very dark and general; and they observed how the enemy would create jealousies between the queen, their republic, and the other allies; but they were satisfied it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the justness and prudence of her majesty, who they doubted not would make the French explain themselves more particularly in the several points of their proposals, and send a plan of the particular conditions whereupon they would make a peace; after which the States would be ready either to join with her majesty or to make their objections; and were prepared to bring with them all the facility imaginable towards promoting so good a work."

This is the sum of the verbal answer made by the pensionary upon communicating to him the French proposals; and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the ambassador some days after; which was more in form and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my opinion not so well discovering the true disposition of the Dutch ministers: for after the queen had transmitted the French overtures to Holland, and the States found her majesty was bent in earnest upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to cast about how to get the negotiation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the first proposals would

be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves; as they had done in their own case both at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, where they carved as they pleased without any regard to the interests of their nearest allies. For this reason, while they endeavored to amuse the British court with expostulations upon the several preliminaries sent from France, Monsieur Petecum, a forward meddling agent of Holstein who had resided some years in Holland, negotiated with Heinsius the grand pensionary, as well as with Vanderdussen and Buys, about restoring the conferences between France and that republic, broken off in Gertruydenberg; pursuant to which about the end of May, N. S. 1711, Petecum wrote to the marquis de Torcy, with the privity of the pensionary and probably of the other two. The substance of his letter was to inform the marquis "That things might easily be disposed of so as to settle a correspondence between that crown and the republic, in order to renew the treaty of peace: That this could be done with the greater secrecy, because Monsieur Heinsius, by virtue of his oath as pensionary, might keep any affair private as long as he thought necessary and was not obliged to communicate it until he believed things were ripe; and as long as he concealed it from his masters, he was not bound to discover it either to the ministers of the emperor or those of her British majesty: That since England thought it proper for king Charles to continue the whole campaign in Catalonia (though he should be chosen emperor), in order to support the war in Spain, it was necessary for France to treat in the most secret manner with the States, who were not now so violently as formerly against having Philip on the Spanish throne, upon certain conditions for securing their trade; but were jealous of England's design to fortify some trading towns in Spain for themselves: That Heinsius extremely desired to get out of the war, for some reasons which he (Petecum) was not permitted to tell; and that Vanderdussen and Buys were impatient to have the negotiations with France once more set on foot; which, if Monsieur Torcy thought fit to consent to, Petecum engaged that the States would determine to settle the preliminaries in the mid-way between Paris and the Hague, with whatever ministers the most christian king should please to employ."

Monsieur Torcy refused this overture; and in his answer to Monsieur Petecum assigned for the reason the treatment his master's former proposals had met with at the Hague and Gertruydenberg

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But in the meantime the queen was firmly resolved that the interests of her own kingdom should not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been while the Dutch were principal managers of a negotiation with France. Her majesty had given frequent and early notice to the States of the general disposition of her people toward a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot, under the disadvantage of unequal quotas and the universal backwardness of her allies. She had likewise informed them of several advances made to her on the side of France, which she had refused to hearken to till she had consulted with those her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that subject. But the Dutch, who apprehended nothing more than to see Britain at the head of a treaty, were backward and sullen, disliked all proposals by the queen's intervention, and said "It was a piece of artifice in France to divide the allies." Besides, they knew the ministry was young, and the opposite faction had given them assurances "That the people of England would never endure a peace without Spain, nor the men in power dare to attempt it after the resolutions of one house of parliament to the contrary." But in the midst of this unwillingness to receive any overtures from France by the queen's hands, the Dutch ministers were actually engaged in a correspondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty by reason of those factions which themselves had inflamed; and were ready to commence a negotiation upon much easier terms than what they supposed we demanded. For, not to mention the duke of Lorraine's interposition in behalf of Holland, which France absolutely refused to accept, the letters sent from the Dutch to that court were shown some months after to a British minister there, which gave much weight to Monsieur de Torcy's insinuations, "That he knew where to meet with more compliance if the necessity of affairs should force him to it by our refusal." And the violence of the States against our entertaining that correspondence was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted; at least till ours were thrown off.

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The queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared such demands for her principal allies as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjust their several interests, she resolved to stipulate in a particular manner the advantage of Britain. The following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be transmitted to France:

"Great Britain will not enter into any negotiation of peace otherwise than upon these conditions obtained beforehand:

"That the union of the two crowns of France and Spain shall be prevented: That satisfaction shall be given to all the allies; and trade settled and maintained.

"If France be disposed to treat upon this view it is not to be doubted that the following propositions will be found reasonable:

"A barrier shall be formed in the Low Countries for the Sta General, and their trade shall be secured.

"A barrier likewise shall be formed for the empire.

"The pretensions of all the allies founded upon former trea shall be regulated and determined to their general satisfaction.

"In order to make a more equal balance of power in Italy the dominions and territories which, in the beginning of the present war, belonged to the duke of Savoy, and are now in the possession of France, shall be restored to his royal highness; and such other places in Italy shall be yielded to him as will be found necessary and agreeable to the sense of former treaties made with this prince.

"As to Great Britain, in particular, the succession to the crown of the kingdoms, according to the present establishment, shall be acknowledged.

"A new treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France shall be made after the most just and reasonable manner.

"Dunkirk shall be demolished.

"Gibraltar and Port-Mahon shall remain in the hands of the present possessors.

"The English shall have the assiento in the same manner the French now enjoy it; and such places in the Spanish West Indies shall be assigned to those concerned in this traffic, for the refreshment and sale of their negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

"All advantages, rights, and privileges already granted, and which may hereafter be granted, by Spain to the subjects of France

or to any other nation whatsoever, shall be equally granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

"And for better securing the British trade in the Spanish West Indies, certain places, to be named in the treaty of peace, shall be put into possession of the English.

"Newfoundland, with the bay and straits of Hudson, shall be entirely restored to the English; and Great Britain and France shall severally keep and possess all those countries and territories in North America, which each of the said nations shall be in possession of at the time when the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world.

"These demands, and all other proceedings between Great Britain and France, shall be kept inviolably secret until they are published by the mutual consent of both parties."

The last article was not only intended for avoiding, if possible, the jealousy of the Dutch, but to prevent the clamors of the abettors here at home, who, under the pretended fears of our doing injustice to the Dutch by acting without the privity of that republic, in order to make a separate peace, would be ready to drive on the worst designs against the queen and ministry, in order to recover the power they had lost.

In June, 1711, Mr. Prior, a person of great distinction, not only on account of his wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the French court, was despatched thither by her majesty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at Versailles with great civility. The king declared, "That no proceeding in order to a general treaty would be so agreeable to him as by the intervention of England; and that his majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his power towards the repose of Europe, did answer to the demands which had been made:

"That he would consent freely and sincerely to all just and reasonable methods for hindering the crowns of France and Spain from being ever united under the same prince; his majesty being persuaded that such an excess of power would be as contrary to the general good and repose of Europe as it was opposite to the will of the late catholic king Charles II." He said, "His intention was that all parties in the present war should find their reasonable satisfaction in the intended treaty of peace; and that trade should be settled and maintained for the future to the advantage of those nations which formerly possessed it.

"That, as the king will exactly observe the conditions of peace, whenever it shall be concluded, and as the object he proposes to himself is to secure the frontiers of his own kingdom, without giving any sort of disturbance to his neighbors, he promises to agree that by the future treaty of peace the Dutch shall be put into possession of all such fortified places as shall be specified in the said treaty, to serve for a barrier to that republic against all attempts on the side of France. He engages likewise to give all necessary securities for removing the jealousies raised among the German princes of his majesty's designs.

"That when the conferences in order to a general treaty shall be formed, all the pretensions of the several princes and states engaged in the present war shall be fairly and amicably discussed; nor shall anything be omitted which may regulate and determine them to the satisfaction of all parties.

"That, pursuant to the demands made by England, his majesty promises to restore to the duke of Savoy those demesnes and territories which belonged to that prince at the beginning of this war, and which his majesty is now in possession of; and the king consents, further, that such other places in Italy shall be yielded to the duke of Savoy as shall be found necessary according to the sense of those treaties made between the said duke and his allies.

"That the king's sentiments of the present government of Great Britain, the open declaration he made in Holland of his resolution to treat of peace by applications to the English, the assurances he had given of engaging the king of Spain to leave Gibraltar in their hands (all which are convincing proofs of his perfect esteem for a nation still in war with him), leave no room to doubt of his majesty's inclination to give England all securities and advantages for their trade which they can reasonably demand. But as his majesty cannot persuade himself that a government so clear-sighted as ours will insist upon conditions which must absolutely destroy the trade of France and Spain as well as that of all other nations of Europe, he thinks the demands made by Great Britain may require a more particular discussion.

"That upon this foundation the king thought the best way of advancing and perfecting a negotiation, the beginning of which he had seen with so much satisfaction, would be to send into England a person instructed in his intention and authorized by him to agree upon securities for settling the trade of the subjects of England,

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roying the trade of the French and Spaniards or of other
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hat therefore his majesty had charged the person chosen for
ssion to answer the other articles of the memorial given
y Mr. Prior, the secret of which should be exactly observed."

de Torcy had for some years past used all his endeavors to
e l master toward a peace, pursuant to the maxim of his
Colbert, "That a long war was not for the interest of France."
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the Hague, the bad success whereof, although it filled him
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her majesty would certainly be for theirs; and the particular
ı of Mr. Prior was to find out whether that minister had credit
h with his prince, and a support from others in power, suffi-
to overrule the faction against peace.

Prior's journey could not be kept a secret, as the court here
t seemed to intend it. He was discovered, at his return, by
icer of the port at Dover, where he landed after six weeks'
:e; upon which the Dutch Gazettes and English newspapers
'ull of speculations.

the same time with Mr. Prior there arrived from France Mons.
ıger, knight of the order of St. Michael, and one of the coun-
trade to the most Christian king. His commission was in
ıl, empowering him to treat with the minister of any prince
ed in the war against his master. In his first conferences
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ty should enter upon particular engagements in several arti-
rhich did not depend upon her, but concerned only the inte-
f the allies reciprocally with those of the most Christian king;
as the negotiation had begun upon this principle, that France
l consent to adjust the interests of Great Britain in the first
whereby her majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her
)ffices on all sides, to facilitate the general peace. The queen
ed never to depart from this principle, but was absolutely de-

termined to remit the particular interests of the allies to gene conferences, where she would do the utmost in her power to p cure the repose of Europe and the satisfaction of all parti was plain France could run no hazard by this proceeding, bec the preliminary articles would have no force before a general pe was signed; therefore it was not doubted but Mons. Mesn would have orders to waive this new pretension, and go on in ing upon that foot which was at first proposed. In short, the mi ters required a positive and speedy answer to the articles in tion, since they contained only such advantages and securities her majesty thought she had a right to require from any pri whatsoever to whom the dominions of Spain should happen to fi

The particular demands of Britain were formed into eight cles, which Mons. Mesnager having transmitted to his court a received new powers from thence, had orders to give his maste consent by way of answers to the several points, to be obligat only after a general peace. These demands, together with the swers of the French king, were drawn up and signed by Mo Mesnager and her majesty's two principal secretaries of sta whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

In the preamble the most Christian king sets forth, "That bei particularly informed, by the last memorial which the British m isters delivered to Mons. Mesnager, of the dispositions of this cr to facilitate a general peace to the satisfaction of the several part concerned; and his majesty finding in effect as the said memor declares, that he runs no hazard by engaging himself in the m ner there expressed, since the preliminary articles will be of force until the signing of the general peace; and being sincere desirous to advance to the utmost of his power the repose of E rope, especially by a way so agreeable as the interposition of princess whom so many ties of blood ought to unite to him, whose sentiments for the public tranquillity cannot be doubted; h majesty, moved by these considerations, has ordered Monsieur M nager, knight, &c., to give the following answers, in writing, to t articles contained in the memorial transmitted to him, entitled Pr liminary Demands for Great Britain in particular."

The articles were these that follow: —

"First, The succession to the crown to be acknowledged, accor ing to the present establishment.

"Secondly, A new treaty of commerce between Great Britain France to be made, after the most just and reasonable manner.

"Thirdly, Dunkirk to be demolished.

"Fourthly, Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to continue in the hands of those who now possess them.

"Fifthly, The assiento (or liberty of selling negroes to the Spanish West Indies) to be granted to the English in as full manner as the French possess it at present; and such places in the said West Indies to be assigned to the persons concerned in this trade, for the refreshment and sale of their negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

"Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privileges, and rights are already or may hereafter be granted by Spain to the subjects of France or any other nation, shall be equally granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

"Seventhly, For better protecting their trade in the Spanish West Indies, the English shall be put into possession of such places as shall be named in the treaty of peace; or as an equivalent for this article, that the assiento be granted Britain for the term of thirty years.

"That the isle of St. Christopher's be likewise secured to the English.

"That the advantages and exemption from duties promised by Mons. Mesnager, which he affirms will amount to fifteen per cent. upon all goods of the growth and manufacture of Great Britain, be effectually allowed.

"That whereas, on the side of the river Plate, the English are not in possession of any colony, a certain extent of territory be allowed them on the said river for refreshing and keeping their negroes till they are sold to the Spaniards; subject nevertheless to the inspection of an officer appointed by Spain.

"Eighthly, Newfoundland, and the Bay and Straits of Hudson, shall be entirely restored to the English; and Great Britain and France shall respectively keep whatever dominions in North America each of them shall be in possession of when the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world."

The six first articles were allowed without any difficulty, except that about Dunkirk, where France was to have an equivalent, to be settled in a general treaty.

A difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed instead thereof.

The last article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only

the French insisted to have the power of fishing for cod and drying them on the island of Newfoundland.

These articles were to be looked upon as conditions which the most christian king consented to allow; and whenever a general peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual form of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both crowns.

The queen having thus provided for the security and advant of her kingdoms whenever a peace should be made, and upon te no way interfering with the interest of her allies, the next thing in order was, to procure from France such preliminary articles as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. These were adjusted and signed the same day with the former; and havi been delivered to the several ministers residing here from the powers in alliance with England, were quickly made public. But the various constructions and censures which passed upon them have made it necessary to give the reader the following transcript:

"The king being willing to contribute all that is in his power to the re-establishing of the general peace, his majesty declares,—

"1. That he will acknowledge the queen of Great Britain in that quality, as also the succession of that crown according to the settlement.

"2. That he will freely and *bonâ fide* consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures for hindering, that the crowns of France and Spain may ever be united on the head of the same prince; his majesty being persuaded that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of Europe.

"3. The king's intention is that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction in the treaty of peace which shall be made; that commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of Great Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations who have been accustomed to exercise commerce.

"4. As the king will likewise maintain exactly the observance of the peace when it shall be concluded, and the object the king proposes to himself being to secure the frontiers of his kingd without disturbing in any manner whatever the neighboring states; he promises to agree, by the treaty which shall be made, that the Dutch shall be put in possession of the fortified places which shall be mentioned in the Netherlands, to serve hereafter for a barrier, which may secure the quiet of the republic of Holland against any enterprise from the part of France.

"5. The king consents likewise that a secure and convenient barrier should be formed for the empire and for the house of Austria.

"6. Notwithstanding Dunkirk cost the king very great sums, as well to purchase it as to fortify it; and that it is further necessary to be at very considerable expense for razing the works; his majesty is willing, however, to engage to cause them to be demolished immediately after the conclusion of the peace, on condition that, for the fortifications of that place, a proper equivalent that may content him be given him; and as England cannot furnish that equivalent, the discussion of it shall be referred to the conferences to be held for the negotiation of the peace.

"7. When the conferences for the negotiation of the peace shall be formed, all the pretensions of the princes and states engaged in the present war shall be therein discussed *bonâ fide* and amicably; and nothing shall be omitted to regulate and terminate them to the satisfaction of all the parties.

"MESNAGER."

These overtures are founded upon the 8th article of the grand alliance made in 1701, wherein are contained the conditions without which a peace is not to be made; and whoever compares both will find the preliminaries to reach every point proposed in that article, which those who censured them at home, if they spoke their thoughts, did not understand; for nothing can be plainer than what the public has often been told, "that the recovery of Spain from the house of Bourbon was a thing never imagined when the war began, but a just and reasonable satisfaction to the emperor." Much less ought such a condition to be held necessary at present, not only because it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable, but likewise because by the changes in the Austrian and Bourbon families it would not be safe; neither did those who were loudest in blaming the French preliminaries know anything of the advantages privately stipulated for Britain, whose interests, they assured us, were all made a sacrifice to the corruption or folly of the managers; and therefore because the opposers of peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have changed their battery, and accused the ministers for betraying the Dutch.

The lord Raby, her majesty's ambassador at the Hague, having made a short journey to England, where he was created earl of Strafford, went back to Holland about the beginning of October,

1711, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate th to the pensionary and other ministers of the States. The earl was instructed to let them know "That the queen had, according to their desire, returned an answer to the first propositions signed by Mons. Torcy, signifying that the French offers were thought, both by her majesty and the States, neither so particular nor so full as they ought to be, and insisting to have a distinct project formed of such a peace as the most Christian king would be willing to conclude: That this affair having been for some time transacted by papers, and thereby subject to delays, Mons. Mesnager was at length sent over by France, and had signed those preliminaries now communicated to them: That the several articles did not indeed contain such particular concessions as France must and will make in the course of a treaty; but that, however, her majesty thought them a sufficient foundation whereon to open the general conferences.

"That her majesty was unwilling to be charged with determini the several interests of her allies, and therefore contented hers with such general offers as might include all the particular demands proper to be made during the treaty, where the confederates must resolve to adhere firmly together, in order to obtain from the enemy the utmost that could be hoped for in the present circumstances of affairs; which rule her majesty assured the States she would on her part firmly observe."

If the ministers of Holland should express any uneasiness that her majesty may have settled the interest of her own kingdoms in a future peace by any private agreement, the ambassador was ordered to say "That the queen had hitherto refused to have the treaty carried on in her own kingdom, and would continue to do so unless they (the Dutch) constrained her to take another measure: that by these means the States and the rest of the allies would have the opportunity of treating and adjusting their different pretensions, which her majesty would promote with all the zeal she had shown for the common good and the particular advantage of that republic (as they must do her the justice to confess), in the whole course of her reign: that the queen had made no stipulation for herself which might clash with the interests of Holland: and that the articles to be inserted in a future treaty for the benefit of Britain, were for the most part such as contained advantages which must either be continued to the enemy or be obtained by her majesty; but, however, that no concession should tempt her to hearken to a peace

unless her good friends and allies, the States-General, had all reasonable satisfaction as to their trade and barrier as well as in all other respects."

After these assurances, given in the queen's name, the earl was to insinuate "That her majesty should have just reason to be offended, and to think the proceedings between her and the States very unequal if they should pretend to have any further uneasiness upon this head: that being determined to accept no advantages to herself repugnant to their interests, nor any peace without their reasonable satisfaction, the figure she had made during the whole course of the war, and the part she had acted superior to any of the allies, who were more concerned in danger and interest, might justly entitle her to settle the concerns of Great Britain before she would consent to a general negotiation."

If the States should object the engagements the queen was under by treaties of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the barrier treaty, the ambassador was to answer, "That as to the former, her majesty had not in any sort acted contrary thereto: that she was so far from making a peace without their consent as to declare her firm resolution not to make it without their satisfaction; and that what had passed between France and her amounted to no more than an introduction to a general treaty." As to the latter, the earl had orders to represent very earnestly "how much it was even for the interest of Holland itself, rather to compound the advantage of the barrier treaty than to insist upon the whole, which the house of Austria and several other allies would never consent to: that nothing could be more odious to the people of England than many parts of this treaty, which would have raised universal indignation if the utmost care had not been taken to quiet the minds of those who were acquainted with the terms of that guaranty, and to conceal them from those who were not: that it was absolutely necessary to maintain a good harmony between both nations, without which it would be impossible at any time to form a strength for reducing an exorbitant power or preserving the balance of Europe; whence it followed, that it could not be the true interest of either country to insist upon any conditions which might give just apprehension to the other.

"That France had proposed Utrecht, Nimeguen, Aix, or Liege, wherein to hold the general treaty; and her majesty was ready to send her plenipotentiaries to whichever of those towns the States should approve."

If the imperial ministers, or those of the other allies, should object against the preliminaries as no sufficient ground for opening the conferences, and insist that France should consent to such articles as were signed on the part of the allies in the year 1709, the earl of Strafford was in answer directed to insinuate "That the French might have probably been brought to explain themselves more particularly had they not perceived the uneasiness, impatience and jealousy among the allies during our transactions with that court." However, he should declare to them in the queen's n , "That if they were determined to accept of peace upon no te inferior to what was formerly demanded, her majesty was ready to concur with them; but would no longer bear those disproportions of expense yearly increased upon her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in every part of the war: that it was therefore incumbent upon them to furnish for the future such quotas of ships and forces as they were now wanting in, and to increase their expense, while her majesty reduced hers to a reasonable and just proportion."

That if the ministers of Vienna and Holland should urge their inability upon this head, the queen insisted "They ought to comply with her in war or in peace; her majesty desiring nothing as to the first, but what they ought to perform, and what is absolutely necessary: and as to the latter, that she had done and would continue to do the utmost in her power towards obtaining such a peace as might be to the satisfaction of all her allies."

Some days after the earl of Strafford's departure to Holland, Mons. Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, arrived here from thence with instructions from his masters to treat upon the subject of the French preliminaries and the methods for carrying on the war. In his first conference with a committee of council he objected against all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and against some of them, as prejudicial. He said, "The French promising that trade should be re-established and maintained for the future was meant in order to deprive the Dutch of their tariff of 1604, for the plenipotentiaries of that crown would certainly expound the word *rétablir* to signify no more than restoring the trade of the States to the condition it was in immediately before the commencement of the present war." He said, "That in the article of Dunkirk the destruction of the harbor was not mentioned, and that the fortifications were only to be razed upon condition of an equivalent, which might occasion a difference between her majesty and the States,

since Holland would think it hard to have a town less in their barrier for the demolition of Dunkirk; and England would complain to have this thorn continued in their side for the sake of giving one town more to the Dutch." Lastly, he objected "That where the French promised effectual methods should be taken to prevent the union of France and Spain under the same king, they offered nothing at all for the cession of Spain, which was the most important point of the war.

"For these reasons, Monsieur Buys hoped her majesty would alter her measures, and demand specific articles upon which the allies might debate whether they would consent to a negotiation or not."

The queen, who looked upon all these difficulties raised about the method of treating as endeavors to wrest the negotiation out of her hands, commanded the lords of the committee to let Monsieur Buys know "That the experience she formerly had of proceeding by particular preliminaries toward a general treaty gave her no encouragement to repeat the same method any more: that such a preliminary treaty must be negotiated either by some particular allies, or by all: the first her majesty could never suffer, since she would neither take upon her to settle the interest of others, nor submit that others should settle those of her own kingdoms: as to the second, it was liable to Monsieur Buys's objection, because the ministers of France would have as fair an opportunity of sowing division among the allies, when they were all assembled upon a preliminary treaty as when the conferences were open for a negotiation of peace: that this method could therefore have no other effect than to delay the treaty, without any advantage: that her majesty was heartily disposed, both then and during the negotiation, to insist on every thing necessary for securing the barrier and commerce of the States, and therefore hoped the conferences might be opened without further difficulties.

"That her majesty did not only consent, but desired to have a plan settled for carrying on the war as soon as the negotiation of peace should begin; but expected to have the burden more equally laid, and more agreeably to treaties; and would join with the States in pressing the allies to perform their parts, as she had endeavored to animate them by her example."

Mons. Buys seemed to know little of his masters' mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon anything. Her majesty's minister proposed to him an alliance between the two nations to

subsist after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain time to pick out if possible the whole secret of the transactions between Britain and France; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his masters to any conditions; to seek delays till the parliament met, and then observe what turn it took, and what would be the issue of those frequent cabals between himself and some other foreign ministers, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the discontented faction.

The Dutch hoped that the clamors raised against the proceedings of the queen's ministers toward a peace would make the parliament disapprove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the head of the negotiation, which the queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miscarried twice already, although prince Eugene himself owned "That France was then disposed to conclude a peace upon such conditions that it was not worth the life of a grenadier to refuse them." As to insisting upon specific preliminaries, her majesty thought her own method much better, "for each ally in the course of the negotiation to advance and manage his own pretensions, wherein she would support and assist them;" rather than for two ministers of one ally to treat solely with the enemy and report what they pleased to the rest, as was practised by the Dutch at Gertruydenberg.

One part of Mons. Buys's instructions was, "To desire the queen not to be so far amused by a treaty of peace as to neglect her preparation for war against the next campaign. Her majesty, who was firmly resolved against submitting any longer to that unequal burden of expense she had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. secretary St. John to debate the matter with that minister, who said "He had no power to treat; only insisted that his masters had fully done their part, and that nothing but exhortations could be used to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigor."

On the other side, the queen refused to concert any plan for the prosecution of the war till the States would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace, which therefore by Mons. Buys's application to them was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in Holland upon the 21st of November, 1711, N. S.

About this time the count de Gallas was forbid the court by order from the queen, who sent him word "that she looked upon him no longer as a public minister."

This gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonorable part here in England, altogether inconsistent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and present emperors, two princes under the strictest ties of gratitude to the queen, especially the latter, who had then the title of king of Spain. Count Gallas, about the end of August, 1711, with the utmost privacy dispatched an Italian, one of his clerks, to Frankfort, where the earl of Peterborough was then expected. This man was instructed to pass for a Spaniard, and insinuate himself into the earl's service, which he accordingly did, and gave constant information to the last emperor's secretary at Frankfort of all he could gather up in his lordship's family, as well as copies of several letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered that Gallas had in his dispatches to the present emperor, then in Spain, represented the queen and her ministers as not to be confided in: "That when her majesty had dismissed the earl of Sunderland she promised to proceed no further in the change of her servants; yet soon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the public credit, as well as abandoned Spain: that the present ministers wanted the abilities and good dispositions of the former; were persons of ill designs and enemies to the common cause, and he (Gallas) could not trust them." In his letters to count Zinzendorf he said "That Mr. secretary St. John complained of the house of Austria's backwardness only to make the king of Spain odious to England, and the people here desirous of a peace, although it were ever so bad;" to prevent which count Gallas drew up a memorial which he intended to give the queen, and transmitted a draught of it to Zinzendorf for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promises to encourage the continuance of the war, proposed the detaching of a good body of troops from Hungary to serve in Italy or Spain, as the queen should think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a step without consulting the emperor: to which Gallas replied, "That his design was only to engage the queen to go on with the war: that Zinzendorf knew how earnestly the English and Dutch had pressed to have these troops from Hungary, and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two nations; after which several ways might be found to elude that promise; and, in the mean time, the great point would be gained of bringing the English to declare for continuing the war: that the emperor might afterwards excuse himself by the apprehension of a war in Hungary or of that between the Turks and

Muscovites: that if these excuses should be at an end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred by pretending want of money; by which the queen would probably be brought to maintain some part of those troops, and perhaps the whole body." He added, "That this way of management was very common among the allies;" and gave for an example, the forc which the Dutch had promised for the service of Spain, but were never sent; with several other instances of the same kind, which, he said, might be produced.

Her majesty, who had long suspected that count Gallas was engaged in these and the like practices, having at last received authentic proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters and the voluntary confession of those who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it necessary to show her resentment by refusing the count any more access to her person or her court.

Although the queen, as it has been already observed, was resolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries, yet she thought it would very much forward the peace to know what were the utmost concessions which France would make to the several allies, but especially to the States-General and the duke of Savoy. Therefore, while her majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general treaty, the abbé Gualtier was sent to France with a memorial, to desire that the most christian king would explain himself upon those preliminaries, particularly with relation to Savoy and Holland, whose satisfaction the queen had most at heart; as well from her friendship to both these powers, as because, if she might engage to them that their just pretensions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain of any moment to retard the general peace.

The French answer to this memorial contained several schemes and proposals for the satisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her majesty and her ministers thought reasonable. The greatest difficulties seemed to be about the elector of Bavaria, for whose interests France appeared to be as much concerned as the queen was for those of the duke of Savoy. However, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her majesty and that republic:

"That the congress should be held at Utrecht.

"That the opening of the congress should be upon the 12th of January, N. S., 1711–12.

"That, for avoiding all inconveniences of ceremony, the ministers of the queen and States during the treaty should only have the characters of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of ambassadors till the day on which the peace should be signed.

"Lastly, The queen and States insisted that the ministers of the duke of Anjou and the late electors of Bavaria and Cologne, should not appear at the congress, until the points relating to their masters were adjusted; and were firmly resolved not to send their passports for the ministers of France till the most christian king declared that the absence of the forementioned ministers should not delay the progress of the negotiation."

Pursuant to the three former articles her majesty wrote circular letters to all the allies engaged with her in the present war; and France had notice, "That as soon as the king declared his compliance with the last article the blank passports should be filled up with the names of the mareschal d'Uxelles, the abbé de Polignac, and Monsieur Mesnager, who were appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown."

From what I have hitherto deduced the reader sees the plan which the queen thought the most effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries the queen was to be empowered by France to offer separately to the allies what might be reasonable for each to accept, and her own interests being previously settled she was to act as a general mediator; a figure that became her best, from the part she had in the war, and more useful to the great end at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honorable peace to Europe.

Besides, it was absolutely necessary for the interests of Britain that the queen should be at the head of the negotiation: without which her majesty could find no expedient to redress the injuries her kingdoms were sure to suffer by the barrier-treaty. In order to settle this point with the States the ministers here had a conference with Monsieur Buys, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "How necessary it was, by previous concert between the emperor, the queen, and the States, to prevent any difference which might arise in the course of the treaty at Utrecht; that under pretence of a barrier for the States-General, as their security against France, infinite prejudice might arise to the trade of Britain in the

Spanish Netherlands; for, by the fifteenth article of the barrier-treaty, in consequence of what was stipulated by that of Munster, the queen was brought to engage that commerce shall not be rendered more easy, in point of duties, by the sea-ports of Flanders than it is by the river Scheld and by the canals on the side of the Seven Provinces; which, as things now stood, was very unjust, for while the towns in Flanders were in the hands of France or Spain the Dutch and we traded to them upon equal foot; but now, since by the barrier-treaty those towns were to be possessed by the States, that republic might lay what duties they pleased upon British goods, after passing by Ostend, and make their own cust free, which would utterly ruin our whole trade with Flanders."

Upon this the lords told Monsieur Buys very frankly, "That if the States expected the queen should support their barrier, as their demands from France and the house of Austria upon that head, they ought to agree that the subjects of Britain should trade as freely to all the countries and places which, by virtue of any former or future treaty, were to become the barrier of the States, as they did in the time of the late king Charles II. of Spain, or as the subjects of the States-General themselves shall do; and it is hoped their high mightinesses would never scruple to rectify a mistake so injurious to that nation, without whose blood and treasure they would have had no barrier at all." Monsieur Buys had nothing to answer against these objections, but said "He had already wrote to his masters for further instructions."

Greater difficulties occurred about settling what should be the barrier to the States after a peace: the envoy insisting to have all the towns that were named in the treaty of barrier and succession; and the queen's ministers excepting those towns which, if they continued in the hands of the Dutch, would render the trade of Britain to Flanders precarious. At length it was agreed in general, that the States ought to have what is really essential to the security of their barrier against France, and that some amicable expedient should be found for removing the fears both of Britain and Holland upon this point.

But at the same time Mons. Buys was told, "That although the queen would certainly insist to obtain all those points from France in behalf of her allies the States, yet she hoped his masters were too reasonable to break off the treaty rather than not obtain the very utmost of their demands, which could not be settled here

he were fully instructed to speak and conclude upon that
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n interest and preventing the division of the allies, by the
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might be told that it was in vain to amuse each other any
; that on such terms the peace would be immediately con-
; and that the conferences must cease if those conditions
ot without delay and with expedition granted."

eaty between her majesty and the States, to subsist after a
was now signed, Monsieur Buys having received full powers
t purpose. His masters were desirous to have a private
added *sub sperati*, concerning those terms of peace; with-
e granting of which we should stipulate not to agree with
emy. But neither the character of Buys, nor the manner
ich he was empowered to treat, would allow the queen to
into such an engagement. The congress likewise approach-
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r, lastly, would her majesty be tied down by Holland, without
us satisfaction upon several articles in the barrier-treaty, so
istent with her engagements to other powers in the alliance,
injurious to her own kingdoms.

lord privy seal and the earl of Strafford having, about the
he parliament met, been appointed her majesty's plenipoten-
for treating on a general peace, I shall here break off the
t of any further progress made in that great affair until I
e it in the last Book of this History.

BOOK THE THIRD.

e house of commons seemed resolved from the beginning of
ssion to inquire strictly, not only into all abuses relating to
counts of the army, but likewise into the several treaties
n us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they
irst agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In
; week of their sitting they sent an address to the queen to

desire that the treaty, whereby her majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the Low Countries, might be laid before the house. To which the secretary of state brought an answer, "That search had been made, but no footsteps could be found of any treaty or convention for that purpose." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former ministry which first gave a pretence to the allies lessening their quotas, so much to the disadvantage of her majesty, her kingdoms, and the common cause, in the course of the war. It had been stipulated by the grand alliance between the emperor, Britain, and the States, "That those three states should assist each other with their whole force; and that the several proportions should be specified in a particular convention." But if any such convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed by common consent to take each a certain share of the burden upon themselves, which the late king William communicated to the house of commons by his secretary of state; and which afterwards the other two powers, observing the mighty zeal in our ministry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleased.

The commissioners for stating the public accounts of the kingdom had, in executing their office the preceding summer, discovered several practices relating to the affairs of the army; which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the house.

The commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. Robert Walpole, already mentioned; who, during his being secretary at war, had received 500 guineas, and taken a note for 500*l.* more, on account of two contracts for forage of the queen's troops quartered in Scotland. He endeavored to excuse the first contract; but had nothing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption, committed him prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the session, and expelled him the house. He was a person much caressed by the opposers of the queen and ministry; having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in public, has justly entitled him among those of his faction to be a sort of leader in the second form

The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one who is otherwise altogether obscure.

Another part of the report concerned the duke of Marlborough, who had received large sums of money by way of gratuity from those who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the duke excused in a letter to the commissioners, from the like practice of other generals: but that excuse appeared to be of little weight, and the mischievous consequences of such a corruption were visible enough; since the money given by these undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And as frauds that begin at the top are apt to spread through all the subordinate ranks of those who have any share in the management, and to increase as they circulate, so in this case, for every 1000*l.* given to the general, the soldiers at least suffered fourfold.

Another article of this report relating to the duke was yet of more importance. The greatest part of her majesty's forces in Flanders were mercenary troops, hired from several princes of Europe. It was found that the queen's general substracted 2½ per cent. out of the pay of those troops for his own use, which amounted to a great annual sum. The duke of Marlborough in his letter already mentioned, endeavoring to extenuate the matter, told the commissioners, "That this deduction was a free gift from the foreign troops, which he had negotiated with them by the late king's orders, and had obtained the queen's warrant for reserving and receiving it: that it was intended for secret service, the 10,000*l.* a-year given by parliament not proving sufficient; and had all been laid out that way." The commissioners observed, in answer, "That the warrant was kept dormant for nine years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the secretary of state's books, and the deduction of it concealed all that time from the knowledge of parliament: that if it had been a free gift from the foreign troops, it would not have been stipulated by agreement, as the duke's letter confessed, and as his warrant declared; which latter affirmed this stoppage to be intended for defraying extraordinary contingent expenses of the troops, and therefore should not have been applied to secret services." They submitted to the house whether the warrant itself was legal, or duly countersigned. The commissioners added, "That no receipt was ever given for this deducted money; nor was it mentioned in any receipts from the foreign troops, which

were always taken in full. And lastly, that the whole sum on computation amounted to near 300,000*l.*

The house, after a long debate, resolved, "That the taking several sums from the contractors for bread for the duke of Marlborough was unwarrantable and illegal; and that the 2½ per cent. deducted from the foreign troops was public money and ought to be accounted for:" which resolutions were laid before the queen by the whole house, and her majesty promised to do her part in redressing what was complained of. The duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the queen, procured a warrant from her majesty for this perquisite of 2½ per cent. The warrant was directed to the duke of Marlborough, and countersigned by sir Charles Hedges, then secretary of state; by virtue of which, the paymaster-general of the army was to pay the said deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was observed as very commendable and becoming the dignity of such an assembly, that this debate was managed with great temper and with few personal reflections upon the duke of Marlborough. They seemed only desirous to come at the truth, without which they could not answer the trust reposed in them by those who they represented; and left the rest to her majesty's prudence. The attorney-general was ordered to commence an action against the duke for the subtracted money; which would have amounted to a great sum, enough to ruin any private person, except himself. The process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted, or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanor of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. Cardonnell, a member of parliament and secretary to the general in Flanders, was expelled the house, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from those who had contracted to furnish bread for the army; and met with no further punishment for a practice voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

These were all the censures of any moment which the commons, under so great a weight of business, thought fit to make upon the reports of their commissioners for inspecting the public accounts. But having promised in the beginning of this history to examine the state of the nation with respect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they first began, and in process of time made such a

ius increase; and lastly, what courses have been taken under ient administration, to find out funds for answering so many ded incumbrances, as well as to put a stop to new ones; I deavor to satisfy the reader upon this important article.

ll I have yet read of the history of our own country, it to me that the national debts, secured upon parliamentary f interest, were things unknown in England before the last ion under the prince of Orange. It is true, that in the rebellion the king's enemies borrowed money of particular , upon what they called the public faith; but this was only rt periods, and the sums no more than what they could pay , as they constantly did. Some of our kings have been very in peace and war, and are blamed in history for their op- is of the people by severe taxes, and for borrowing money they never paid; but national debts was a style, which I would hardly then be understood. When the prince of was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these f Europe, the king and his counsellors thought it would be y to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, d lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think leliverance too dearly bought; wherefore, one of the first of the new government was to take off the tax upon chim- s a burden very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money wanted to support the war (which even the convention par- t, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he engage in), the present bishop of Salisbury [Burnet] is said found out that expedient (which he had learned in Holland) ng money upon the security of taxes that were only sufficient a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to with this project were many and plausible; for supposing, as inisters industriously gave out, that the war could not last one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with oderate taxes; and the debts accruing would in process of e easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large inte- ould draw in a great number of those whose money, by the and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and er were lenders to the government would, by surest principle iged to support it. Besides, the men of estates could not be ed without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid on ands which custom has since made so familiar; and it was the

business of such as were then in power to cultivate a moneyed interest; because the gentry of the kingdom did not very much relish those new notions in government, to which the king, who had bibed his politics in his own country, was thought to give too much way. Neither perhaps did that prince think national incumbrances to be any evil at all; since the flourishing republic where he was born is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Mons. Buys the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, "That it was for the interest of the public to be in debt;" which perhaps may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the governors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects' fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution however brought about. But to prescribe the same rules to a monarch whose wealth arises from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon public funds of interest as well as some other state lessons, were taken undigested from the like practices among the Dutch, without allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and disposition of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was fi put in practice, artful men in office and credit began to consider what uses it might be applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support, but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves in particular who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifest that nothing could promote these two designs so much as burdening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for as to the first, it was not to be doubted that moneyed men would be always firm to the party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good security and with such exorbitant premiums and interest; and every new sum that was lent took away as much power from the landed men as it added to theirs: so that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mortgagors, to whom every house and foot of land in England paid a rent charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and

purchased at less than half value. So that the gentlemen of estates were, in effect, but tenants to these new landlords; many of whom were able in time to force the election of boroughs out of the hands those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This ived at such a height, that a very few years more of war and s would have clearly cast the balance on the moneyed side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing upon funds was of ty advantage to those who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the rest; which tallies were sometimes (to speak in the merchant's phrase) at above forty per cent. discount. At this price, those who were in the secret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament; by which they doubled their principal in a few months: and for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities proposed some further advantage either as to interest or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already settled, which amounted to near a million a-year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of above 5,100,000*l.* In the first parliament of the queen the said mortgage was continued till 1710, to supply a deficiency of 2,300,000*l.* and interest of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years: so that the late ministry raised all their money, to 1710, only by continuing funds which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general who were satisfied to continue the payments they had been accustomed to; and made the administration seem easy, since the war went on without any new taxes raised, except the very last year they were in power; not considering what a mighty fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade and to the true interest of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded year after year by mighty sums borrowed upon it, but with the interest due upon those sums: for which the treasury was forced to strike tallies payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other provision of interest for three or four years; till at last the fund was so overloaded that it

could neither pay principal nor interest, and tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great discount.

But to avoid mistakes upon a subject where I am not very well versed either in the style or matter, I will transcribe an accou sent me by Sir John Blunt, who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs:

"In the year 1707 the sum of 822,381*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* was raised by continuing part of the general mortgage from 1710 to 1712; but with no provision of interest till August 1, 1710, otherwise than by striking tallies for it on that fund, payable after all the other money borrowed.

"In 1708 the same funds were continued from 1712 to 1714, to raise 729,067*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*; but no provision for interest till August 1, 1712, otherwise than as before, by striking tallies for it on the same fund, payable after all the rest of the money borrowed. And the discount of tallies then beginning to rise, great part of that money remained unraised; and there is nothing to pay interest for the money lent till August 1, 1712. But the late lord-treasurer struck tallies for the full sum directed by the act to be borrowed; great part of which have been delivered in payment to the navy and victualling offices, and some are still in the hands of the government.

"In 1709 part of the same fund was continued from August 1, 1714, to August 1, 1716, to raise 645,000*l.*; and no provision for interest till August 1, 1714 (which was about five years), but by borrowing money on the same fund payable after the sums before lent; so that little of that money was lent. But the tallies were struck for what was unlent; some of which were given out for the payment of the navy and victualling, and some still remain in the hands of the government.

"In 1710 the sums which were before given from 1714 to 1716 were continued from thence to 1720, to raise 1,296,552*l.* 9*s.* 11¾*d.*; and no immediate provision for interest till August 1, 1716: only after the duty of 1*s.* per bushel on salt should be cleared from the money it was then charged with, and which was not so cleared till midsummer, 1712, last; then that fund was to be applied to pay the interest till August 1, 1716; which interest amounted to about 77,793*l. per annum:* and the said salt fund produced but about 55,000*l. per annum:* so that no money was borrowed upon the general mortgage in 1710, except 150,000*l.* lent by the Swiss Can-

tons; but tallies were struck for the whole sum. These all remained in the late treasurer's hands at the time of his removal; yet the money was suspended, which occasioned those great demands upon the commissioners of the treasury who succeeded him, and were forced to pawn those tallies to the bank, or to remitters, rather than sell them at 20 or 25 *per cent.* discount, as the price then was. About 200,000*l.* of them they paid to clothiers of the army and others; and all the rest, being above 90,000*l.*, have been subscribed into the South Sea Company, for the use of the public."

When the earl of Godolphin was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy of several millions, all contracted under his administration, which had no parliament security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn whether that lord had the smallest prospect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or despair at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this means navy bills grew to be forty *per cent.* discount and upwards; and almost every kind of stores bought by the navy and victualling offices cost the government double rates and sometimes more; so that the public has directly lost several millions upon this one article, without any sort of necessity that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest vindicators of that party.

In this oppressed and entangled state was the kingdom with relation to its debts when the queen removed the earl of Godolphin from his office and put it into commission, of which the present treasurer was one. This person had been chosen speaker successively to three parliaments, was afterwards secretary of state, and always in great esteem with the queen for his wisdom and fidelity. The late ministry about two years before their fall had prevailed with her majesty, much against her inclination, to dismiss him from her service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavored the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary, that he should succeed in a second attempt against those very adversaries who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he has once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience "That a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast." That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation offers to him as his first thoughts; so that he

decides immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a loss upon sudden exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politics to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than to pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly strangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character; I mean an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be ever so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearances are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends for some months in points of the highest importance, to a degree that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for in the sense they take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs while he has been at the helm does clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying such exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortress of his kingdom as a security, and this against all the opposition mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies; such performances can only be called cunning by those whose want of understanding or of candor puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister seems at distance to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too; which I number among his defects. He has been blamed by his friends for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him upon that account as if he were jealous of power: but he has been heard to answer "That he seldom did otherwise without cause to repent."

However, so undistinguished a caution cannot in my opinion be justified, by which the owner loses many advantages, and whereof all men who deserve to be confided in may with some reason complain. His love of procrastination (wherein doubtless nature has her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation upon many other great ministers, who like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free; for time is often gained as well as lost by delay, which at worst is a fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this minister answerable for half the clamor raised against him upon that article: his endeavors are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons; which renders him less amiable than he would otherwise have been, from the goodness of his humor and agreeable conversation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet some allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he has, since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes than he is of his own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty use in the management of public affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age, of a person who has passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with a greater share both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home, who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person who, in the space of two years, has been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe, and has deserved so well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts which I have already described, this minister was brought into the treasury and exchequer and had the chief direction of affairs. His first regulation was that of exchequer bills, which, to the great discouragement of public credit and scandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* less in value than the sums specified in them. The present treasurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament by which the bank of England should be obliged, in consideration of 45,000*l.*, to accept and circulate those bills without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those

who dealt in remittances of money to the army; who by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffic had amassed prodigious wealth at the public cost: to which the earl of Godolphin had given too much way, possibly by neglect, for I think he cannot be accused of corruption.

But the new treasurer's chief concern was to restore the credit of the nation by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to 10,000,000*l.*, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care or courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last y of the general mortgage tallies for the year 1710, and some oth deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this: which being applied to other uses could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the treasurer of the navy; and as a further advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company for trading to the South Seas and for the encouragement of fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars; which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident; the chancellor of the exchequer (which was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife the following day at the Cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the sieur de Guiscard, a French papist; the circumstances of which fact being not within the compass of this history, I shall only observe that after two months' confinement and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his seat in parliament.

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt under the pressures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project: and when upon his return to the house he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppose

it, although the obtaining this trade, either through Old Spain or directly to the Spanish West Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and as an immediate consequence the navy bills rose to about twenty per cent., nor ever fell within ten of their discount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have since been erected. The last of that kind, under the former ministry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few hours, although it cost the government less; and the others which followed were full before the acts concerning them could pass. And to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future he took care, by the utmost parsimony or by suspending payments where they seemed less to press, that all stores for the navy should be bought with ready money; by which cent. per cent. has been saved in that mighty article of our expense, as will appear from an account taken at the victualling office on the 9th of August, 1712. And the payment of the interest was less a burden upon the navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into further particulars upon this head, but of smaller amount. What I have above related may serve to show in how ill a condition the kingdom stood with relation to its debts, by the corruption as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent effectual measures have since been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accompts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in parliament during this session.

Upon the 18th of January the house of lords sent down a bill to the commons for fixing the precedence of the Hanover family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for settling the succession of the crown. That of Henry VIII., which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no further than to nephews, nieces, and grandchildren of the crown; by virtue of which the Princess Sophia is a princess of the blood, as niece to king Charles I. of England, and precedes accordingly; but the privilege does not descend to her son the elector or the electoral prince. To supply which defect and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown this bill, as appears by the preamble, was recommended by

her majesty to the house of lords, which the commons, to show th zeal for everything that might be thought to concern the inter or honor of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, passed *nem. con.*, and returned to the lords without any amendment on the very day it was sent down.

But the house seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict inquiry into the state of the nation with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of certain articles in the barrier treaty, concluded about three years since by the lord viscount Towns hend between Great Britain and the States-General: and showing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of the powers in our alli- ance in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted by the same writers, "That these hardships put upon England had been countenanced and encouraged by a party here at home, in or to preserve their power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the war; as well as by her majesty's general abroad, upon account of his own peculiar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the king- dom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people: and by putting arguments into everybody's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great conse- quence whether the war continued or not; for in the former case it was necessary that the allies should be brought to a more equal regulation, and that the States in particular, for whom her maj y had done such great things, should explain and correct those a cles in the barrier treaty which were prejudicial to Britain; and either case it was fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

In order to this great inquiry the barrier treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her majesty and her allies during the present war, for raising and augmenting the pro- portions for the service thereof, were by the queen's directions laid before the house.

Several resolutions were drawn up and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their quotas upon certain articles in the barrier treaty, and upon the state of the war;

by all which it appeared, "That whatever had been charged by public discourses in print against the late ministry and the conduct of the allies, was much less than the truth." Upon these resolutions (by one of which the lord viscount Townshend, who negotiated and signed the barrier treaty, was declared an enemy to the queen and kingdom), and upon some further directions to the committee a representation was formed, and soon after the commons in a body presented it to the queen, the endeavors of the adverse party not prevailing to have it re-committed.

This representation (supposed to be the work of sir Thomas Hanmer's[1] pen) is written with much energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentic record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the history of the present times.

I did intend, for brevity sake, to have given the reader only an abstract of it; but upon trial found myself unequal to such a task without injuring so excellent a piece. And although I think historical relations are but ill patched up with long transcripts already printed, which upon that account I have hitherto avoided, yet this being the sum of all debates and resolutions of the house of commons in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not well be omitted:—

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, having nothing so much at heart as to enable your majesty to bring this long and expensive war to an honorable and happy conclusion, have taken it into our most serious consideration how the necessary supplies to be provided by us may be best applied, and how the common cause may in the most effectual manner be carried on by the united force of the whole confederacy: We have thought ourselves obliged, in duty to your majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us, to inquire into the true state of the war in all its parts: We have examined what stipulations have been entered into between your majesty and your allies; and how far such engagements have, on each side, been made good: We have considered the different interests which the confederates have in the success of this war; and the different shares they have contributed to its support: We have, with our utmost care and diligence, endeavored to discover the na-

[1] The dean contributed a large share.

ture, extent, and charge of it; to the end that, by comparing the weight thereof with our own strength, we might adapt the one to the other in such measure as neither to continue your majesty's subjects under a heavier burden than in reason and justice they ought to bear, nor deceive your majesty, your allies, and ourselves, by undertaking more than the nation in its present circumstances is able to perform.

"Your majesty has been graciously pleased upon our humble applications to order such materials to be laid before us as have furnished us with the necessary information upon the particulars we have inquired into: and when we shall have laid before your majesty our observations and humble advice upon this subject, we promise to ourselves this happy fruit from it, that if your majesty's generous and good purposes for the procuring of a safe and lasting peace should, through the obstinacy of the enemy or by any other means, be unhappily defeated, a true knowledge and understanding of the past conduct of the war will be the best foundation for a more frugal and equal management of it for the time to come.

"In order to take the more perfect view of what we proposed, and that we might be able to set the whole before your majesty in a true light, we have thought it necessary to go back to the beginning of the war; and beg leave to observe the motive and reasons upon which his late majesty king William engaged first in it. The treaty of the grand alliance explains those reasons to be for the supporting of the pretensions of his imperial majesty, then actually engaged in a war with the French king, who had usurped the entire Spanish monarchy for his grandson the duke of Anjou; and for the assisting of the States-General, who by the loss of their barrier against France were then in the same or a more dangerous condition than if they were actually invaded. As these were just and necessary motives for undertaking this war, so the ends proposed to be obtained by it were equally wise and honorable; for, as they are set forth in the eighth article of the same treaty, they appear to have been *the procuring of an equitable and reasonable satisfaction to his imperial majesty; and sufficient securities for the dominions, provinces, navigation, and commerce of the king of Great Britain and the States-General; and making effectual provision that the two kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united under the same government;* and particularly that the French should never get into the possession of the Spanish West Indies, or be permitted

to sail thither upon the account of traffic, or under any pretence whatsoever; and lastly, the securing to the subjects of the king of Great Britain and the States-General all the same privileges and rights of commerce throughout the whole dominions of Spain, as they enjoyed before the death of Charles II. king of Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agreement, or custom, or any other way whatsoever. For the obtaining of these ends the three confederated powers engaged to assist one another with their whole force, according to such proportions as should be specified in a particular convention afterwards to be made for that purpose. We do not find that any such convention was ever ratified: but it appears that there was an agreement concluded, which, by common consent, was understood to be binding upon each party respectively, and according to which the proportions of Great Britain were from the beginning regulated and founded. The terms of that agreement were, That for the service at land his imperial majesty should furnish ninety thousand men, the king of Great Britain forty thousand, and the States-General one hundred and two thousand; of which there were forty-two thousand intended to supply their garrisons, and sixty-thousand to act against the common enemy in the field; and with regard to the operations of the war at sea, they were agreed to be performed jointly by Great Britain and the States-General, the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five-eighths on the part of Great Britain, and three-eighths on the part of the States-General.

"Upon this foot the war began in the year 1702, at which time the whole yearly expense of it to England amounted to 3,706,494*l.*; a very great charge, as it was then thought by her majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed from the burden of the former war; but yet a very moderate proportion in comparison with the load which has since been laid upon them: for it appears, by estimates given in to your commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service for this present year in the same manner as it was performed the last year, amount to more than 6,960,000*l.*, beside interest for the public debts and the deficiencies accruing the last year, which two articles require 1,143,000*l.* more; so that the whole demands upon your commons are arisen to more than eight millions for the present annual supply. We know your majesty's tender regard for the welfare of your people will make it uneasy to you to hear of so great a pressure as this upon them; and

as we are assured it will fully convince your majesty of the necessity of our present inquiry, so we beg leave to represent to you from what causes and by what steps this immense charge appears to have grown upon us.

"The service at sea, as it has been very large and extensive in itself, so it has been carried on through the whole course of the war in a manner highly disadvantageous to your majesty and your kingdom: for the necessity of affairs requiring that great fleets should be fitted out every year, as well for maintaining a superiority in the Mediterranean as for opposing any force which the enemy might prepare, either at Dunkirk or in the ports of West France; your majesty's example and readiness in fitting out your proportion of ships for all parts of that service have been so far from prevailing with the States-General to keep pace with you, that they have been deficient every year to a great degree in proportion to what your majesty has furnished; sometimes no less than two-thirds, and generally more than half of their quota: hence your majesty has been obliged, for the prevention of disappointments in the most pressing services, to supply those deficiencies by additional reinforcements of your own ships; nor has the single increase of such a charge been the only ill consequence that attended it; for by this means the debt of the navy has been enhanced, so that the discounts arising upon the credit of it have affected all other parts of the service from the same cause. Your majesty's ships of war have been forced in greater numbers to continue in remote seas, and at unseasonable times of the year, to the great damage and decay of the British navy. This also has been the occasion that your majesty has been straitened in your convoys for trade; your coasts have been exposed for want of a sufficient number of cruisers to guard them; and you have been disabled from annoying the enemy in their most beneficial commerce with the West Indies, from whence they received those vast supplies of treasure without which they could not have supported the expenses of this war.

"That part of the war which has been carried on in Flanders was at first immediately necessary to the security of the States-General, and has since brought them great acquisitions both of revenue and dominion: yet even there the original proportions have been departed from, and during the course of the war have been sinking by degrees on the part of Holland: so that in this last year I find the number in which they fell short of their three-fifths to

your majesty's two-fifths have been twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven men. We are not unmindful that in the year 1703 a treaty was made between the two nations for a joint augmentation of twenty thousand men, wherein the proportions were varied, and England consented to take half upon itself. But it having been annexed as an express condition to the grant of the said augmentation in parliament, that the States-General should prohibit all trade and commerce with France, and that condition having not been performed by them, the commons think it reasonable that the first rule of three to two ought to have taken place again, as well in that as in other subsequent augmentations; more especially when they consider that the revenues of those rich provinces which have been conquered would, if they were duly applied, maintain a great number of new additional forces against the common enemy: notwithstanding which the States-General have raised none upon that account, but make use of those fresh supplies of money only to ease themselves in the charges of their first established quota.

"As in the progress of the war in Flanders a disproportion was soon created to the prejudice of England, so the very beginning of the war in Portugal brought an unequal share of burden upon us; for although the emperor and the States-General were equally parties with your majesty in the treaty with the king of Portugal, yet the emperor neither furnishing his third part of the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his imperial majesty's defect upon themselves, your majesty has been obliged to furnish two-thirds of the entire expense created by that service. Nor has the inequality stopped there; for ever since the year 1706, when the English and Dutch forces marched out of Portugal into Castile, the States-General have entirely abandoned the war in Portugal, and left your majesty to prosecute it singly at your own charge; which you have accordingly done by replacing a greater number of troops there than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time your majesty's generous endeavors for the support and defence of the king of Portugal have been but ill seconded by that prince himself; for notwithstanding that by his treaty he had obliged himself to furnish twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse upon his own account, besides eleven thousand foot and two thousand horse more in consideration of a subsidy paid him; yet, according to the

best information your commons can procure, it appears that he has scarce at any time furnished thirteen thousand men in the whole.

"In Spain the war has been yet more unequal and burdensome to your majesty than in any other branch of it; for being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the allies have almost wholly declined taking any part of it upon themselves. A small body of English and Dutch troops were sent thither in the year 1705; not as being thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to make the conquest of so large a country, but with a view only of assisting the Spaniards to set king Charles upon the throne, occasioned by the great assurances which were given of their inclinations to the house of Austria; but this expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn into an established war, under all the disadvantages of the distance of the place, and the feeble efforts of the other allies. The account we have to lay before your majesty upon this head is, that, although this undertaking was entered upon at the particular and earnest request of the imperial court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern to them than the reducing of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, yet neither the late emperors nor his present imperial majesty have ever had any forces there on their own account till the last year, and then only one regiment of foot consisting of two thousand men. Though the States-General have contributed something more to this service, yet their share has been inconsiderable; for in the space of four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive, all the forces they have sent into that country have not exceeded twelve thousand two hundred men; and from the year 1708 to this time they have not sent any forces or recruits whatsoever. To your majesty's care and charge the recovery of that kingdom has been in a manner wholly left, as if none else were interested or concerned in it. And the forces which your majesty has sent into Spain in the space of seven years, from 1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine hundred seventy-three men; beside thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons for which your majesty has paid a subsidy to the emperor.

"How great the established expense of such a number of men has been, your majesty very well knows, and your commons very sensibly feel: but the weight will be found much greater when it is considered how many heavy articles of unusual and extraordinary charge have attended this remote and difficult service; all which

have been entirely defrayed by your majesty, except that one of transporting the few forces which were sent by the States-General, and the victualling of them during their transportation only. The accounts delivered to your commons show that the charge of your majesty's ships and vessels employed in the service of the war in Spain and Portugal, reckoned after the rate of 4*l.* a man per month, from the time they sailed from hence till they returned, were lost, or put upon other services, has amounted to 6,540,966*l.* 14*s.*; the charge of transports on the part of Great Britain, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, from the beginning of it till this time, has amounted to 1,336,719*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*; that of victualling land forces for the same service to 583,770*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; and that of contingencies and other extraordinaries for the same service to 1,840,353*l.*

"We should take notice to your majesty of several sums paid upon account of contingencies and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together the sum of 1,107,096*l.*; but we are not able to make any comparison of them with what the States-General have expended upon the same head, having no such state of their extraordinary charge before us. There remains therefore but one particular more for your majesty's observation, which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign princes. These at the beginning of the war were borne in equal proportion by your majesty and the States-General; but in this instance also the balance has been cast in prejudice of your majesty; for it appears that your majesty has since advanced more than your equal proportion, 3,155,000 crowns, beside extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing articles, which arise to 539,553*l.*

"We have laid these several particulars before your majesty in the shortest manner we have been able; and by an estimate grounded on the preceding facts it does appear that over and above the quotas on the part of Great Britain, answering to those contributed by your allies, more than 19,000,000*l.* have been expended by your majesty, during the course of this war, by way of surplusage or exceeding in balance; of which none of the confederates have furnished anything whatsoever.

"It is with very great concern that we find so much occasion given us to represent how ill a use hath been made of your majesty's and your subjects' zeal for the common cause: that the interest of that cause has not been proportionably promoted by it, but others

only have been eased at your majesty's and your subjects' costs, and have been connived at in laying their part of the burden upon this kingdom, although they have upon all accounts been equally, and in most respects much more nearly, concerned than Britain in the issue of the war. We are persuaded your majesty will think it pardonable in us, with some resentment, to complain of the little regard which some of those whom your majesty of late years intrusted, have shown to the interest of their country, in giving way at least to such unreasonable impositions upon it, if not in some measure contriving them: the course of which impositions has been so singular and extraordinary, that the more the wealth of this nation has been exhausted, and the more your majesty's arms have been attended with success, the heavier has been the burden laid upon us; while on the other hand, the more vigorous your majesty's efforts have been, and the greater the advantages which have redounded thence to your allies, the more those allies have abated in the share of their expense.

"At the first entrance into this war the commons were induced to exert themselves in the extraordinary manner they did, and to grant such large supplies as had been unknown to former ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that in which they were necessarily engaged to a speedy conclusion: but they have been very unhappy in the event, while they have so much reason to suspect that what was intended to shorten the war has proved the very cause of its long continuance; for those to whom the profits of it have accrued have been disposed not easily to forego them. And your majesty will thence discern *the true reason why so many have delighted in a war which brought in so rich a harvest yearly from Great Britain.*

"We are as far from desiring, as we know your majesty will be from concluding, any peace but upon safe and honorable terms; and we are far from intending to excuse ourselves from raising all necessary and possible supplies for an effectual prosecution of the war till such a peace can be obtained. All that your faithful commons aim at, all that they wish, is an equal concurrence from the other powers engaged in alliance with your majesty, and a just application of what has been already gained from the enemy toward promoting the common cause. Several large countries and territories have been restored to the house of Austria; such as the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and other places in Italy. Others

have been conquered and added to their dominions; as the two electorates of Bavaria and Cologn, the duchy of Mantua, and the bishopric of Liege. These having been reduced in a great measure by our blood and treasure may, we humbly conceive, with great reason be claimed to come in aid toward carrying on the war in Spain. And therefore we make it our earnest request to your majesty that you will give instructions to your ministers to insist with the emperor that the revenues of those several places, excepting only such a portion thereof as is necessary for their defence, be actually so applied. And as to the other parts of the war to which your majesty has obliged yourself by particular treaties to contribute, we humbly beseech your majesty, that you will be pleased to take effectual care that your allies do perform their parts stipulated by those treaties; and that your majesty will for the future no otherwise furnish troops, or pay subsidies, than in proportion to what your allies shall actually furnish and pay. When this justice is done to your majesty and to your people, there is nothing which your commons will not cheerfully grant toward supporting your majesty in the cause in which you are engaged. And whatever further shall appear to be necessary for carrying on the war, either at sea or land, we will effectually enable your majesty to bear your reasonable share of any such expense; and will spare no supplies which your subjects are able with their utmost efforts to afford.

"After having inquired into and considered the state of the war, in which the part your majesty has borne appears to have been not only superior to that of any one ally, but even equal to that of the whole confederacy, your commons naturally inclined to hope that they should find care had been taken of securing some particular advantages to Britain in the terms of a future peace; such as might afford a prospect of making the nation amends in time for that immense treasure which has been expended, and those heavy debts which have been contracted, in the course of so long and burdensome a war. This reasonable expectation could no way have been better answered than by some provision made for the further security and the greater improvement of the commerce of Great Britain. But we find ourselves so very far disappointed in these hopes, that in a treaty not long since concluded between your majesty and the States-General, under color of a mutual guarantee given for two points of the greatest importance to both nations, the Succession and the Barrier, it appears the interest of Great Britain has been

not only neglected but sacrificed; and that several articles in the said treaty are destructive to the trade and welfare of this kingdom, and therefore highly dishonorable to your majesty.

"Your commons observe, in the first place, that several towns and places are, by virtue of this treaty, to be put into the hands of the States-General; particularly Newport, Dendermond, and the castle of Ghent, which can in no sense be looked upon as part of a barrier against France; but being the keys of the Netherlands toward Britain, must make the trade of your majesty's subjects in those parts precarious, and, whenever the States think fit, totally exclude them from it. The pretended necessity of putting these places into the hands of the States-General, in order to secure to them a communication with their barrier, must appear vain and groundless; for the sovereignty of the Low Countries being not to remain to an enemy, but to a friend and an ally, that communication must be always secure and uninterrupted; beside that, in case of a rupture or an attack, the States have full liberty allowed them to take possession of all the Spanish Netherlands, and therefore needed no particular stipulation for the towns above mentioned.

"Having taken notice of this concession made to the States-General for seizing upon the whole ten provinces, we cannot but observe to your majesty that in the manner this article is framed, it is another dangerous circumstance which attends this treaty; for had such a provision been confined to the case of an apparent attack from France only, the avowed design of this treaty had been fulfilled, and your majesty's instructions to your ambassador had been pursued; but this necessary restriction has been omitted; and the same liberty is granted to the States to take possession of all the Netherlands whenever they shall think themselves attacked by any other neighboring nation, as when they shall be in danger from France; so that if it should at any time happen (which your commons are very unwilling to suppose) that they should quarrel even with your majesty, the riches, strength, and advantageous situation of these countries may be made use of against yourself, without whose generous and powerful assistance they had never been conquered.

"To return to those ill consequences which relate to the trade of your kingdoms. We beg leave to observe to your majesty that, though this treaty revives and renders your majesty a party to the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the treaty of Munster, by virtue

of which the impositions upon all goods and merchandises brought into the Spanish Low Countries by the sea are to equal those laid on goods and merchandises imported by the Scheld, and the canals of Sass and Swyn, and other mouths of the sea adjoining; yet no care is taken to preserve that equality upon the exportation of those goods out of the Spanish provinces into those countries and places which, by virtue of this treaty, are to be in possession of the States; the consequence of which must in time be, and your commons are informed that in some instances it has already proved to be the case, that the impositions upon goods carried into those countries and places by the subjects of the States General will be taken off, while those upon the goods imported by your majesty's subjects remain; by which means Great Britain will entirely lose this most beneficial branch of trade, which it has in all ages been possessed of, even from the time when those countries were governed by the house of Burgundy, one of the most ancient as well as the most useful allies to the crown of England.

"With regard to the other dominions and territories of Spain, your majesty's subjects have always been distinguished in their commerce with them; and both by ancient treaties and an uninterrupted custom, have enjoyed greater privileges and immunities of trade than either the Hollanders or any other nation whatsoever. And that wise and excellent treaty of the Grand Alliance provides effectually for the security and continuance of these valuable privileges to Britain, in such a manner as that each nation might be left, at the end of the war, upon the same foot as it stood at the commencement of it. But this treaty we now complain of, instead of confirming your subjects' rights, surrenders and destroys them; for although by the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of the treaty of Munster, made between his catholic majesty and the States-General, all advantages of trade are stipulated for and granted to the Hollanders equal to what the English enjoyed, yet the crown of England, not being a party to that treaty, the subjects of England have never submitted to those articles of it, nor even the Spaniards themselves ever observed them. But this treaty revives those articles in prejudice of Great Britain, and makes your majesty a party of them, and even a guarantee to the States-General for privileges against your own people.

"In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner your majesty's ambassador consented to deprive your subjects of their ancient

rights, and your majesty of the power of procuring to them any new advantage, most evidently appears from his own letters, which by your majesty's directions have been laid before your commons; for when matters of advantage to your majesty and to your kingdom had been offered as proper to be made parts of this treaty, they were refused to be admitted by the States-General upon this reason and principle, — that nothing foreign to the guarantees of the succession and of the barrier should be mingled with them. Notwithstanding which the States-General had no sooner received notice of a treaty of commerce concluded between your majesty and the present emperor but they departed from the rule proposed before, and insisted upon the article of which your commons now complain; which article your majesty's ambassador allowed of, although equally foreign to the succession or the barrier; and although he had for that reason departed from other articles which would have been for the service of his own country.

"We have foreborne to trouble your majesty with general observations upon this treaty, as it relates to and affects the empire and other parts of Europe. The mischiefs which arise from it to Great Britain are what only we have presumed humbly to represent to you, as they are very evident and very great. And as it appears that the lord viscount Townshend had not any orders or authority for concluding several of those articles which are most prejudicial to your majesty's subjects, we have thought we could do no l than declare your said ambassador who negotiated and signed, and all others who advised the ratifying of this treaty, enemies to your majesty and your kingdom.

"Upon these faithful informations and advices from your commons, we assure ourselves, your majesty, in your great goodness to your people, will rescue them from those evils which the private counsels of ill-designing men have exposed them to; and that in your great wisdom you will find some means for explaining and amending the several articles of this treaty, so as that they may consist with the interest of Great Britain, and with real and lasting friendship between your majesty and the States-General."

Between the representation and the first debates upon the subject of it several weeks had passed, during which time the parliament had other matters likewise before them that deserve to be mentioned. For on the 9th of February was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign protestants, which had been passed under the last ministry,

as many people thought to very ill purposes. By this act any for ner who would take the oaths to the government, and profess elf a protestant, of whatever denomination, was immediately n nalized, and had all the privileges of an English-born subject at the expense of a shilling. Most protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church government; so that all the acquisitions by t act would increase the number of dissenters; and therefore the posal that such foreigners should be obliged to conform to the blished worship was rejected. But because several persons e fond of this project as a thing that would be of mighty ad- ntage to the kingdom, I shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim "That people are the riches of a nation" has been crudely understood by many writers and reasoners upon that sub- t. There are several ways by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and subdued; and the conquerors seize the lands and make the natives their under-tenants or servants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or destroyed, or the land uncultivated and waste. In those countries where the lord of the soil is master of the labor and liberty of his tenants, or of slaves bought by his money, men's riches are reckoned by the number of their vassals. And some- times in governments newly instituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighboring countries. And in all these cases the new comers have either lands allotted them, or are slaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpless families by thousands into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they should be part of the pro- perty as servants, is a wrong application of the maxim; and the same thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burden and charge to the parish. The true way of multi- plying mankind to public advantage in such a country as England, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftsmen and artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient share of property to secure them from want; to enact and enforce sumptuary laws against luxury, and all excesses in clothing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matri- mony, and reward, as the Romans did, those who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the Palatines were a mere consequence of this law for a general naturalization, or whether, as many surmised, it had some other meaning, it appeared

manifestly by the issue that the public was a loser by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unsightly and troublesome at best, and intercepts that nourishment which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons sent up a bill for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that house who should be allowed to possess employments under the crown. Bills to the same effect promoted by both parties had after making the like progress been rejected in former parliaments; the court and ministry, who will ever be against such a law, having usually a greater influence in the house of lords; and so it happened now. Although that influence were less, I am apt to think that such a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point while we have so many corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the regulations already made on that article are sufficient, by which several employments incapacitate a man from being chosen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I consider the temper of particular persons, and by what maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how such a bill should obtain a majority, unless every man expected to be one of the fifty, which I think was the limitation intended.

About the same time likewise the house of commons advanced one considerable step toward securing us against further impositions from our allies, resolving that the additional forces should be continued, but with a condition that the Dutch should make good their propositions of three-fifths to two-fifths, which those confederates had so long and in so great degree neglected. The duke of Marlborough's deduction of 2½ per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops was also applied for carrying on the war.

Lastly, within this period is to be included the act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in Scotland in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the liturgy of the Church of England. It is known enough that the most considerable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical discipline of those synods and presbyters, and at the same time have the utmost contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was besides thought an inequality beyond all appearance of reason or justice,

that dissenters of every denomination here, who are the meanest and most illiterate part among us, should possess a toleration by law, under color of which they might upon occasion be bold enough to insult the religion established; while those of the episcopal church in Scotland groaned under a real persecution. The only specious objection against this bill was, that it set the religion by law in both parts of the island upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; because by an act passed this very session against occasional conformity, our dissenters were shut out from all employments. A petition from Carstairs and other Scotch professors against this bill was offered to the house, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party to receive a clause that should restrain all persons who have any office in Scotland from going to episcopal meetings passed in the negative. It is manifest that the promoters of this clause were not moved by any regard for Scotland, which is by no means their favorite at present, only they hoped that if it were made part of a law it might occasion such a choice of representatives in both houses from Scotland as would be a considerable strength to their faction here. But the proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many lords and persons of distinction, who have great employments, pensions, posts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant attendance at the court, and utterly dislike their national way of worship, should be deprived of their liberty of conscience at home; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take care of the revenue and other affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their religion for that of Scotland.

With a further view of favor toward the episcopal clergy of Scotland, three members of that country were directed to bring in a bill for restoring the patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the vacant churches there, which the kirk during the height of their power had obtained for themselves. And to conclude this subject at once, the queen at the close of the session commanded Mr. secretary St. John to acquaint the house, "That, pursuant to their address, the profits arising from the bishops' estates in Scotland, which remained in the crown, should be applied to the support of such of the episcopal clergy there as would take the oaths to her majesty."

Nothing could more amply justify the proceedings of the queen and her ministers for two years past than that famous representa-

tion above at large recited: the unbiassed wisdom of the nati after the strictest inquiry confirming those facts upon which l majesty's counsels were grounded, and many persons who were l fore inclined to believe that the allies and the late ministry l been too much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ign rance of writers, were now fully convinced of their mistake l so great an authority. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear doi justice to Mr. St. John, who had been secretary-at-war for seve years under the former administration, where he had the advanta of observing how affairs were managed both at home and abroa He was one of those who shared in the present treasurer's fortun resigning up his employment at the same time, and upon that mi ister's being again taken into favor this gentleman was some tin after made secretary of state. There he began afresh by the oppo tunities of his station to look into past miscarriages, and by tl force of an extraordinary genius and application to public affai joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of misc riages and corruptions through the whole course of the war in evident a manner, that the house of commons seemed principall directed in their resolutions upon this inquiry by his informatio and advice. In a short time after the representation was publishe there appeared a memorial in the Dutch Gazette, as by order of tl States, reflecting very much upon the said representation, as well the resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny s of the facts and to extenuate others. This memorial, translate into English, a common writer of news had the boldness to inser in one of his papers A complaint being made thereof to the ho of commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a false, dalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken int custody.

It was the misfortune of the ministers, that while they were baited by their professed adversaries of the discontented faction, acting in confederacy with emissaries of foreign powers, to break the measures her majesty had taken toward a peace, they met at the same time with frequent difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general end, but sometimes disapproved the methods as too slack and remiss, or in appearance now and then perhaps a little dubious. In the first session of this parliament a considerable number of gentlemen, all members of the house of commons, began to meet by themselves and consult what

course they ought to steer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppose the court in any proceedings they disliked. The whole body was of such who profess what is commonly called high-church principles, upon which account they were irreconcilable enemies to the late ministry and all its adherents. On the other side, considering the temper of the new men in power, that they were persons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, those gentlemen who were impatient for an entire change, and to see all their adversaries laid at once as low as the dust, began to be apprehensive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time both at home and abroad would by no means admit of the least precipitation, although the queen and her first minister had been disposed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the court seem at all uneasy at this league formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest gentlemen who wished well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or if such a society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them and render all their endeavors ineffectual.

But in the course of that first session many of this society became gradually reconciled to the new ministry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themselves; and the attempt of Guiscard, as it had gained further time for deferring the disposal of employments, so it much endeared that person [Mr. Harley] to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session, of which I am now writing, this October Club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings, but were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design as of no further use. They saw a point carried in the house of lords against the court that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter [Mr. St. John and Mr. Bromley], to show to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected, for immediately the more zealous members of that society broke off from the rest and com-

posed a new one, made up of gentlemen who seemed to expect little of the court, and perhaps with a mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed or too long delayed [called the March Club]. Many of these were observed to retain an incurable jealousy of the treasurer, and to interpret all delays which they could not comprehend as a reserve of favor in this minister to the persons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occasion which offered about this time some persons, out of distrust to the treasurer, endeavored to obtain a point which could not have been carried without putting all into confusion. A bill was brought into the house of commons appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands and other interests granted by the crown since the 13th day of February, 1688, and upon what considerations such grants had been made. The united country interest in the house was extremely set upon passing the bill. They had conceived an opinion from former precedents that the court would certainly oppose all steps toward a resumption of grants, and those who were apprehensive that the treasurer inclined the same way proposed the bill should be tacked to another for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper, which has been always imputed, whether justly or not, as a favorite expedient of those called the Tory party. At the same time it was very well known that the house of lords had made a fixed and unanimous resolution against giving their concurrence to the passing of such united bills, so that the consequences of this project must have been to bring the ministry under difficulties, to stop the necessary supplies, and endanger the good correspondence between both houses; notwithstanding all which, the majority carried it for a tack, and the committee was instructed accordingly to make the two bills into one, whereby the worst that could happen would have followed if the treasurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reasons, that the means they were using would certainly disappoint the end; that neither himself nor any other of the queen's servants were at all against this inquiry; and he promised his utmost credit to help forward the bill in the house of lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single, but their lordships gave it another kind of reception. Those who were of the side opposite to the court withstood it to a man, as in a party case; among the rest, some were personally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they supposed a sufficient excuse to be absent or dissent. Even those whose

grants were antecedent to this intended inspection began to be alarmed as men whose neighbors' houses are on fire. A show of zeal for the late king's honor occasioned many reflections upon the date of this inquiry, which was to commence with his reign, and the earl of Nottingham, who had now flung away the mask which he had lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance against the queen and her friends, acted consistently enough with his design by voting as a lord against the bill after he had directed his son in the house of commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miscarried this popular bill for appointing commissioners to examine into royal grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own interest has been made a question, which perhaps time will resolve. It was agreed that the queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such an inquiry; and everybody believed that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years' purchase, and at the same time establish the proprietors in possession of the reder for ever; so that upon the whole the grantees would have been great gainers by such an act, since the titles of those lands as they stood then were hardly of half value with others, either for sale or settlement. Besides the example of the Irish forfeitures might have taught these precarious owners that when the house of commons has once engaged in a pursuit which they think is right, although it be stopped or suspended for awhile, they will be sure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and seldom fail of success: for instance, if the resumption should happen to be made part of a supply, which can be easily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might possibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of royal grants be consistent with good policy or justice would be too long a disquisition; besides, the profusion of kings is not likely to be a grievance for the future, because there have been laws since made to provide against that evil, or indeed rather because the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made against the date of the intended inquiry was invidious and trifling; for king James II. made very few grants: he was a better manager, and squandering was none of his faults; whereas the late king, who came over here a perfect stranger to our laws and to our people, regardless of posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better

strengthen a new title than by purchasing friends at the expense of everything which was in his power to part with.

The reasonableness of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is usually called *tacking*, has been likewise much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In ancient times when a parliament was held the commons first proposed their grievances to be redressed, and then gave their aids; so that it was a perfect bargain between the king and the subject. This fully answered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occasions which would hardly pass at present; such for instance as those for making the king's son a knight, marrying his eldest daughter, and some others of the like sort. Most of the money went into the king's coffers for his private use; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence arose the form of the king's thanking his subjects for their benevolence, when any subsidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him. But the supplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, because they are all appropriated to their several uses; so that, when the house of commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other side there have been several regulations made, through the course of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which it is grown a rule that a bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same session; whereby the commons seem to have lost the advantage of purchasing a redress of their grievances by granting supplies, which upon some emergencies has put them upon this expedient of tacking; so that there is more to be said on each side of the case than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myself in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this session we may justly number the proceedings of the house of commons with relation to the press; since her majesty's message to the house of January 17th concludes with a paragraph representing the great licenses taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words in the message seems to be confined to those weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the house of commons, in their address which

rs this message, make an addition of the blasphemies against
nd religion; and it is certain that nothing would be more for
onor of the legislature than some effectual law for putting a
) this universal mischief; but as the person [lord Bolingbroke]
dvised the queen in that part of her message had only then
thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I
he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the house,
e proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed;
r for taxing single papers having produced a quite contrary
was then foreseen by many persons, and has since been
true by experience. For the adverse party, full of rage and
s since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause,
y set of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all
) of defamation, and have a style and genius levelled to
enerality of readers; while those who would draw their pens
) side of their prince and country are discouraged by this tax,
exceeds the intrinsic value both of the materials and the
; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.
nust be acknowledged that the bad practices of printers have
such as to deserve the severest animadversions of the public;
; is to be wished the party quarrels of the pen were always
ged with decency and truth: but in the mean time to open
uths of our enemies, and shut our own, is a turn of politics
rants a little to be explained. Perhaps the ministry now in
n, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles
is; and it is not to be denied that, acting as they do upon a
al interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such sup-
, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But
leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim their
r would have been none at all, or of very short duration; and
ot some active pens fallen in to improve the good dispositions
e people upon the late change, and continued since to over-
r the falsehood plentifully, and sometimes not unplausibly,
ered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt whether
at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their
ss. A particular person may with more safety despise the
on of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or
but the administration a great deal; and whatever side has
ole management of the pen will soon find hands enough to
down their enemies as low as they please. If the people had

no other idea of those whom her majesty trusts in her grea affairs than what is conveyed by the passions of such as would co pass sea and land for their destruction, what could they expect to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How nec therefore was it that the world should from time to time be un deceived by true representations of persons and facts, which ha kept the kingdom steady to its interests against all the attacks of cunning and virulent faction!

However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to b cured by such a remedy as a tax upon the smaller papers; and bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into th house of commons, but so late in the session that there was n time to pass it: for there has hitherto always appeared an unwilling ness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press, whether from inconveniences apprehended from doing too much or too little; o whether the benefit proposed by each party to themselves, from th service of their writers toward the recovering or preserving o power, be thought to outweigh the disadvantages. However i came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, the bill not brought into the house till the 8th of June. It committed three days and then heard of no more. In this bi there was a clause inserted (whether industriously with design overthrow it), that the author's name and place of abode should b set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; to which I believ no man who has the least regard to learning would give his con sent; for beside the objection to this clause from the practice o pious men, who in publishing excellent writings for the service o religion have chosen, out of an humble christian spirit, to conce their names, it is certain that all persons of true genius or k ledge have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves u their first sending their thoughts into the world; and that t who are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgment, hav dispositions directly contrary: so that, if this clause had been mad part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, o any valuable production for the future either in wit or learning and that insufferable race of stupid people who are now every da loading the press would then reign alone, in time destroy our ver first principles of reason, and introduce barbarity among us, whi is already kept out with so much difficulty by so few hands.

Having given an account of the several steps made toward

om the first overtures begun by France to the commence-
the second session, I shall in the Fourth Book relate the
rs of this great negotiation, from the period last mentioned
esent time; and because there happened some passages in
ıses occasioned by the treaty, I shall take notice of them
at head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair
er nature, which the lords and commons took into their
ce after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close
of my subject.

ect of quakers among us, whose system of religion, first
upon enthusiasm, has been many years growing into a
ld it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate.
trine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a
plication of the text "Swear not at all;" but being a body
e wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they
ıemselves on many occasions deprived of the benefit of the
well as of voting at elections by a foolish scruple which
stinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this
ıience these people had credit enough in the late reign to
act passed that their solemn affirmation and declaration
e accepted instead of an oath in the usual form. The great
in those times was to lay all religion upon a level; in order
h this maxim was advanced, "That no man ought to be
he liberty of serving his country upon account of a different
ı speculative opinions;" under which term some people
t to include every doctrine of christianity. However, this
ıvor of the quakers was only temporary, in order to keep
constant dependence, and expired of course after a certain
it were not continued. Those people had therefore very
the session offered a petition to the house of commons for
uance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up.
ıis they applied themselves to the lords, who passed a bill
ıgly, and sent it down to the commons, where it was not so
ıllowed a first reading.

ındeed it is not easy to conceive upon what motives the
ıre of so great a kingdom could descend so low, as to be
ial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd
hat ever appeared in the world; and this in a point where
luding or deluded people stand singular from all the rest
ind who live under civil government; but the designs of

an aspiring party at that time were not otherwise to be comp than by undertaking anything that would humble and mortify church: and I am fully convinced that if a set of sceptic phil phers (who profess to doubt of everything) had been then an us, and mingled their tenets with some corruptions of chri they might have obtained the same privilege; and that a w have been enacted, whereby the solemn doubt of the people ca sceptics should have been accepted instead of an oath in the form: so absurd are all maxims formed upon the inco principles of faction when once they are brought to be exami by the standard of truth and reason.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

We left the plenipotentiaries of the allies and those of enemy preparing to assemble at Utrecht on the 1st of Jan. N in order to form a congress for negotiating a general peace; whe although the Dutch had made a mighty merit of their compli with the queen, yet they set all their instruments at work to infl both houses against her majesty's measures. M. Both r, Hanover envoy, took care to print and disperse his memo which I have formerly spoken: Hoffman, the emperor's was soliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over prince Eu at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great prop from the imperial court: the earl of Nottingham became a con for reasons already mentioned: money was distributed where o sion required; and the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, toge with the earl of Godolphin, had put themselves at the head their junto and their adherents in order to attack the court. S days after the vote passed the house of lords for admitting the address the earl of Nottingham's clause against any peace out Spain, M. Buys, the Dutch envoy, who had been deep in the consultations with the discontented party for carrying point, was desired to meet with the lord privy seal, the Dartmouth, and Mr. secretary St. John, in order to sign a t between the queen and the States, to subsist after a peace. T the envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the advantages lated for Britain with France; said, "It was his opinion that ministers ought, in respect of the friendship between both n

to acquaint him what these advantages were; and that he looked
upon his country to be entitled by treaty to share them equally with us: that there was now another reason why we should be more disposed to comply with him upon this head; for since the late resolution of the house of lords he took it for granted it would be a dangerous step in us to give Spain to a prince of the house of Bourbon; and therefore that we should do well to induce the States by such a concession to help us out of this difficulty."

Mr. St. John made answer, "That there was not a man in the queen's council capable of so base a thought: that if Buys had anything to complain of which was injurious to Holland, or justly tending to hurt the good correspondence between us and the States, he was confident her majesty would at all times be ready to give it up; but that the ministers scorned to screen themselves at the expense of their country; that the resolution Buys mentioned was chiefly owing to foreign ministers intermeddling in our affairs, and would perhaps have an effect the projectors did not foresee: That if the peace became impracticable, the house of commons would certainly put the war upon another foot, and reduce the public expense within such a compass as our treaties required in the strictest sense, and as our present condition would admit, leaving partisans for war to supply the rest."

Although the secretary believed this answer would put an end to such infamous proposals, it fell out otherwise, for shortly after M. Buys applied himself to the treasurer, promising to undertake "That his masters should give up the article of Spain, provided they might share with us in the assiento for negroes." To which the treasurer's answer was short, "That he would rather lose his head than consent to such an offer."

It is manifest by this proceeding that whatever schemes were forming here at home, in this juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the Dutch only designed to fall in with it as far as it would answer their own account; and by a strain of the lower politics, wherein they must be allowed to excel every country in Christendom, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the distress they themselves had brought upon their nearest neighbor and ally.

But the queen highly resented this indignity from a republic upon whom she had conferred so many obligations. She could not endure that the Dutch should employ their instruments to act in

confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to sacrifice the safety of their prince and country to the recovery of that power they had so long possessed and abused. Her majesty knew very well that, whatever were the mistaken or affected opinion of some people at home upon the article of Spain, it was a point the States had long given up; who had very openly told the ministry, "That the war in that country was only our concern, and what their republic had nothing to do with." It is true the party-leaders were equally convinced that the recovery of Spain was impracticable; but many things may be excused in a professed adversary fallen under a disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally upon whom we are that very instant conferring new favo Her majesty therefore thought it high time to exert herself, a at length put a stop to foreign influence upon British counsels; that after the earl of Nottingham's clause against any peace without Spain was carried in the house of lords, directions were immediately sent to the earl of Strafford at the Hague to inform the Dutch "That it was obtained by a trick, and would consequently turn to the disappointment and confusion of the contrivers and the actors." He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved to the pensionary and Dutch ministers; to let them know "The queen thought herself ill-treated; and that they would soon hear what effects those measures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to resentment by repeated provocations; that the States might have the war continued if they pleased, but that the queen would not be forced to carry it on after their manner, nor would suffer them to make her peace or to settle the interests of her kingdoms."

To others in Holland, who appeared to be more moderate, the earl was directed to say, "That the States were upon a wrong scent; that their minister here mistook everything that we had promised; that we would perform all they could reasonably ask from us in relation to their barrier and their trade; and that Mons. Buys dealt unfairly if he had not told them as much; but that Britain, proceeding in some respects upon a new scheme of politics, would no longer struggle for impossibilities nor be amused by words: that our people came more and more to their senses; and that the single dispute now was, whether the Dutch would join with a faction against the queen or with the nation for her."

The court likewise resolved to discourage prince Eugene from

rney to England, which he was about this time undertaking, which I have spoken before. He was told "That the queen no exhortations to carry on the war; but the project of it be agreed abroad, upon which her majesty's resolutions soon be signified; and until she saw what the emperor and rere ready to do, she would neither promise nor engage for ıg." At the same time Mr. St. John told Hoffman, the emresident here, "That if the prince had a mind to divert f in London, the ministers would do their part to entertain ıd be sure to trouble him with no manner of business."

coldness retarded the prince's journey for some days, but t prevent it, although he had a second message by the queen's with this further addition, "That his name had lately been ıse of on many occasions to create ferment and stir up sedi- ınd that her majesty judged it would be neither safe for him ınvenient for her that he should come over at this time." But d not do; it was enough that the queen did not absolutely him; and the party-confederates, both foreign and domestic, ıt his presence would be highly necessary for their service.

ard the end of December, the lord privy seal set out for Hol- He was ordered to stop at the Hague, and in conjunction he earl of Strafford to declare to the States, in her majesty's "Her resolutions to conclude no peace wherein the allies in l, and each confederate in particular, might not find their security and their reasonable satisfaction: that she was ready st upon their barrier and advantages in their trade, in the r the States themselves should desire; and to concert with such a plan of treaty as both powers might be under mutual ements never to recede from: that nothing could be of greater ance than for the ministers of Great Britain and Holland to the congress under the strictest ties of confidence, and en- to concur throughout the course of these negotiations; to purpose it was her majesty's pleasure that their lordships adjust with the Dutch ministers the best manner and me- or opening and carrying on the conferences, and declare them- instructed to communicate freely their thoughts and measures plenipotentiaries of the States, who they hoped had received me instructions."

tly, The two lords were to signify to the pensionary and the ministers, "That her majesty's preparations for the next cam-

paign were carried on with all the despatch and vigor the present circumstances would allow; and to insist that the same might be done by the States; and that both powers should join in pressing the emperor and other allies to make greater efforts than they had hitherto done; without which the war must languish, and the ter of peace become every day more disadvantageous."

The two British plenipotentiaries went to Utrecht with very large instructions; and after the usual manner were to make much higher demands from France (at least in behalf of the allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The sum of what they had in charge beside matter of form was to concert with the ministers of the several powers engaged against France, "That all differences arising among them should be accommodated between themselves, without suffering the French to interfere: that whatever were proposed to France by a minister of the alliance should be backed by the whole confederacy: that a time might be fixed for the conclusion as there had been for the commencement of the treaty." Spain was to be demanded out of the hands of the Bourbon family, as the most effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with France; and whatever conditions the allies could agree upon for hindering that union their lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As to the interests of each ally in particular, the plenipotentiaries of Britain were to demand "Strasburgh, the fort of Kehl with its dependencies, and the town of Brisac with its territory, for the emperor: that France should possess Alsatia according to the treaty of Westphalia, with the right of the prefecture only over the ten imperial cities in that country: that the fortifications of the said ten cities be put into the condition they were in at the time of the said treaty, except Landau, which was to be demanded for the emperor and empire, with liberty of demolishing the fortifications: that the French king should at a certain time, and at his own expense, demolish the fortresses of Hunningen, New Brisac, and Fort Lewis, never to be rebuilt.

"That the town and fortress of Rhinfelt should be demanded for the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, until that matter be otherwise settled.

"That the clause relating to religion in the fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick, and contrary to that of Westphalia, should be annulled; and the state of religion in Germany restored to the tenor of the treaty of Westphalia.

"That France should acknowledge the king of Prussia, and give him no disturbance in Neufchatel and Valengin.

"That the principality of Orange and other estates belonging to the late king William should be restored as law should direct.

"That the duke of Hanover should be acknowledged elector.

"That the king of Portugal should enjoy all the advantages stipulated between him and the allies.

"That the States should have for their barrier Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Lisle, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Douay, Bethune, Avie, St. Venant, and Bouchain, with their cannon, &c.: that the French king should restore all the places belonging to Spain now or during this war in his possession in the Netherlands: that such part of them as should be thought fit might be allowed likewise for a barrier to the States: that France should grant the tariff of 1664 to the States; and exemption of fifty pence per ton upon Dutch goods trading to that kingdom: but that these articles in favor of the States should not be concluded till the barrier treaty were explained to the queen's satisfaction.

"That the duke of Savoy should be put in possession of all taken from him in this war, and enjoy the places yielded to him by the emperor and other allies: that France should likewise yield to him Exilles, Fenestrilles, Chaumont, the valley of Pregata, and the land lying between Piedmont and Mount Genu.

"That the article about the demolishing of Dunkirk should be explained."

As to Britain, the plenipotentiaries were to insert, "That Nieuport, Dendermond, Ghent, and all places which appear to be a barrier rather against England than France, should either not be given to the Dutch, or at least in such a manner as not to hinder the queen's subjects free passage to and from the Lower Countries.

"That the 7th article of the barrier treaty, which empowers the States in case of an attack to put troops at discretion in all the places of the Low Countries, should be so explained as to be understood only of an attack from France.

"That Britain should trade to the Low Countries with the same privileges as the States themselves.

"That the most Christian king should acknowledge the succession of Hanover, and immediately oblige the pretender to leave France; and that the said king should promise for himself and his heirs never to acknowledge any person for king or queen of England otherwise than according to the settlements now in force.

"That a treaty of commerce should be commenced as soon possible between France and Britain; and in the mean time necessary points relating to it be settled.

"That the Isle of St. Christopher's should be surrendered to queen, Hudson's Bay restored, Placentia and the whole island Newfoundland yielded to Britain by the most Christian king: was likewise to quit all claim to Nova Scotia and Annapolis Ro

"That Gibraltar and Minorca should be annexed to the Brit crown.

"That the assiento should be granted to Britain for thirty y with the same advantage as to France; with an extent of ground the river of Plata for keeping and refreshing the negroes.

"That Spain should grant to the subjects of Britain as large vileges as to any other nation whatsoever; as likewise an exemp of duties, amounting to an advantage of at least 15 per cent.

"That satisfaction should be demanded for what should app to be justly due to her majesty from the emperor and the States.

"Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries should consult with those the protestant allies the most effectual methods for restoring protestants of France to their religious and civil liberties, and the immediate release of those who are now in the galleys."

What part of these demands were to be insisted on, and were to be given up, will appear by the sequel of this negotiat But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the pe except a method for preventing the union of France and S under one prince, and the settling the barrier for Holland; wh last, as claimed by the States, could in prudence and safety be more allowed by us than by France.

The States-General having appointed Mons. Buys to be one their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, that minister left England a f days after the lord privy seal. In his last conference with the l of the council he absolutely declared, "That his masters had d their utmost, both by sea and land; that it was unreasonable to pect more; that they had exceeded their proportion, even bey Britain; and that as to the emperor and other allies, he knew expedient left for making them act with more vigor than to pu them with pathetical exhortations."

This minister was sent over hither instructed and empowered halves. The ferment raised by the united endeavors of our p leaders, among whom he was a constant fellow-laborer to the u

of his skill, had wholly confounded him; and thinking to take the advantage of negotiating well for Holland at the expense of Britain, he acted but ill for his own country, and worse for the common cause. However, the queen's ministers and he parted with the greatest civility; and her majesty's present was double the value of what is usual to the character he bore.

As the queen was determined to alter her measures in making war, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the necessity of a peace as to have them frequently put in mind of this resolution; which her ambassador Strafford, then at the Hague, was accordingly directed to do: and if they should object, of what ill consequence it would be for the enemy to know her majesty designed to lessen her expenses; he might answer, "That the ministers here were sorry for it; but the Dutch could only blame themselves for forcing into such a necessity a princess to whose friendship they owed the preservation and grandeur of their republic, and choosing to lean on a broken faction rather than place their confidence in the queen."

It was her majesty's earnest desire that there should be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the ministers of all the allies; than which nothing could be more effectual to make France comply with their just demands. Above all, she directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest confidence with those of Holland; and that, after the States had consented to explain the barrier treaty to her reasonable satisfaction, both powers should form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the quiet of Europe, as well as the particular interests of each confederate.

The Dutch were accordingly pressed before the congress opened to come to some temperament upon that famous treaty; because the ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the house of commons, by which the resentment of the nation would probably appear against those who had been actors and advisers in it: but Mons. Buys, who usually spoke for his colleagues, was full of opposition, began to expostulate upon the advantages Britain had stipulated with France: and to insist "That his masters ought to share equally in them all, but especially the assiento contract:" so that no progress was made in fixing a previous good correspondence between Britain and the States, which her majesty had so earnestly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon for the avo ceremony and other inconveniences, the conferences b Utrecht, upon the 29th of January, N. S., 1711–12, at ten morning. The ministers of the allies going into the town-l one door, and those of France at the same instant at anotl all took their seats without distinction; and the bishop of lord privy seal, first plenipotentiary of Britain, opened the with a short speech, directed to the ministers of France, in to the following effect: —

"MESSIEURS,—We are here to meet to-day in the name to enter upon a treaty of general peace between the high a the king your master. We bring sincere intentions, and orders from our superiors, to concur, on their part, with may advance and perfect so salutary and Christian a work. other side we hope you have the same disposition; and tl orders will be so full as to be able without loss of time to the expectation of the high allies, by explaining yourselves and roundly upon the points we shall have to settle in tl ferences; and that you will perform this in so plain and s manner as every prince and state in the confederacy may just and reasonable satisfaction."

The French began by promising to explain the overtu: Mons. Mesnager had delivered to the queen some months and to give in a specific project of what their master woul provided the allies would each give a specific answer by their several demands; which method, after many difficul affected delays in the Dutch, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had with the utmost discontent s majesty at the head of this negotiation, where they inte have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humo every occasion. They raised endless difficulties about settl barrier treaty as the queen desired; and in one of the fi conferences they would not suffer the British secretary to t minutes, but nominated some Dutch professor for that office; the queen refused, and resented their behavior, as a usel intended only to show their want of respect. The British tentiaries had great reason to suspect that the Dutch were time privately endeavoring to engage in some separate with France, by the intervention of one Moleau, a busy, agent at Amsterdam, who had been often employed in s

trigues; and that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier from the French than we ever could think fit to allow them. The Dutch ministers did also apply themselves with industry to cultivate the imperial plenipotentiary's favor, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with Spain and the West Indies, in case those dominions could be procured for the emperor: for this reason they avoided settling any general plan of peace in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Britain, which her majesty desired; and Mons. Buys plainly told their lordships "That it was a point which neither he nor his colleagues could consent to before the States were admitted equal sharers with Britain in the trade of Spain."

The court, having notice of this untractable temper in the Dutch, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of Britain for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross inequalities of the barrier treaty; since nothing was more usual or agreeable to reason than for princes who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared by votes in the house of commons that the sense of the nation agreed with what her majesty desired, if the Dutch ministers would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular concessions made to Britain by France, and form them into a treaty; for the queen was determined never to allow the States any share in the assiento, Gibraltar, and Port Mahon; nor could think it reasonable that they should be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of Spain, to the conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial minister at this time less perplexing than that of the States; both those powers appearing fully bent either upon breaking off the negotiation or upon forcing from the queen those advantages she expected by it for her own kingdoms. Her majesty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of March, to send Mr. Thos. Harley, a near relation of the treasurer's, to Utrecht, fully informed of her mind; which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of Britain.

Mr. Harley stopped in his way to Utrecht at the Hague, and there told the pensionary "That nothing had happened lately in England but what was long ago foretold him, as well as the otl

Certain regulations having been agreed upon for the avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniences, the conferences began at Utrecht, upon the 29th of January, N. S., 1711–12, at ten in the morning. The ministers of the allies going into the town-house at one door, and those of France at the same instant at another, they all took their seats without distinction; and the bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, first plenipotentiary of Britain, opened the assembly with a short speech, directed to the ministers of France, in words to the following effect: —

"MESSIEURS,—We are here to meet to-day in the name of God, to enter upon a treaty of general peace between the high allies and the king your master. We bring sincere intentions, and express orders from our superiors, to concur, on their part, with whatever may advance and perfect so salutary and Christian a work. On the other side we hope you have the same disposition; and that your orders will be so full as to be able without loss of time to answer the expectation of the high allies, by explaining yourselves clearly and roundly upon the points we shall have to settle in these conferences; and that you will perform this in so plain and specific a manner as every prince and state in the confederacy may find a just and reasonable satisfaction."

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But the States, who had with the utmost discontent seen her majesty at the head of this negotiation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humor upon every occasion. They raised endless difficulties about settling the barrier treaty as the queen desired; and in one of the first general conferences they would not suffer the British secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some Dutch professor for that office; which the queen refused, and resented their behavior, as a useless cavil, intended only to show their want of respect. The British plenipotentiaries had great reason to suspect that the Dutch were at this time privately endeavoring to engage in some separate measures with France, by the intervention of one Moleau, a busy, factious agent at Amsterdam, who had been often employed in such in-

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ministers of the allies: that the proceedings of the house of commons, particularly about the barrier treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the manner in which the queen and the nation had been treated by Mons. Bothmar, Count Gallas, Buys, and other foreign ministers: that if the States would yet enter into a strict union with the queen, give her satisfaction in the said treaty, and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, a safe and advantageous peace might be obtained for the whole alliance; otherwise her majesty must save her own country, and join with such of her allies as would join with her.

"As to the war, that the conduct of the allies, and their opposition to the queen, by private intrigues carried on among her own subjects, as well as by open remonstrances, had made the house of commons take that matter out of the hands of the ministers.

"Lastly, That in case the present treaty were broken off by the Dutch refusing to comply, her majesty thought it reasonable to insist that some cautionary places be put into her hands as pledges that no other negotiation should be entered into by the States-General without her participation."

Mr. Harley's instructions to the queen's plenipotentiaries were, "That they should press those of France to open themselves as far as possible in concerting such a plan of a general peace as might give reasonable satisfaction to all the confederates, and such as her parliament would approve: that the people of England believed France would consent to such a plan; wherein if they found themselves deceived they would be as eager for prosecuting the war as ever."

Their lordships were to declare openly to the Dutch, "That no extremity should make her majesty depart from insisting to have the assiento for her own subjects, and to keep Gibraltar and Port Mahon: but if the States would agree with her upon these three heads she would be content to reduce the trade of Spain and the West Indies to the condition it was in under the late catholic king, Charles II."

The French were further to be pressed, "That the pretender should be immediately sent out of that kingdom; and that the most effectual method should be taken for preventing the union of France and Spain under one prince."

About this time her majesty's ministers, and those of the alli at Utrecht, delivered in the several *postulata* or demands of their

masters to the French plenipotentiaries: which having been since made public, and all of them, except those of Britain, very much varying in the course of the negotiation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a transcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last dauphin's death, the father, son, and grandson, all of that title, dying within the compass of a year, Mons. Gualtier went to France with letters to the marquis de Torcy, to propose her majesty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with Spain; which, as it was the most important article to be settled, in order to secure peace for Europe, so it was a point that required to be speedily adjusted under the present circumstances and situation of the Bourbon family; there being only left a child of two years old to stand between the duke of Anjou and his succeeding to the crown of France.

Her majesty likewise pressed France, by the same despatches, to send full instructions to their plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer such a plan of peace as might give reasonable satisfaction to all her allies.

The queen's proposal for preventing a union between France and Spain was, "That Philip should formally renounce the kingdom of France for himself and his posterity; and that this renunciation should be confirmed by the cortes or states of Spain, who without question would heartily concur against such a union, by which their country must become a province to France." In like manner, the French princes of the blood were severally to renounce all title to Spain.

The French raised many difficulties upon several particulars of this expedient, but the queen persisted to refuse any plan of peace before this weighty point were settled in the manner she proposed; which was afterwards submitted to, as in proper place we shall observe. In the mean time the negotiation at Utrecht proceeded with a very slow pace; the Dutch interposing all obstructions they could contrive, refusing to come to a reasonable temper upon the barrier treaty, or to offer a plan in concert with the queen for a general peace. Nothing less would satisfy them than the partaking in those advantages we had stipulated for ourselves, and which did no wise interfere with their trade or security. They still expected some turn in England. Their friends on this side had ventured to assure them "That the queen could not live many months;" which indeed from the bad state of her majesty's health was reasonable to expect.

The British plenipotentiaries daily discovered new endeavors of Holland to treat privately with France. And lastly, those among the States who desired the war should continue strove to gain time until the campaign should open; and, by resolving to enter into action with the first opportunity, render all things desperate, and break up the congress.

This scheme did exactly fall in with prince Eugene's dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their general, and of whose conduct in this conjuncture the queen had too much reason to be jealous. But her majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost toward putting a good and speedy end to the war, having placed the duke of Ormond at the head of her forces in Flanders, where he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in British pay, whether subjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious for awhile in engaging in any action of importance, unless upon a very apparent advantage. At the same time the queen determined to make one thorough trial of the disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost concessions that could any way suit either with her safety or honor. She therefore directed her ministers at Utrecht to tell the Dutch, "That in order to show how desirous she was to live in perfect amity with that republic, she would resign up the 15 per cent. advantage upon English goods sent to the Spanish dominions, which the French king had offered her by a power from his grandson; and be content to reduce that trade to the state in which it was under the late king of Spain. She would accept of any tolerable softening of those words in the 7th article of the barrier treaty, where it is said, 'The States shall have power, in case of an apparent attack, to put as many troops as they please into all the places of the Netherlands,' without specifying an attack from the side of France, as ought to have been done; otherwise the queen might justly think they were preparing themselves for a rupture with Britain. Her majesty likewise consented that the States should keep Nieuport, Dendermond, and the castle of Ghent, as an addition to their barrier, although she were sensible how injurious those concessions would be to the trade of her subjects; and would waive the demand of Ostend being delivered into her hands, which she might with justice insist on. In return for all this, that the queen only desired the ministers of the States would enter into a close correspondence with hers; and settle between them some plan of a general peace, which might give reason

able content to all her allies, and which her majesty would endeavor to bring France to consent to. She desired the trade of her kingdoms to the Netherlands, and to the towns of their barrier, might be upon as good a foot as it was before the war began: that the Dutch would not insist to have a share in the assiento, to which they had not the least pretensions; and that they would no longer encourage the intrigues of a faction against her government. Her majesty assured them, in plain terms, that her own future measures, and the conduct of her plenipotentiaries, should be wholly governed by their behavior in these points; and that her offers were only conditional, in case of their compliance with what she desired."

But all these proofs of the queen's kindness and sincerity could not avail. The Dutch ministers pleaded "They had no power to concert the plan of general peace with those of Britain." However, they assured the latter "That the assiento was the only difficulty which stuck with their masters." Whereupon at their desire a contract for that traffic was twice read to them; after which they appeared very well satisfied, and said "They would go to the Hague for further instructions." Thither they went; and after a week's absence returned the same answer, "That they had no power to settle a scheme of peace; but could only discourse of it when the difficulties of the barrier treaty were over." And Mons. Buys took a journey to Amsterdam on purpose to stir up that city where he was pensionary against yielding the assiento to Britain; but was unsuccessful in his negotiation; the point being yielded up there and in most other towns in Holland.

It will have an odd sound in history, and appear hardy credible, that in several petty republics of single towns which make up the States-General, it should be formally debated whether the queen of Great Britain, who preserved the commonwealth at the charge of so many millions, should be suffered to enjoy after a peace the liberty granted her by Spain of selling African slaves in the Spanish dominions of America! But there was a prevailing faction at the Hague violently bent against any peace where the queen must act that part which they had intended for themselves. These politicians, who held constant correspondence with their old dejected friends in England, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the queen's death or the party's restoration. They likewise endeavored to spin out the time till prince Eugene's activity had pushed on some great event which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace

Therefore the Dutch plenipotentiaries who proceeded by the instructions of those mistaken patriots, acted in every point with a spirit of litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a strict union between the allies, but especially Britain and Holland, being doubtless the only means for procuring safe and honorable terms from France.

But neither was this the worst; for the queen received undoubted intelligence from Utrecht that the Dutch were again attempting a separate correspondence with France; and by letters intercepted here from Vienna it was found that the imperial court, whose ministers were in the utmost confidence with those of Holland, expressed the most furious rage against her majesty for the steps she had taken to advance a peace.

This unjustifiable treatment the queen could not digest from an ally upon whom she had conferred so many signal obligations, whom she had used with so much indulgence and sincerity during the whole course of the negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every motion toward a peace. She apprehended likewise that the negotiation might be taken out of her hands if France could be secure of easier conditions in Holland, or might think that Britain wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She resolved therefore on this occasion to exert herself with vigor, steadiness, and despatch; and in the beginning of May sent her commands to the earl of Strafford to repair immediately to England, in order to consult with her ministers what was proper to be done.

The proposal above mentioned for preventing the union of France and Spain met with many difficulties; Mons. de Torcy raising objections against several parts of it. But the queen refused to proceed any further with France until this weighty point were fully settled to her satisfaction; after which she promised to grant a suspension of arms, provided the town and citadel of Dunkirk might be delivered as a pledge into her hands; and proposed that Ipres might be surrendered to the Dutch, if they would consent to come into the suspension. France absolutely refused the latter; and the States-General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her majesty, she pressed that matter no further, because she doubted they would not agree to a cessation of arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy end or at least intermission to her own share in the war: and the French having declared themselves ready to agree to her expedients for preventing the union of the two crowns, and

consented to the delivery of Dunkirk, positive orders were sent to the duke of Ormond to avoid engaging in any battle or siege until he had further instructions; but he was directed to conceal his orders, and to find the best excuses he could if any pressing occasion should offer.

The reasons for this unusual proceeding, which made a mighty noise, were of sufficient weight to justify it; for pursuant to the agreement made between us and France, a courier was then despatched from Fontainbleau to Madrid with the offer of an alternative to Philip, either of resigning Spain immediately to the duke of Savoy, upon the hopes of succeeding to France, and some present advantage, which not having been accepted is needless to dilate on; or of adhering to Spain, and renouncing all future claim to France for himself and his posterity.

Until it could be known which part Philip would accept, the queen would not take possession of Dunkirk, nor suffer an armistice to be declared. But, however, since the most christian king had agreed that his grandson should be forced in case of a refusal to make his choice immediately, her majesty could not endure to think that perhaps some thousands of lives of her own subjects and allies might be sacrificed without necessity, if an occasion should be found or sought for fighting a battle; which she very well knew prince Eugene would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity of his new masters the Dutch, and the rage of his court.

But the duke of Ormond, who, with every other quality that can accomplish or adorn a great man, inherits all the valor and loyalty of his ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his commission; for prince Eugene and all the field-deputies of the States had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy or besieging Quesnoy; the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected. And accordingly, about three days after the duke had received those orders from court, it was proposed to his grace at a meeting with the prince and deputies "That the French army should be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with success; for the Mareschal de Villars, who had notice sent him by Mons. de Torcy of what was passing, and had signified the same by a trumpet to the duke, showed less vigilance than was usual to that general; taking no precautions to secure his camp or observe the motions of the allies,

probably on purpose to provoke them." The duke said, "That the earl of Strafford's sudden departure for England made him believe there was something of consequence now transacting, which would be known in four or five days; and therefore desired they would defer this or any other undertaking until he could receive fresh letters from England." Whereupon the prince and deputies immediately told the duke "That they looked for such an answer as he had given them: that they had suspected our measures for some time; and their suspicions were confirmed by the express his grace had so lately received, as well as by the negligence of Mons. Villars." They appeared extremely dissatisfied, and the deputies told the duke "That they would immediately send an account of his answer to their masters:" which they accordingly did; and soon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expostulating letter in a style less respectful than became them; desiring him amo other things to explain himself, whether he had positive orders not to fight the French; and afterwards told him, "They were sure he had such orders, otherwise he could not answer what he had done." But the duke still waived the question, saying, "He would be glad to have letters from England before he entered upon action; and that he expected them daily."

Upon this incident the ministers and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm, vented their fury in violent expressions against the queen and those she employed in her councils; said "They were betrayed by Britain;" and assumed the countenance of those who think they have received an injury, and are disposed to return it.

The duke of Ormond's army consisted of 18,000 of her majesty's subjects, and about 30,000 hired from other princes, either wholly by the queen, or jointly by her and the States. The duke immediately informed the court of the dispositions he found among the foreign generals upon this occasion; and "that upon an exigency he could only depend on the British troops adhering to him; those of Hanover having already determined to desert to the Dutch, and tempted the Danes to do the like; and that he had reason to suppose the same of the rest."

Upon the news arriving at Utrecht that the duke of Ormond had refused to engage in any action against the enemy, the Dutch ministers there went immediately to make their complaints to the

l privy seal; aggravating the strangeness of this proceeding,

together with the consequence of it, in the loss of a most favorable opportunity of ruining the French army, and the discontent it must needs create in the whole body of the confederates; adding "How hard it was that they should be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done in a point which so nearly concerned them." They concluded "That the duke must needs have acted by orders;" and desired his lordship to write both to court and to his grace what they had now said.

The bishop answered "That he knew nothing of this fact but what they had told him; and therefore was not prepared with a reply to their representations: only in general he would venture to say that this case appeared very like the conduct of their field-deputies upon former occasions: that if such orders were given, they were certainly built upon very justifiable foundations; and would soon be so explained as to convice the States and all the world that the common interest would be better provided for another way than by a battle or siege; that the want of communication which they complained of could not make the States so uneasy as their declining to receive it had made the queen, who had used her utmost endeavors to persuade them to concur with her in concerting every step toward a general peace, and settling such a plan as both sides might approve and adhere to; but to this day the States had not thought fit to accept those offers, or to authorize any of their ministers to treat with her majesty's plenipotentiaries upon that affair, although they had been pressed to it ever since the negotiation began: that his lordship, to show that he did not speak his private sense alone, took this opportunity to execute the orders he had received the evening before, by declaring to them that all her majesty's offers for adjusting the differences between her and the States were founded upon this express condition, — That they should come immediately into the queen's measures, and act openly and sincerely with her; and that from their conduct so directly she now looked upon herself to be under no obligation to them."

Monsieur Buys and his colleagues were stunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their side, and had come to the bishop upon that errand. But after their surprise was abated, and Buys' long reasonings at an end, they began to think how matters might be retrieved, and were of opinion that the States should imme-

diately despatch a minister to England, unless his lordship were empowered to treat with them, which without new commands he said he was not. They afterwards desired to know of the bishop what the meaning was of the last words in his declaration, "That her majesty looked upon herself to be under no obligation to them." He told them his opinion, "That as the queen was bound by treaty to concert with the States the conditions of a peace, so upon their declining the concert so frequently offered she was acquitted of that obligation; but that he verily believed, whatever measures her majesty should take, she would always have a friendly regard to the interest of their commonwealth; and that, as their unkindness had been very unexpected and disagreeable to her majesty, so their compliance would be equally pleasing."

I have been the more circumstantial in relating this affair because it furnished abundance of discourse, and gave rise to many wild conjectures and misrepresentations, as well here as in Holland, especially that part which concerned the duke of Ormond; for the angry faction in the house of commons, upon the first intelligence that the duke had declined to act offensively against France in concurrence with the allies, moved for an address wherein the queen should be informed of "the deep concern of her commons for the dangerous consequences to the common cause which must arise from this proceeding of her general; and to beseech her that speedy instructions might be given to the duke to prosecute the war with vigor in order to quiet the minds of her people," &c. But a great majority was against this motion, and a resolution drawn up and presented to the queen by the whole house, of a quite contrary tenor: "That they had an entire confidence in her majesty's most gracious promise to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace before the same should be concluded; and that they would support her majesty in obtaining an honorable and safe peace against all such persons, either at home or abroad, who have endeavored or shall endeavor to obstruct the same."

The courier sent with the alternative to Spain was now returned, with an account that Philip had chosen to renounce France for himself and his posterity; whereof the queen having received notice, her majesty, upon the 6th of June, in a long speech to both houses of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace stipulated between her and France. This speech being the plan whereby both France and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the sub-

sequent course of the treaty, I shall desire the reader's leave to insert it at length, although I believe it has been already in most hands:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—The making of peace and war is the undoubted prerogative of the crown. Yet such is the just confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of this session, I acquainted you that a negotiation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace before the same should be concluded.

"In pursuance of that promise I now come to let you know upon what terms a general peace may be made.

"I need not mention the difficulties which arise from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent that these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

"Nothing however has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted anything which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

"The assuring of the protestant succession, as by law established in the house of Hanover, to these kingdoms, being what I have nearest at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest terms, but to have an additional security by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France who has pretended to disturb this settlement.

"The apprehension that Spain and the West Indies might be united to France was the chief inducement to begin this war; and the effectual preventing of such a union was the principle I laid down at the commencement of this treaty. Former examples and the late negotiations sufficiently show how difficult it is to find means to accomplish this work. I would not content myself with such as are speculative or depend on treaties only; I insisted on what was solid, and to have at hand the power of executing what should be agreed.

"I can therefore now tell you that France at last is brought to offer that the duke of Anjou shall for himself and his descendants renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France; and that this important article may be exposed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promise.

"At the same time the succession to the crown of France is to be

declared, after the death of the present dauphin and his sons, to be in the duke of Berry and his sons, and the duke of Orleans and his sons, and so on to the rest of the house of Bourbon.

"As to Spain and the Indies, the succession to those dominions, after the duke of Anjou and his children, is to descend to such prince as shall be agreed upon at the treaty; for ever excluding the rest of the house of Bourbon.

"For confirming the renunciations and settlements before mentioned, it is further offered that they should be ratified in the strong and solemn manner both in France and Spain; and that the kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantees to the same.

"The nature of this proposal is such that it executes itself; the interest of Spain is to support it; and in France, the persons to whom that succession is to belong will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

"France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus, by the blessing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

"A treaty of commerce between these kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the excessive duties laid on some goods, and the prohibition of others, make it impossible to finish this work so soon as were to be desired. Care is however taken to establish a method of settling this matter; and in the mean time provision is made that the same privileges and advantages as shall be granted to any other nation by France shall be granted in like manner to us.

"The division of the island of St. Christopher between us and the French having been the cause of great inconveniency and damage to my subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute cession made to me of that whole island; and France agrees to this demand.

"Our interest is so deeply concerned in the trade of North America that I have used my utmost endeavors to adjust that article in the most beneficial manner. France consents to restore to us the whole bay and straits of Hudson; to deliver up the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; and to make an absolute cession of Annapolis, with the rest of Nova Scotia or Arcadie.

"The safety of our home trade will be better provided for by the demolition of Dunkirk.

"Our Mediterranean trade, and the British interest and influence in those parts, will be secure by the possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with the whole island of Minorca, which are offered to remain in my hands.

"The trade to Spain and to the West Indies may in general be settled as it was in the time of the late king of Spain, Charles II.; a particular provision be made that all advantages, rights, or privileges which have been granted, or which may hereafter be granted by Spain to any other nation, shall be in like manner granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

"But the part which we have borne in the prosecution of this war entitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted and obtained that the assiento or contract for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes shall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as has been enjoyed by the French for ten years past.

"I have not taken upon me to determine the interests of our confederates: these must be adjusted in the congress at Utrecht; where my best endeavors shall be employed, as they have hitherto constantly been, to procure to every one of them all just and reasonable satisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisac, the fort of Kehl and Landau; and to raze all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine and in that river.

"As to the protestant interest in Germany, there will be, on the part of France, no objection to the resettling thereof on the foot of the treaty of Westphalia.

"The Spanish Low Countries may go to his imperial majesty: the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, may likewise be yielded by the treaty of peace to the emperor.

"As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remains no dispute concerning the cession of it by the duke of Anjou, yet the disposition thereof is not yet determined.

"The interests of the States-General with respect to commerce are agreed to as they have been demanded by their own ministers, with the exception only of some very few species of merchandise; and the entire barrier as demanded by the States in 1709 from France, except two or three places at most.

"As to these exceptions, several expedients are proposed: and I make no doubt but this barrier may be so settled as to render that republic perfectly secure against any enterprise on the part of France; which is the foundation of all my engagements upon t head with the States.

"The demands of Portugal depending on the disposition of Spain, and that article having been long in dispute, it has not been yet possible to make any considerable progress therein: but my p potentiaries will now have an opportunity to assist that king in his pretensions.

"Those of the king of Prussia are such as I hope will nit of little difficulty on the part of France; and my utmost end shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an ally.

"The difference between the barrier demanded for the duke of Savoy in 1709 and the offers now made by France is very inconsiderable: but that prince having so signally distinguished hims in the service of the common cause, I am endeavoring to pro e for him still further advantages.

"France has consented that the elector Palatine shall conti his present rank among the electors, and remain in possession of the Upper Palatinate.

"The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the h of Hanover, according to the article inserted, at that prince's desire, in my demands.

"And as to the rest of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I have now communicated to you not only the terms of peace which may by the future treaty be obtained for my own subjects, but likewise the proposals of France for satisfying our allies.

"The former are such as I have reason to expect to make my people some amends for that great and unequal burden which they have lain under through the whole course of this war; and I willing to hope that none of our confederates, and especially th to whom so great accessions of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace, will envy Britain her share in the glory and advantage of it.

"The latter are not so perfectly adjusted as a little more time might have rendered them; but the season of the year making it necessary to put an end to this session, I resolved no longer to de communicating these matters to you.

"I can make no doubt but you are all fully persuaded that nothing
l be neglected on my part, in the progress of this negotiation, to
the peace to a happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your
e confidence in me and your cheerful concurrence with me."

The discontented party in the house of commons, finding the torrent against them not to be stemmed, suspended their opposition; by which means an address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her majesty's condescension, to express their satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present negotiations for obtaining a speedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the duke of Ormond was in a very uneasy situation at the army, employed in practising those
which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negotiator than a great
nander. But as he had always proved his obedience where
ge or conduct could be of use, so the duty he professed to his prince made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, "that he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the queen's pay;" and he now found some attempts were already begun to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from Madrid, the duke had orders to inform the mareschal de Villars of the true state of this affair, and "that his grace would have decisive orders in three or four days." In the mean time he desired the mareschal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself or to join with prince Eugene's army, which he must necessarily do, if the prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived with the account that Philip had chosen to accept of Spain, her majesty had proposed to France a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged to three or four) between the armies now in Flanders, upon the following conditions:

"That during the suspension endeavors should be used for concluding a general peace: or at least the article for preventing the union of France and Spain should be punctually executed, by Philip's renouncing France for himself and his posterity, and the princes of Bourbon in like manner renouncing Spain: and that the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk should be immediately

delivered into the queen's hands." Her majesty, at time, endeavored to get Cambray for the Dutch, provi would come into the suspension. But this was absolutely by France; which that court never would have ventured those allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with and openness, in concert with her majesty, as her plenipo had always desired. However, the queen promised "th States would yield to a suspension of arms, they should h valuable pledge put into their possession."

But now fresh intelligence daily arrived, both from Utr the army, of attempts to make the troops in her maj desert her service; and a design even of seizing the Briti was whispered about and with reason suspected.

When the queen's speech was published in Holland, privy seal told the Dutch ministers at Utrecht "that majesty had laid before her parliament could not, accordi rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmost of what Franc yield in the course of a negotiation, but only the utm that crown would propose in order to form the plan of that these conditions would certainly have been better, if t had thought fit to have gone hand in hand with her majest had so frequently exhorted them to do: that nothing but t of harmony among the allies had spirited the French to s so long: that the queen would do them all the good office power, if they thought fit to comply; and did not doubt of them reasonable satisfaction, both in relation to their bar their trade." But this reasoning made no impression. Th ministers said, "the queen's speech had deprived them fruits of the war." They were in pain lest Lisle and might be two of the towns to be excepted out of their The rest of the allies grew angry, by the example of the The populace in Holland began to be inflamed: they publicl "that Britain had betrayed them." Sermons were prea several towns of their provinces, whether by direction or con filled with the highest instances of disrespect to her B majesty, whom they charged as a papist and an enemy country. The lord privy seal himself believed something ordinary was in agitation, and that his own person was in from the fury of the people.

It is certain that the States appeared, but a few days befo

much disposed to comply with the measures the queen had taken; and would have consented to a general armistice, if count Zinzen-, one of the plenipotentiaries for the emperor, had not by et orders from his court employed himself in sowing jealousies Britain and the States; and at the same time made pro- offers to the latter, as well as to the ministers of Prussia, Palatinate, and Hanover, for continuing the war. That those e electors, who contributed nothing except bodies of men in rn of pay and subsidies, should readily accept the proposals of emperor is easy to be accounted for. What appears hardly lible is that a grave republic, usually cautious enough in making bargains, should venture to reject the thoughts of a peace n the promises of the house of Austria, the little validity eof they had so long experienced; and especially when they counted upon losing the support of Britain, their most powerful : but the false hopes given them by their friends in England, new change in their favor, or an imagination of bringing ce to better terms by the appearance of resolution, added to the weakness or corruption of some who administered their affairs, were the true causes which first created and afterwards inflamed untractable temper among them.

The Dutch ministers were wholly disconcerted and surprised when the lord privy seal told them "that a suspension of arms in the Netherlands would be necessary; and the duke of Ormond intended very soon to declare it, after he had taken possession of Dunkirk." But his lordship endeavored to convince them that incident ought rather to be a motive for hastening the States a compliance with her majesty. He likewise communicated to the ministers of the allies the offers made by France, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her majesty thought to be tory; and hoped "their masters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy conclusion, wherein each in particular might be assured of her best offices for advancing their just pretensions."

In the mean time the duke of Ormond was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of Dunkirk as soon as he should have notice from the mareschal de Villars that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it. But the duke foresaw many difficulties in the execution of this commission. He could trust such an enterprise to no forces except

those of her majesty's own subjects. He considered the tem of the States in this conjuncture, and was loth to divide a s body of men upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expose them to march through enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor : and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend that the Dutch would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him), or would seize them as they passed: besides, the duke had fairly signified to mareschal de Villars, "That he expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops in her majesty's pay as soon as the armistice should be declared;" at which the mareschal, appearing extremely d pointed, said, "the king his master reckoned that all the troo under his grace's command should yield to the cessation; and wondered how it should come to pass that those who might be paid for lying still would rather choose, after a ten years' war, to enter into the service of new masters, under whom they must fight on for nothing." In short, the opinion of Mons. Villars was, " this difficulty cancelled the promise of surrendering Dunkirk;" which, therefore, he opposed as much as possible in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the duke of Ormond's representing those difficulties the queen altered her measures, and ordered forces to be sent from England to take possession of Dunkirk. The duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign generals in her majesty's service how highly she would resent their desertion; after which their masters must give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or subsidy. The lord privy seal spoke the same language at Utrecht, to the several ministers of the allies, as Mr. secretary St. John did to those who resided here; adding, "That the proceeding of the foreign troops would be looked upon as a declaration for or against her majesty; and that in case they desert her service she would look on herself as justified before God and man to continue her negotiation at Utrecht or any other place, whether the allies concur or not." And particularly the Dutch were assured, "That if their masters seduced the forces hired by the queen, they must take the whole pay, arrears, and subsidies on themselves."

The earl of Strafford, preparing about this time to return to Utrecht, with instructions proper to the present situation of affairs, went first to the army, and there informed the duke of Ormond of

her majesty's intentions. He also acquainted the States' deputies with the queen's uneasiness, lest by the measures they were taking they should drive her to extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He further represented to them, in the plainest terms, the provocations her majesty had received, and the grounds and reasons for her present conduct. He likewise declared to the commanders-in-chief of the foreign troops in the queen's pay, and in the joint pay of Britain and the States, "with how much surprise her majesty had heard that there was the least doubt of their obeying the orders of the duke of Ormond, which if they refused her majesty would esteem it not only as an indignity and affront, but as a declaration against her; and in such a case they must look on themselves as no further entitled either to any arrear or future pay or supplies."

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. Hill, were now preparing to embark in order to take possession of Dunkirk; and the duke of Ormond, upon the first intelligence sent him that the French were ready to deliver the town, was to declare, "He could act no longer against France." The queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know "That their perpetual caballing with her factious subjects against her authority had forced her into such measures as otherwise she would not have engaged in. However her majesty was willing yet to forget all that had passed and to unite with them in the strictest ties of amity, which she hoped they would now do; since they could not but be convinced, by the late dutiful addresses of both houses, how far their high mightinesses had been deluded and drawn in as instruments to serve the turn and gratify the passions of a disaffected party: that their opposition and want of concert with her majesty's ministers, which she had so often invited them to, had encouraged France to except towns out of their barrier which otherwise might have been yielded: that however she had not precluded them, or any other ally, from demanding more; and even her own terms were but conditional, upon a supposition of a general peace to ensue: that her majesty resolved to act upon the plan laid down in her speech." And she repeated the promise of her best offices to promote the interest of the States, if they would deal sincerely with her.

Some days before the duke of Ormond had notice that orders were given for the surrender of Dunkirk, prince Eugene of Savoy

sent for the generals of the allies, and asked them severally "Whether, in case the armies separated, they would march with him or stay with the duke?" All of them, except two who commanded but small bodies, agreed to join with the prince; who thereupon about three days after sent the duke word "That he intended to march the following day" (as it was supposed to besiege Landrecy). The duke returned an answer, "That he was surprised at the prince's message, there having been not the least previous concert with him, nor any mention in the message which way or upon what design the march was intended; therefore that the duke could not resolve to march with him, much less could the prince expect assistance from the queen's army in any design undertaken after this manner." The duke told this beforehand, that he (the prince) might take his measures accordingly, and not attribute to her majesty's general any misfortune that might happen.

On the 16th of July, N. S., the several generals of the allies joined prince Eugene's army and began their march, after taking leave of the duke and the earl of Strafford, whose expostulations could not prevail on them to stay, although the latter assured them "That the queen had made neither peace nor truce with France; and that her forces would now be left exposed to the enemy."

The next day after this famous desertion the duke of Ormond received a letter from Mons. de Villars, with an account that the town and citadel of Dunkirk should be delivered to Mr. Hill. Whereupon a cessation of arms was declared, by sound of trumpet at the head of the British army, which now consisted only of about eighteen thousand men, all of her majesty's subjects except the Holsteiners and count Wallis's dragoons. With this small body of men the general began his march, and pursuant to orders from court retired toward the sea in the manner he thought most convenient for the queen's service. When he came as far as Flines he was told by some of his officers "That the commandants of Bouchain, Douay, Lisle, and Tournay, had refused them passage through those towns, or even liberty of entrance; and said it was by order of their masters." The duke immediately recollected that when the deputies first heard of this resolution to withdraw his troops, they told him "They hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns." This made him conclude that the orders must be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the same treatment which his officers had done. He had likewise before the

armies separated received information of some designs that concerned the safety, or at least the freedom, of his own person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few British troops intrusted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his soldiers, who to a man were prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service, and whose resentments were raised to the utmost by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deserters.

Upon these provocations he laid aside all thoughts of returning to Dunkirk, and began to consider how he might perform in so difficult a conjuncture something important to the queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any person whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march toward Warneton, in the way to Dunkirk, he gave sudden orders to lieutenant-general Cadogan to change his route (according to the military phrase) and move toward Orchies, a town leading directly to Ghent.

When prince Eugene and the States' deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree; and sent count Nassau, of Wordenberg, to the general's camp near Orchies, to excuse what had been done, and to assure his grace "That those commandants who had refused passage to his officers had acted wholly without orders." Count Hompesch, one of the Dutch generals, came likewise to the duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march, and on the 23d of July, N. S., entered Ghent, where he was received with great submission by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of Bruges a few days after.

The duke of Ormond thought that, considering the present disposition of the States toward Britain, it might be necessary for the queen to have some pledge from that republic in her hands as well as from France; by which means her majesty would be empowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least; and that, while Ghent was in the queen's hands, no provisions could pass the Scheldt or the Lis without her permission, by which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns might likewise teach the Dutch and Imperialists to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her majesty which both of them were, upon some occasions, too apt to forget: and besides, there was already in the town of Ghent a battalion of British troops, and a detachment of five hundred men in the cita-

del, together with a great quantity of ammunition stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled: so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present juncture than this; which the queen highly approved, and left the duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little interrupted the order of time in relating the duke of Ormond's proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at Bruges and sent a supply of men and ammunition to Dunkirk, retired to Ghent, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to England.

Upon the arrival of colonel Disney at court, with an account that Mr. Hill had taken possession of Dunkirk, a universal joy spread over the kingdom; this event being looked on as the certain forerunner of a peace: besides, the French faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons otherwise sanguine enough could never bring themselves to believe that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the ministers themselves altogether at ease or free from suspicion, whatever countenance they made; for they knew very well that the French king had many plausible reasons to elude his promise, if he found cause to repent it; one condition of surrendering Dunkirk being a general armistice of all the troops in the British pay, which her majesty was not able to perform; and upon this failure the mareschal de Villars (as we have before related) endeavored to dissuade his court from accepting the conditions; and in the very interval while those difficulties were adjusting, the mareschal d'Uxelles, one of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht (whose inclinations, as well as those of his colleague Mons. Mesnager, led him to favor the States more than Britain), assured the lord privy seal, "That the Dutch were then pressing to enter into separate measures with his master." And his lordship, in a visit to abbé de Polignac, observing a person to withdraw as he entered the abbé's chamber, was told by this minister, "That the person he saw was one Moleau of Amsterdam (mentioned before), a famous agent for the States with France, who had been entertaining him (the abbé) upon the same subject; but that he had refused to treat with Moleau without the privity of England."

Mr. Harley, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the spring to Utrecht, continued longer in Holland than was at

first expected, but having received her majesty's further instructions was about this time arrived at Hanover. It was the misfortune of his electoral highness to be very ill served by Mons. Bothmar, his envoy here, who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the elector's court a little Frenchman, without any merit or consequence, called Robethon, who by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry had insinuated himself into some degree of that prince's favor, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able of those whom the queen employed in her service; insinuating "That the present ministers were not in the interest of his highness's family; that their views were toward the pretender; that they were making an insecure and dishonorable peace; that the weight of the nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their credit or power."

The earl Rivers had, in the foregoing year, been sent to Hanover, in order to undeceive the elector and remove whatever prejudices might be infused into his highness against her majesty's proceedings; but it should seem that he had no very great success in his negotiation; for soon after his return to England Mons. Bothmar's memorial appeared, in the manner I have already related, which discovered the sentiments of his electoral highness (if they were truly represented in that memorial) to differ not a little from those of the queen. Mr. Harley was therefore directed to take the first opportunity of speaking to the elector in private; to assure him "That, although her majesty had thought herself justly provoked by the conduct of his minister, yet such was her affection for his highness and concern for the interests of his family, that instead of showing the least mark of resentment she had chosen to send him (Mr. Harley) fully instructed to open her designs and show his higness the real interest of Britain in the present conjuncture." Mr. Harley was to give the elector a true account of what had passed in England during the first part of this session of parliament; to expose to his highness the weakness of those with whom his minister had consulted and under whose directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction must become when a peace should be concluded, and when the natural strength of the kingdom, disencumbered from the burden of war, should be

at liberty to exert itself; to show him how his interest in the succession was sacrificed to that of a party: "that his highness had been hitherto a friend to both sides, but that the measures taken by his ministers had tended only to set him at the head of one, in opposition to the other:" to explain to the elector how fully the safety of Europe was provided for by the plan of peace in her majesty's speech; and how little reason those would appear to have who complained the loudest of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

Upon this occasion, Mr. Harley was to observe to the elector, "That it should rather be wondered at how the queen had brought France to offer so much than yet to offer no more: because, as soon as ever it appeared that her majesty would be at the head of this treaty, and that the interests of Britain were to be provided for, such endeavors were used to break off the negotiation as are hardly to be paralleled; and the disunion thereby created among the allies had given more opportunities to the enemy of being slow in their concessions than any other measures might possibly have done: that this want of concert among the allies could not in any sort be imputed to the queen, who had all along invited them to it with the greatest earnestness, as the surest means to bring France to reason: that she had always in a particular manner pressed the States-General to come into the strictest union with her, and opened to them her intentions with the greatest freedom; but finding that, instead of concurring with her majesty, they were daily carrying on intrigues to break off the negotiation, and thereby deprive her of the advantages she might justly expect from the ensuing peace, having no other way left she was forced to act with France as she did by herself: that however the queen had not taken upon herself to determine the interests of the allies, who were at liberty of insisting on further pretensions; wherein her majesty would not be wanting to support them as far as she was able, and improve the concessions already made by France; in which case, a good understanding and harmony among the confederates would yet be of the greatest use for making the enemy more tractable and easy."

I have been more particular in reciting the substance of Mr. Harley's instructions, because it will serve as a recapitulation of what I have already said upon this subject, and seems to set her

majesty's intentions and proceedings at this time in the clearest light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the duke of Ormond upon the delivery of Dunkirk, the British plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of Holland to come in to a general armistice, for if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction this would certainly be the best means for bringing the common enemy to reasonable terms of peace; but the States, deluded by the boundless promises of count Zinzendorf and the undertaking talent of prince Eugene, who dreaded the conclusion of the war as the period of his glory, would not hear of a cessation. The loss of 18,000 Britons was not a diminution of weight in the balance of such an ally as the emperor and such a general as the prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superior to France in the field, and although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet in my opinion the conclusion drawn from it was grounded upon a great mistake. I have been assured by several persons of our own country, and some foreigners of the first rank both for skill and station in arms, that in most victories obtained in the present war the British troops were ever employed in the post of danger and honor, and usually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the people of any other country), by which they were not only an example of courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged without partiality to have governed the fortune of the day, since it is known enough how small a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewise be added that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The French, by their frequent losses, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a British general at the head of British troops was not to be overcome, and the mareschal de Villars was quickly sensible of the advantage he had got, for in a very few days after the desertion of the allies happened the earl of Albemarle's disgrace at Denain, by a feint of the mareschal's and a manifest failure somewhere or other both of courage and conduct on the side of the confederates, the blame of which was equally shared between prince Eugene and the earl, although it is certain the duke of Ormond gave the latter timely warning of his danger, observing he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges sufficient for the situation he was in and at such a distance from the main army.

The marquis de Torcy had likewise the same sentiments of what mighty consequence those few British battalions were to the confederate army, since he advised his master to deliver up Dunkirk, although the queen could not perform the condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It must be owned that Mons. de Torcy made great merit of this confidence that his master placed in the queen, and, observing her majesty's displeasure against the Dutch on account of their late proceedings, endeavored to inflame it with aggravations enough, insinuating "That, since the States had acted so ungratefully, the queen should let her forces join with those of France in order to compel the confederates to a peace." But although this overture was very tenderly hinted from the French court, her majesty heard it with the utmost abhorrence, and ordered her secretary, Mr. St. John (created about this time viscount Bolingbroke), to tell Mons. de Torcy "That no provocations whatever should tempt her to distress her allies, but she would endeavor to bring them to reason by fair means or leave them to their own conduct: that if the former should be found impracticable she would then make her own peace, and content herself with doing the office of a mediator between both parties; but if the States should at any time come to a better mind and suffer their ministers to act in conjunction with hers, she would assert their just interests to the utmost, and make no further progress in any treaty with France until those allies received all reasonable satisfaction both as to their barrier and their trade." The British plenipotentiaries were directed to give the same assurances to the Dutch ministers at Utrecht, and withal to let them know "That the queen was determined, by their late conduct, to make peace either with or without them; but would much rather choose the former."

There was however one advantage which her majesty resolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been led by the mistaken politics of some years past to involve herself in several guarantees with the princes of the north, which were in some sort contradictory to one another; but this conduct of theirs wholly annulled all such engagements, and left her at liberty to interpose in the affairs of those parts of Europe in such a manner as would best serve the interests of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the protestant religion, and settle a due balance of power in the north.

The grand article for preventing the union of France and Spain

was to be executed during a cessation of arms. But many difficulties arising about that and some other points of great importance to the common cause, which could not easily be adjusted either between the French and British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, or by correspondence between Mons. de Torcy and the ministry here, the queen took the resolution of sending the lord viscount Bolingbroke immediately to France, fully instructed in all her intentions, and authorized to negotiate everything necessary for settling the treaty of peace in such a course as might bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. He was empowered to agree to a general suspension of arms by sea and land, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, to continue for four months or until the conclusion of the peace, provided France and Spain would previously give positive assurances to make good the terms demanded by her majesty for the duke of Savoy, and would likewise adjust and determine the forms of the several renunciations to be made by both those crowns in order to prevent their being ever united. The lord Bolingbroke was likewise authorized to settle some differences relating to the elector of Bavaria, for whose interest France was as much concerned as her majesty was for those of the duke of Savoy; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of Britain; to know the real *ultimatum*, as it is termed, of France upon the general plan of peace; and lastly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the queen to force her allies to a disadvantageous peace; her majesty resolving to impose no scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavoring to obtain the best conditions they could.

The lord Bolingbroke went to France in the beginning of August, was received at court with particular marks of distinction and respect, and in a very few days, by his usual address and ability, performed every part of his commission extremely to the queen's content and his own honor. He returned to England before the end of the month; but Mr. Prior, who went along with him, was left behind to adjust whatever differences might remain or arise between the two crowns.

In the mean time the general conferences at Utrecht, which for several weeks had been let fall since the delivery of Dunkirk, were now resumed. But the Dutch still declaring against a suspension of arms and refusing to accept the queen's speech as a plan to negotiate upon, there was no progress made for some time in the great

work of the peace. Whereupon the British plenipotentiaries told those of the States "That if the queen's endeavors could not procure more than the contents of her speech, or if the French should ever fall short of what was there offered, the Dutch could blame none but themselves, who by their conduct had rendered things difficult that would otherwise have been easy." However, her majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate course of leaving themselves wholly at the mercy of France, which was an expedient they formerly practised, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

While the congress at Utrecht remained in this inactive state the queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of France and Spain. It was proposed and accepted that Philip should renounce France for himself and his posterity, and that the most Christian king and all the princes of his blood should in the like manner renounce Spain.

It must be confessed that this project of renunciation lay under a great disrepute by the former practices of this very king Lewis XIV., pursuant to an absurd notion among many in that kingdom of a divine right annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain the French themselves had recourse to this method, after all their infractions of it, since the Pyrenean treaty, for the first dauphin, in whom the original claim was vested, renounced for himself and his eldest son, which opened the way to Philip, duke of Anjou, who would however hardly have succeeded if it had not been for the will made in his favor by the last king Charles II.

It is indeed hard to reflect with any patience upon the unaccountable stupidity of the princes of Europe for some centuries past, who left a probability to France of succeeding in a few ages to all their dominions, while at the same time no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince by reason of the salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every sovereign in Christendom to enact a salique law with respect to France? for want of which it is almost a miracle that the Bourbon family has not possessed the universal monarchy by right of inheritance. When the French assert that a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as some of their ministers (who ought to be more wise or honest), have lately advanced in this very case to the title of Spain, do they

not by allowing a French succession make their own kings usurpers? Or if the salique law be divine, is it not of universal obligation, and consequently of force to exclude France from inheriting by daughters? Or lastly, if that law be of human institution, may it not be enacted in any state with whatever extent or limitation the legislature shall think fit? for the notion of an unchangeable human law is an absurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance and supported by power. Hence it follows that the children of the late queen of France, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to Spain as if the salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom, since that exclusion was established by every power in Spain which could possibly give a sanction to any law there, and therefore the duke of Anjou's title is wholly founded upon the bequest of his predecessor (which has great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in ours), upon the confirmation of the cortes and the general consent of the people.

It is certain the faith of princes is so frequently subservient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity otherwise than from the powers and parties whose interest it is to support them. But this renunciation which the queen has exacted from the French king and his grandson I take to be armed with all the essential circumstances that can fortify such an act, for as it is necessary for the security of every prince in Europe that those two great kingdoms should never be united, so the chief among them will readily consent to be guarantees for preventing such a misfortune.

Besides, this proposal (according to her majesty's expression in her speech) is of such a nature that it executes itself, because the Spaniards, who dread such a union for every reason that can have weight among men, took care that their king should not only renounce in the most solemn manner, but likewise that the act should be framed in the strongest terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to France, upon supposal of the young dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war against a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the Spaniards and the party of the duke of Berry, or whoever else shall be next claimer; and the longer the present dauphin lives the weaker must Philip's interest be in France, because the princes who are to succeed by this renunciation will have most power and credit in the kingdom.

The mischiefs occasioned by the want of a good understanding

between the allies, especially Britain and Holland, were increased every day; the French taking the advantage, and raising difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewise upon the explanation of several articles in the projected treaty between them and her majesty. They insisted to have Lisle, as the equivalent for Dunkirk; and demanded Tournay, Maubeuge, and Condé, for the two or three towns mentioned in the queen's speech, which the British plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing that they refused to confer with those of France upon that foot; although, at the same time, the former had fresh apprehensions that the Dutch in a fit of despair would accept whatever terms the enemy pleased to offer, and by precipitating their own peace prevent her majesty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herself.

It is most certain that the repeated losses suffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themselves from the queen's assistance, did wholly disconcert their counsels; and their prudence (as it is usual) began to forsake them with their good fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their friends in England, who continued to give them hopes of some mighty and immediate resource from hence; for when the duke of Ormond had been about a month in Ghent he received a letter from the mareschal de Villars to inform him "That the Dutch generals taken at Denain had told the mareschal publicly of a sudden revolution expected in Britain; that particularly the earl of Albemarle and Mons. Hompesch discoursed very freely of it; and that nothing was more commonly talked of in Holland." It was then likewise confidently reported in Ghent that the queen was dead; and we all remember what rumor flew about here at the very same time, as if her majesty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit to the Dutch; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to overreach us by some private stipulations with France, through the mediation of the elector of Bavaria, as that prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the cause, they utterly refused a cessation of arms, and made not the least return to all the advances and invitations made by her majesty until the close of the campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast promises of count Zinzendorf were to be relied on; to be convinced that France was not disposed

to break with her majesty, only to gratify their ill humor or unreasonable demands; to discover that their factious correspondents on this side the water had shamefully misled them; that some of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war and backward in their loans; and lastly, that prince Eugene, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They therefore directed their ministers at Utrecht to signify to the lord privy seal and the earl of Strafford "That the States were disposed to comply with her majesty, and to desire her good offices with France; particularly, that Tournay and Condé might be left to them as part of their barrier, without which they could not be safe: That the elector of Bavaria might not be suffered to retain any town in the Netherlands, which would be as bad for Holland as if those places were in the hands of France: Therefore the States proposed that Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, and Nieuport, might be delivered to the emperor: Lastly, That the French might not insist on excepting the four species of goods out of the tariff of 1664: that if her majesty could prevail with France to satisfy their masters on these articles, they would be ready to submit in all the rest."

When the queen received an account of this good disposition in the States-General, immediately orders were sent to Mr. Prior to inform the ministers of the French court "That her majesty had now some hopes of the Dutch complying with her measures; and therefore she resolved, as she had always declared, whenever those allies came to themselves, not to make the peace without their reasonable satisfaction." The difficulty that most pressed was about the disposal of Tournay and Condé. The Dutch insisted strongly to have both, and the French were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The queen judged the former would suffice for completing the barrier of the States. Mr. Prior was therefore directed to press the marquis de Torcy effectually on this head, and to terminate all that minister's objections by assuring him of her majesty's resolution to appear openly on the side of the Dutch if this demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner with France, whose late success against Holland had taught the ministers of the most Christian king to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that republic; to which they were further encouraged by the ill understanding between her majesty and the allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel that happened,

about the end of July, at Utrecht, between a French and a Dutch plenipotentiary, Mons. Mesnager and count Rechteren; wherein the court of France demanded such abject submissions and with so much haughtiness, as plainly showed they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying the Dutch.

Besides, the politics of the French ran at this time very opposite to those of Britain. They thought the ministers here durst not meet the parliament without a peace; and that therefore her majesty would either force the States to comply with France, by delivering up Tournay, which was the principal point in dispute, or would finish her own peace with France and Spain, leaving a fixed time for Holland to refuse or accept the terms imposed on them. But the queen, who thought the demand of Tournay by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against France rather than suffer her ally to want a place so useful for their barrier. And Mr. Prior was ordered to signify this resolution of her majesty to Mons. de Torcy, in case that minister could not be otherwise prevailed on.

The British plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same time, express to those of Holland her majesty's great satisfaction "That the States were at last disposed to act in confidence with her: that she wished this resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the delay but the French king: that however her majesty did not question the procuring of a safe and honorable peace, by united counsels, reasonable demands, and prudent measures: that she would assist them in getting whatever was necessary to their barrier, and in settling to their satisfaction the exceptions made by France out of the tariff of 1664: that no other difficulties remained of moment to retard the peace, since the queen had obtained Sardinia for the duke of Savoy; and in the settlement of the Low Countries would adhere to what she delivered from the throne: that as to the empire, her majesty heartily wished their barrier as good as could be desired; but that we were not now in circumstances to expect everything exactly according to the scheme of Holland: France had already offered a great part, and the queen did not think the remainder worth the continuance of the war."

Her majesty conceived the peace in so much forwardness, that she thought fit, about this time, to nominate the duke Hamilton and the lord Lexington for ambassadors in France and Spain, to receive the renunciations in both courts and adjust matters of commerce.

The duke was preparing for his journey when he was challenged to a duel by the lord Mohun, a person of infamous character. He killed his adversary upon the spot, though he himself received a wound; and, weakened by the loss of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his second was most barbarously stabbed in the breast by lieutenant-general Macartney, who was second to lord Mohun. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his escape. I thought so surprising an event might deserve barely to be related, although it be something foreign to my subject.

The earl of Strafford, who had come to England in May last, in order to give her majesty an account of the disposition of affairs in Holland, was now returning with her last instructions to let the Dutch minister know "That some points would probably meet with difficulties not to be overcome, which once might have been easily obtained: to show what evil consequences had already flowed from their delay and irresolution; and to entreat them to fix on some proposition, reasonable in itself, as well as possible to be effected: that the queen would insist upon the cession of Tournay by France, provided the States would concur in finishing the peace, without starting new objections or insisting upon further points: that the French demands in favor of the elector of Bavaria appeared to be such as the queen was of opinion the States ought to agree to; which were to leave the elector in possession of Luxembourg, Namur, and Charleroy, subject to the terms of their barrier, until he should be restored to his electorate; and to give him the kingdom of Sardinia, to efface the stain of his degradation in the electoral college: that the earl had brought over a project of a new treaty of succession and barrier, which her majesty insisted the States should sign before the conclusion of the peace; the former treaty having been disadvantageous to her subjects, containing in it the seeds of future dissensions, and condemned by the sense of the nation: lastly, that her majesty, notwithstanding all provocations, had, for the sake of the Dutch, and in hopes of their recovery from those false notions which had so long misled them, hitherto kept the negotiations open: that the offers now made them were her last, and this the last time she would apply to them: that they must either agree or expect the queen would proceed immediately to conclude her treaty with France and Spain, in conjunction with such of her allies as would think fit to adhere to her.

"As to Savoy; that the queen expected the States would concur

with her in making good the advantage stipulated for that duke, and in prevailing with the emperor to consent to an absolute neutrality in Italy until the peace should be concluded."

The governing party in Holland, however in appearance disposed to finish, affected new delays and raised many difficulties about the four species of goods which the French had excepted out of the tariff. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to keep up this humor in the Dutch, in hopes to put them under a necessity of preparing for the next campaign; and some time after went so far in this pursuit, that he summoned the several ministers of the empire, and told them he had letters from his master with orders to signify to them "That his imperial majesty resolved to begin the campaign early, with all his forces united against France; of which he desired they would send notice to all their courts, that the several princes might be ready to furnish their contingents and recruits." At the same time Zinzendorf endeavored to borrow two millions of florins upon the security of some imperial cities, but could not succeed either among the Jews or at Amsterdam.

When the earl of Strafford arrived at Utrecht, the lord privy seal and he communicated to the Dutch ministers the new treaty for a succession and barrier, as the queen had ordered it to be prepared here in England, differing from the former in several points of the greatest moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was strenuously opposed for several weeks by the plenipotentiaries of the States. But the province of Utrecht, where the congress was held, immediately sent orders to their representatives at the Hague to declare their province thankful to the queen: "That they agreed the peace should be made on the terms proposed by France, and consented to the new projected treaty of barrier and succession." And about the close of the year 1712 four of the seven provinces had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unusual precipitation in the States, so different from the whole tenor of their former conduct, was very much suspected by the British plenipotentiaries. Their lordships had received intelligence "That the Dutch ministers held frequent conferences with those of France, and had offered to settle their interests with that crown without the concurrence of Britain." Count Zinzendorf and his colleagues appeared likewise all on the sudden to have the same

dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several differences with the States. The reasons for this proceeding were visible enough. Many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her majesty and France; for the adjusting of which and some other points, the queen had lately despatched the duke of Shrewsbury to that court. Some of these were of hard digestion, with which the most christian king would not be under the necessity of complying when he had no further occasion for us, and might upon that account afford better terms to the other two powers. Besides, the emperor and the States could very well spare her majesty the honor of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped by this means to avoid the new treaty of barrier and succession which were now forcing on them.

To prevent the consequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident which the two lords at Utrecht knew well how to make use of. The quarrel between Mons. Mesnager and count Rechteren (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The French and Dutch differing in some circumstances about the satisfaction to be given by the count for the affront he had offered, the British plenipotentiaries kept this dispute on foot for several days, and in the mean time pressed the Dutch to finish the new treaty of barrier and succession between her majesty and them, which about the middle of January was concluded fully to the queen's satisfaction.

But while these debates and differences continued at the congress, the queen resolved to put a speedy end to her part in the war. She therefore sent order to the lord privy seal and the earl of Strafford to prepare everything necessary for signing her own treaty with France. This she hoped might be done against the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of February; in which time those among the allies who were really inclined towards a peace might settle their several interests by the assistance and support of her majesty's plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would either refuse to comply or endeavor to protract the negotiation, the heads of their respective demands, which France had yielded by her majesty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her speech, should be mentioned in the treaty, and a time limited for the several powers concerned to receive or reject them.

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to Bar-le-duc in the duke of Lorrain's dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her subjects, declared "She would not sign the peace till that person were removed;" although several wise men believed he could be nowhere less dangerous to Britain than in the place where he was.

The argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new treaty of barrier and succession with Britain was her majesty's promise to procure Tournay for them from France; after which no more differences remained between us and that republic; and consequently they had no further temptations to any separate transactions with the French, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the Dutch. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by count Rechteren to Mons. Mesnager, although somewhat softened by the British ministers at Utrecht, was yet so rigorous that her majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the most christian king. Mons. Mesnager, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The abbé de Polignac, a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to France to receive the cardinal's cap; and the mareschal d'Uxelles was wholly guided by his colleague Mons. Mesnager, who kept up those brangles that for a time obstructed the peace; some of which were against all justice, and others of small importance, both of very little advantage to his country and less to the reputation of his master or himself. This low talent in business, which the cardinal de Polignac used in contempt to call a spirit of negotiating, made it impossible for the two lords plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring Mesnager to reason in several points both with us and the States. His concessions were few and constrained, serving only to render him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the towns which the States were to keep, he insisted "That France should retain the chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly that of Tournay;" a demand the more unjustifiable because he knew his master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom where his own judges extended the territories about those towns he had taken as far as he pleased to direct

them. Mons. Mesnager showed equal obstinacy in what his master expected for the elector of Bavaria, and in refusing the tariff of 1664: so that the queen's plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties as what might be of a dangerous consequence, both to the peace in general and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

Upon these considerations her majesty thought it her shortest and safest course to apply directly to France, where she had then so able a minister as the duke of Shrewsbury.

The marquis de Torcy, secretary to the most christian king, was the minister with whom the duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his master to apply to the queen for a peace, in opposition to a violent faction in that kingdom who were as eagerly bent to continue the war as any other could be, either here or in Holland.

It would be very unlike an historian to refuse this great minister the praise he so justly deserves of having treated through the whole course of so great a negotiation with the utmost candor and integrity; never once failing in any promise he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his master's interest with a ready compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. Prior, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at Paris, with the character of a minister plenipotentiary, and was very acceptable to that court upon the score of his wit and humor.

The duke of Shrewsbury was directed to press the French court upon the points yet unsettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns: to make them drop their unreasonable demands for the elector of Bavaria: to let them know "that the queen was resolved not to forsake her allies who were now ready to come in; and that she thought the best way of hastening the general peace was to determine her own particular one with France, until which time she could not conveniently suffer her parliament to meet."

The States were by this time so fully convinced of the queen's sincerity and affection to their republic, and how much they had been deceived by the insinuations of the factious party in England, that they wrote a very humble letter to her majesty to desire her assistance towards settling those points they had in dispute with France, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever explanation her majesty would please to make of the plan proposed in her speech to the parliament.

But the queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of February, 1712–13, directed the duke of Shrewsbury to inform the French court, "That, since she had prevailed on her allies the Dutch to drop the demand of Condé, and the other of the four species of goods which the French had excepted out of the tariff of 1664, she would not sign without them: that she approved of the Dutch insisting to have the chatellanies restored with the towns; and was resolved to stand or fall with them until they were satisfied in this point."

Her majesty had some apprehensions that the French created these difficulties on purpose to spin out the treaty until the campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary that our parliament should meet in a few weeks; which could not well be ventured until the queen were able to tell both houses that her own peace was signed: that this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between Britain and France, but leave the Dutch entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the French politics, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the duke of Shrewsbury to let France know, "That h majesty had hitherto prorogued her parliament in hopes of accommodating the difficulties in her own treaties of peace and commerce with that crown, as well as settling the interests of her several allies; or at least that, the differences in the former being removed, the most christian king would have made such offers for the latter as might justify her majesty in signing her own peace, whether confederates intended to sign theirs or not. But several points being yet unfinished between both crowns, and others between France and the rest of the allies, especially the States, to which the plenipotentiaries of that court at Utrecht had not thought fit to give satisfaction; the queen was now come to a final determination, both with relation to her own kingdoms and to the whole alliance, that, the campaign approaching, she would not willingly be surprised in case the war was to go on: that she had transmitted to the duke of Shrewsbury her last resolutions, and never would be prevailed to reduce her own demands or those of her allies any lower than the scheme now sent over as an explanation of the plan laid down in her speech: that her majesty had sent orders to her plenipoten at Utrecht to assume the character of ambassadors, and sign the peace immediately with the ministers of the most christian ki

as the duke of Shrewsbury should have sent them notice that French had complied: that the queen had therefore further prorogued her parliament to the third of March, in hopes to assure herself by that time of her peace being agreed on; for if the two houses meet while any uncertainty remained supplies must be asked for a war."

The duke of Shrewsbury executed this important commission with that speed and success which could only be expected from an able minister. The French king immediately yielded to the whole demand her majesty proposed; whereupon directions were sent to the lord privy seal and the earl of Strafford to sign a peace between Great Britain and France without delay.

Upon the 2d day of March the two British plenipotentiaries met those of the allies in the town-house of Utrecht; where the lord privy seal addressed himself to them in a short speech: "That the negotiation had now continued fourteen months with great slowness, which had proved very injurious to the interests of the allies: that the queen had stayed thus long and stopped the finishing of her own peace rather than leave her allies in any uncertainty: that she hoped they would now be all prepared to put an end to this great work; and therefore had commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell those of the allies that she found it necessary to conclude her own treaty immediately; and it was her opinion that the confederates ought to finish theirs at the same time; to which they were now accordingly invited by her majesty's orders." And lastly, his lordship declared, in the queen's name, "That whoever could not be ready on the day prefixed should have a convenient time allowed them to come in."

Although the orders sent by the queen to her plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their lordships did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a day for the signing as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their discretion. They hoped to bring over the Dutch and most of the other allies to conclude at the same time with the queen, which, as it would certainly be more popular to their country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves. Besides, upon looking over their commission a scruple sprang in their minds that they could not sign a particular peace with France; their powers, as they apprehended, authorizing them only to sign a general one. Their lordships therefore sent to Eng-

land to desire new powers; and in the mean time employed themselves with great industry between the ministers of France those of the several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The earl of Strafford went for a few days to the Hague, to inform the States of her majesty's express commands to his colleague and himself for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same time, which the pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Mons. Buys, who was now so ch altered either in reality or appearance, that he complained to earl of Mons. Heinsius's slowness, and charged all the delays and mismanagements of a twelvemonth past to that minister's account.

While the earl of Strafford stayed at the Hague he discovered that an emissary of the duke of Marlborough's had been there s days before, sent by his grace to dissuade the Dutch from signing at the same time with the ministers of the queen, which, in England, would at least have the appearance of a separate peace, and oblige their British friends, who knew how to turn so short a d to very good account, as well as gratify the emperor; on wh it was alleged they ought to rely much more than on her majesty. One of the States likewise told the earl, "that the same per employed by the duke was then in conference with the magistrates of Rotterdam (which town had declared for the continuance of the war), to assure them, if they would hold off a little, they should see an unexpected turn in the British parliament: that the duke of Marlborough had a list of the discontented members in both houses who were ready to turn against the court; and to crown all, that his grace had certain intelligence of the queen being in so ill a state of health as made it impossible for her to live above six weeks." So restless and indefatigable are avarice and ambition when inflamed by a desire of revenge!

But representations which had been so often tried were now offered too late. Most of the allies, except the emperor, w willing to put an end to the war upon her majesty's plan; and the further delay of three weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious manner of treating peculiar to the French, whose plenipotentiaries at Utrecht insisted with obstinacy upon many poi which at Paris Mons. de Torcy had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he had already possessed in

that Port Langue, on the Tuscan coast, should be delivered by France; and lastly, that he should not be obliged to re- e Spain. But the queen, as well as France, thought his im- majesty ought to sit down contented with his partage of and Milan; and to restore those territories in Italy which d taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the possession ich he has grown dangerous to the Italian princes by reviving ated claims upon them.

s prince had likewise objected to her majesty's expedient of ng the elector of Bavaria to retain Luxembourg, under cer- onditions, by way of security, until his electorate were re- . But the queen, supposing that these affected delays were led only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer ace no longer on the emperor's account.

the middle of March, 1712–13, a courier arrived at Utrecht France with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed en the duke of Shrewsbury and Mons. de Torcy; wherein particular relating to the interests and pretensions of the l allies was brought so near to what each of them would ac- that the British plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be l in ten or twelve days. The Portuguese and Dutch were y prepared, and others were daily coming in by the means ir lordships' good offices, who found Mons. Mesnager and his gue very stubborn to the last. Another courier was des- d to France, upon some disputes about inserting the titles of ajesty and the most christian king; and to bring a general or the interests of those allies who should not be ready against me prefixed. The French renunciations were now arrived at ht; and it was agreed that those, as well as that of the king ain, should be inserted at length in every treaty; by which the whole confederacy would become guarantees of them courier last sent to France returned to Utrecht on the 27th rch with the concessions of that court upon every necessary ; so that, all things being ready for putting a period to this and difficult work, the lord privy seal and the earl of Straf- gave notice to the ministers of the several allies "That their ips had appointed Tuesday, the 31st inst., wherein to sign a of peace and a treaty of commerce between the queen of Britain their mistress and the most christian king; and l the said allies would be prepared at the same time to follow

their example." Accordingly their lordships employed the intervening days in smoothing the few difficulties that re between the French ministers and those of the several confe powers.

The important day being now come, the lord bishop of and the earl of Strafford, having assumed the character of sadors extraordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the Fren testants to the mareschal d'Uxelles and his colleague, who w transmit it to their court; and these delivered to the Britis bassadors a declaration in writing that the pretender was ac gone out of France.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the emperor and th pire, as adjusted between Britain and France, were now lil delivered to the count Zinzendorf. These and some other pr matters of smaller consequence being finished, the treaties of and commerce between her majesty of Britain and the most tian king were signed at the lord privy seal's house, betwee and three of the clock in the afternoon. The ministers of the of Savoy signed about an hour after. Then the assembly adj to the earl of Strafford's, where they all went to dinner; and nine at night the peace was signed by the ministers of Po by those of Prussia at eleven, and when it was near midni the States.

Thus, after all the opposition raised by a strong party in I and by a virulent faction in Britain; after all the artifices of who presided at the Hague, who for their private interest vored, in conjunction with their friends in England, to prolo war; after the restless endeavors of the imperial court to the treaty ineffectual; the firm steady conduct of the quee wisdom and courage of her ministry, and the abilities of whom she employed in her negotiations abroad, prevailed to peace signed in one day by every power concerned, except the emperor and the empire; for his imperial majesty lil situation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery a penses of the war lay upon other shoulders, and the adv were to redound only to himself.

During this whole negotiation the king of Spain, who w acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequen minister at Utrecht; but the differences between her maj that prince were easily settled by the lord Lexington at

the marquis of Monteleon here; so that, upon the duke d'Osa's arrival at the congress some days after the peace, he was dy to conclude a treaty between the queen and his master. Neither is it probable that the Dutch, or any other ally except the peror, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their eral treaties with his catholic majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between Britain and France were ratified here on the 7th of April; on the 28th the ratifications were exchanged; and on the 5th of May the peace was proclaimed in the usual manner, but with louder acclamations and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people than had ever been remembered on the like occasion

SOME FREE THOUGHTS
UPON
THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.
1714.

WHATEVER may be thought or practised by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reasonable part of mankind that the most plain, short, easy, safe, and lawful way to any good end, is not more eligible than one directly contrary to some or all of these qualities. I have been frequently assured by great ministers that politics were nothing but common sense; which, as it was the only true thing they spoke, so it was the only thing they could have wished I should not believe. God has given the bulk of mankind a capacity to understand reason when it is fairly offered; and by reason they would easily be governed if it were left to their choice. Those princes in all ages who were most distinguished for their mysterious skill in government, found by the event that they had ill consulted their own quiet or the ease and happiness of their people; nor has posterity remembered them with honor: such as Lysander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, pope Alexander the sixth and his son Cæsar Borgia, queen Catharine de Medicis, Philip II. of Spain, with many others. Nor are examples less frequent of ministers, famed for men of great intrigue, whose

politics have produced little more than murmuring, factions, a discontents, which usually terminated in the disgrace and ruin the authors.

I can recollect but three occasions in a state where the talen of such men may be thought necessary; I mean in a state wl the prince is obeyed and loved by his subjects: first, in the neg tiation of the peace; secondly, in adjusting the interests of our o country with those of the nations round us, watching the seve motions of our neighbors and allies, and preserving a due bal among them: lastly, in the management of parties and factions home. In the first of these cases I have often heard it observ that plain good sense and a firm adherence to the point have prov more effectual, than all those arts which I remember a great forei minister used in contempt to call the spirit of negotiating. In t second case, much wisdom and a thorough knowledge in a both foreign and domestic, are certainly required: after which know no talents necessary beside method and skill in the comm forms of business. In the last case, which is that of managi parties, there seems indeed to be more occasion for employing t gift of the lower politics whenever the tide runs high against t court and ministry; which seldom happens under any tolerab administration while the true interest of the nation is pursued. But here in England (for I do not pretend to establish maxims government in general), while the prince and ministry, the cler the majority of landed men, and the bulk of the people, appear have the same views and the same principles, it is not obvio me how those at the helm can have many opportunities of show their skill in mystery and refinement beside what themselves thi fit to create.

I have been assured by men long practised in business that t secrets of court are much fewer than we generally suppose; and hold it for the greatest secret of the court that they are so: beca the first springs of great events, like those of great rivers, are often mean and so little that in decency they ought to be hid: a therefore ministers are so wise to leave their proceedings to accounted for by reasoners at a distance, who often mould th into systems that do not only go down very well in the coffeeh but are supplies for pamphlets in the present age, and may probab furnish materials for memoirs and histories in the next.

It is true indeed that even those who are very near the cou

and are supposed to have a large share in the management of public matters, are apt to deduce wrong consequences by reasoning upon the causes and motives of those actions wherein themselves are employed. A great minister puts you a case and asks your opinion, but conceals an essential circumstance upon which the whole weight of the matter turns; then he despises your understanding for counselling him no better, and concludes he ought to trust entirely to his own wisdom. Thus he grows to abound in secrets and reserves, even towards those with whom he ought to act in the greatest confidence and concert: and thus the world is brought to judge that, whatever be the issue and event, it was all foreseen, contrived, and brought to pass by some masterstroke of his politics.

I could produce innumerable instances, from my own memory and observation, of events imputed to the profound skill and address of a minister, which in reality were either the mere effects of negligence, weakness, humor, passion, or pride, or at best but the natural course of things left to themselves.

During this very session of parliament a most ingenious gentleman, who has much credit with those in power, would needs have it, that in the late dissensions at court, which grew too high to be any longer a secret, the whole matter was carried with the utmost dexterity on one side, and with manifest ill conduct on the other. To prove this he made use of the most plausible topics, drawn from the nature and disposition of the several persons concerned, as well as of her majesty; all which he knows as much of as any man: and gave me a detail of the whole with such an appearance of probability as, committed to writing, would pass for an admirable piece of secret history. Yet I am at the same time convinced by the strongest reasons that the issue of those dissensions, as to the part they had in the court and the house of lords, was partly owing to very different causes, and partly to the situation of affairs, whence in that conjuncture they could not easily terminate otherwise than they did, whatever unhappy consequences they may have for the future.

In like manner, I have heard a physician pronounce with great gravity that he had cured so many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the small-pox; whereas, in truth, nine parts in ten of those who recovered, owed their lives to the strength of nature and a good constitution, while such a one happened to be their doctor.

But while it is so difficult to learn the springs and motiv of some facts, and so easy to forget the circumstances of others, it no wonder they should be so grossly misrepresented to the public by curious inquisitive heads who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and in reasoning upon affairs of state are sure to be mistaken by searching too deep. And as I have known this to be the frequent error of many others, so I am sure it has been perpetually mine whenever I have attempted to discover the causes of political events by refinement and conjecture; which I must acknowledge has very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii*; whereof I dare pronounce that the fewer there are in any administration, it is just so much the better.

What I have hitherto said has by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requisite in those who are trusted with the administration of public affairs; on the contrary, I know no station of life where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are so highly necessary, and where the want of any is so quickly or universally felt. A great minister has no virtue for which the public may not be the better, nor any defect by which the public is not certainly a sufferer. I have known more than once or twice within four years past an omission in appearance very small prove almost fatal to a whole scheme and very hardly retrieved. It is not always sufficient for the person at the helm that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he has great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much secrecy was a character of any advantage to a minister, because it put all other men upon their guard to be as secret as he, and was consequently the occasion that persons and things were always misrepresented to him: because likewise too great an affectation of secrecy is usually thought to be attended with those little intrigues and refinements which among the vulgar denominate a man a great politician, but among others is apt, whether deservedly or not, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent which differs as much from the true knowledge of government as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced that this habit of multiplying secrets may not be carried on so far as to stop that communication which is necessary in some degree among all who have any considerable part in the management of public affairs: because I have observed the inconveniences arising from a want of love between those who were

to give directions to have been of as ill consequence as any that could happen from the discovery of secrets. I suppose, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head; and it is sufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut stones into certain shapes, and place them in certain positions: but the several master-builders must have some general knowledge of the design, without which they can give no orders at all. And indeed I do not know a greater mark of an able minister than that of rightly adapting the several faculties of men; nor is anything more to be lamented than the impracticableness of doing this in any great degree under our present circumstances; while so many shut themselves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enslaved to the impatience of others who desire to sell their vote or their interest as dear as they can. But whether this has not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it has not been dangerous in the example and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the inquiry of those who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider in some lights the state of affairs among us for four years past. The queen, finding herself and the majority of her kingdom grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politics and destructive principles of her former ministers, calls to the service of the public another set of men, who by confession of their enemies had equal abilities at least with their predecessors, whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state: whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation; and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship: with all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest and the inferior clergy almost to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest distress and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge; neither does it appear to me at the minute I am now writing that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security: which I do not so much impute to the address and industry of their enemies as to some failures among themselves, which I think have been full as visible in their causes as their effects.

Nothing has given me greater indignation than to behold a min-

istry, who came in with the advantages I have represented, acting ever since upon the defensive in the house of lords, with a majority on their side; and instead of calling others to account, as it was reasonably expected, misspending their time and losing many opportunities of doing good, because a struggling faction kept th continually in play. This courage among the adversaries of the court was inspired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the ministers, or (if that was the case) the minister alone, is to answer.

For, first, that race of politicians who in the cant phrase are called the *whimsicals*[1] was never so numerous or at least so active as it has been since the great change at court: many of those who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which her majesty and her new servants proceeded, either absenting themselves with the utmost indifference in those conjunctions whereon the whole cause depended, or siding directly with the enemy.

I very well remember, when this ministry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among such as are called the higher Tories or churchmen, that quicker progress was not made in removing those of the discontented party out of employments. I remember likewise the reasonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inside of the court; some supposed the queen was at first prevailed upon to make that great change with no other view than that of acting for the future upon a moderating scheme, in order to reconcile both parties; and I believe there might possibly have been some grounds for this supposition. Others conceived the employments were left undisposed of, in order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates than ever could be gratified. Tl has since been looked on as a very high strain of politics, and to have succeeded accordingly; because it is the opinion of many that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in order if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined, and thought it neither wise nor safe wholly to extinguish all opposition from the other side, because in the nature of things it was absolutely necessary that there should be parties in an English parliament; and a faction already odious to the people might be suffered to continue with less danger than any new one that could arise. To confirm this it was said that the majority in the

[1] Deserters from either party, Whig or Tory.

house of commons was too great on the side of the high-church, and began to form themselves into a body (by the name of the October Club), in order to put the ministry under subjection. Lastly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office was urged as an irrefragable reason for making changes by slow degrees. To discard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commission, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reason but differing in some principles of government, might be of terrible consequence.

However, it is certain that none of these excuses were able to pass among men who argued only from the principles of general reason. For, first, they looked upon all schemes of comprehension to be as visionary and impossible in the state as in the church. Secondly, while the spirit raised by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell continued in motion, men were not so keen upon coming in themselves as to see their enemies out and deprived of all assistance to do mischief: and it is urged further that this general ambition of hunting after places grew chiefly from seeing them so long undisposed of, and from too general an encouragement by promises to all who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt. Thirdly, the fear of creating another party in case the present faction were wholly subdued was, in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the situation of our affairs, too great a sacrifice of the nation's safety to the genius of politics; considering how much was to be done and how little time might probably be allowed. Besides the division of a house of commons into court and country parties, which was the evil they seemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good ministry who had the true interest and constitution of their country at heart; as for the apprehension of too great a majority in the house of commons, it appeared to be so vain that upon some points of importance the court was hardly able to procure one. And the October Club, which appeared so formidable at first to some politicians, proved in the sequel to be the chief support of those who suspected them. It was likewise very well known that the greatest part of those men whom the former ministry left in possession of employments were loudly charged with insufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government; so that it would have been a matter of some difficulty to make a worse choice; beside that the plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment upon the score of their abilities

was thought to be extended a little too far and construed to take in all employments whatsoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would serve to qualify a gentleman-usher at court: so that this last excuse for the very slow steps made in disarming the adversaries of the crown was allowed indeed to have more plausibility but less truth than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counsels or actions of the present ministry: their safety and interest are visibly united with those of the public; they are persons of unquestionable abilities, altogether unsuspected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be further recommended by the dread and hatred of the opposite faction. However it is manifest that the zeal of their friends has been cooling toward them for above two years past; they have been frequently deserted or distressed upon the most pressing occasions, and very near giving up in despair: their characters have been often treated with the utmost barbarity and injustice, in both houses, by scurrilous and enraged orators; while their nearest friends, and even those who must have a share in their disgrace, never offered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myself what occasions the ministry have given for this coldness, inconstancy, and discontent among their friends, I at the same time recollect the various conjectures, reasonings, and suspicions which have run so freely for three y past concerning the designs of the court: I do not only mean such conjectures as are born in a coffeehouse or invented by the lie of a party, but also the conclusions (however mistaken) of w good men, whose quality and station fitted them to understand reason of public proceedings, and in whose power it lay to rec mend or disgrace an administration to the people. I must there fore take the boldness to assert that all these discontents, how ruin ous soever they may prove in the consequences, have most unne cessarily arisen from the want of a due communication and concert Every man must have a light sufficient for the length of the wa he is appointed to go: there is a degree of confidence due to al stations: and a petty constable will neither act cheerfully nor wisel without that share of it which properly belongs to him: althoug the main-spring of a watch be out of sight, there is an inter dia communication between it and the smallest wheel, or else no motion could be performed. This reserved mysterious way of ing upon points where there appeared not the least occasion for

towards persons who at least in right of their posts expected a e open treatment, was imputed to some hidden design, which w r man conjectured to be the very thing he was most afraid of Those who professed the height of what is called the church prin- le, suspected that a comprehension was intended wherein the derate men on both sides might be equally employed. Others went further, and dreaded such a comprehension as directly tend- ing to bring the old exploded principles and persons once more into play. Again, some affected to be uneasy about the succession, and seemed to think there was a view of introducing that person, what- ever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance. Others, especially of late, surmised on the contrary that the demands of the house of Hanover were industriously fomented by some in power, without the privity of the —— or ——. Now, although these ac- cusations were too inconsistent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciously suffered to pass, and thereby took off much of that popu- larity of which those at the helm stood in need to support them under the difficulties of a long perplexing negotiation, a daily addi- tion of public debts, and an exhausted treasury.

But the effects of this mystical manner of proceeding did not end here: for the late dissensions between the great men at court (which have been for some time past the public entertainment of every coffeehouse) are said to have arisen from the same fountain; while on one side very great reserve, and certainly very great re- sentment on the other, if we may believe general report (for I pre- tend to know no further), have inflamed animosities to such a height as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Supposing this to be true, it may serve for a great lesson of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and passions of men, otherwise highly accom- plished, triumphing over interest, friendship, honor, and their own personal safety, as well as that of their country, and probably of a most gracious princess who had intrusted it to them. A ship's crew quarrelling in a storm, or while their enemies are within gun- shot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation: of which, although it be hard to say enough, some people may think perhaps I have already said too much.

Since this unhappy incident the desertion of friends and loss of reputation have been so great, that I do not see how the ministers could have continued many weeks in their stations if their opposers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they should be

ruined: and their preservation hitherto seems to resemble his who had two poisons given him together of contrary operations.

It may seem very impertinent in one of my level to point out to those who sit at the helm what course they ought to steer. I know enough of courts to be sensible how mean an opinion great ministers have of most men's understandings; to a degree that in any other science would be called the grossest pedantry. However, unless I offer my sentiments in this point, all I have hitherto said will be to no purpose.

The general wishes and desires of a people are perhaps more obvious to other men than to ministers of state. There are two points of the highest importance wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. First, that the church of England should be preserved entire in all her rights, powers, and privileges; all doctrines relating to government discouraged which she condemns; all schisms, sects, and heresies discountenanced and kept under due subjection, as far as consists with the lenity of our constitution; her open enemies (among whom I include at least dissenters of all denominations) not trusted with the smallest degree of civil or military power; and her secret adversaries, under the names of Whigs, low church, republicans, moderation-men, and the like, receive no marks of favor from the crown but what they should deserve by a sincere reformation.

Had this point been steadily pursued in all its parts for three years past and asserted as the avowed resolution of the court, there must probably have been an end of faction, which has been able ever since with so much vigor to disturb and insult the administration. I know very well that some refiners pretend to argue for the usefulness of parties in such a government as ours; I have said something of this already, and have heard a great many idle wise topics upon the subject. But I shall not argue that matter at present: I suppose, if a man think it necessary to play with a serpent, he will choose one of a kind that is least mischievous; otherwise, although it appears to be crushed, it may have life enough to sting him to death. So I think it is not safe tampering with the present faction, at least in this juncture: first, because their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the constitution in church and state; secondly, because they are highly irritated with the loss of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute everything that rage or malice can suggest; but princi-

because they have prevailed, by misrepresentations and other
es, to make the successor look upon them as the only persons
n trust: upon which account they cannot be too soon or too
disabled: neither will England ever be safe from the attempts
is wicked confederacy until their strength and interests shall
far reduced that for the future it shall not be in the power of
rown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body
n, to choose an ill majority in the house of commons.
e step very necessary to this great work will be to regulate the
and chiefly those troops which in their turns have the care
r majesty's person; who are most of them fitter to guard a
e under a high court of justice than seated on the throne.
peculiar hand of Providence has hitherto preserved her ma-
, encompassed, whether sleeping or travelling, by her enemies;
ce religion teaches us that Providence ought not to be
ed, it is ill venturing to trust that precious life any longer to
who, by their public behavior and discourse, discover their
ience to see it at an end, that they may have liberty to be the
uments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and
own. It should be well remembered what a satisfaction these
men (after the example of their betters) were so sanguine to
upon the queen's last illness at Windsor, and what threaten-
hey used of refusing to obey their general in case that illness
roved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to suspect
n such an evil day an enraged faction would be highly pleased
the power of the sword, and with great connivance leave it so
unsheathed until they were got rid of their most formidable
saries. In the mean time it must be a very melancholy pros-
that whenever it shall please God to visit us with this cala-
those who are paid to be defenders of the civil power will
ready for any acts of violence that a junto, composed of the
st enemies to the constitution, shall think fit to enjoin them.
e other point of great importance is the security of the protes-
uccession in the house of Hanover; not from any partiality to
llustrious house further than it has had the honor to mingle
the blood royal of England, and is the nearest branch of our
line reformed from popery. This point has one advantage
he former that both parties profess to desire the same blessing
sterity, but differ about the means of securing it. Whence i
ome to pass that the protestant succession, in appearance t...

desire of the whole nation, has proved the greatest topic of slander, jealousy, suspicion, and discontent.

I have been so curious to ask several acquaintances among the opposite party, whether they or their leaders did really suspect there had been ever any design in the ministry to weaken the succession in favor of the pretender or of any other person whatsoever. Some of them freely answered in the negative; others were of the same opinion, but added they did not know what might be done in time and upon further provocations; others again seemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plausible grounds for their belief. I have likewise been assured by a person of some consequence, that during a very near and constant familiarity with the great men at court for four years past, he never could observe, even in those hours of conversation where there is usually least restraint, that one word ever passed among them to show a dislike to the present settlement; although they would sometimes lament that the false representations of theirs and the kingdom's enemies had made some impressions in the mind of the successor. As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can safely affirm that, excepting those who are nonjurors by profession, I have not met with above two persons who appeared to have any scruples concerning the present limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced that the number of those who wish to see the son of the abdicated prince upon the throne is altogether inconsiderable. I further, I believe it will be found that there are none who so much dread any attempt he shall make for the recovery of his imagined rights as the Roman Catholics of England; who love their freedom and properties too well to desire his entrance by a French army and a field of blood; who must continue upon the same foot if he changes his religion, and must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers if he should happen to fail.

As to the person of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of disadvantages; the vulgar imagine him to have been a child imposed upon the nation by the fraudulent zeal of his parents and their bigoted counsellors; who took special care against all the rules of common policy to educate him in their hateful superstition, sucked in with his milk and confirmed in his manhood, too strongly to be now shaken by Mr. Lesley; and a counterfeit conversion will be too gross to pass upon the kingdom after what we have seen and suffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewise said

to be of weak intellectuals and an unsound constitution; he was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France even during the war; is now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a small exhibition; he is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle; his father's friends are most of them dead, the rest antiquated or poor. Six-and-twenty years have almost passed since the Revolution, and the bulk of those who are now most in action either at court, in parliament, or public offices, were then boys at school or the universities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logic of the highest Tories is now, that this was the establishment they found as soon as they arrived at a capacity of judging; that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore had no crime to answer for if it were any; that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in pursuance of laws made ever since their remembrance, by which all papists are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by; that they will no more dispute king William III.'s title than king William I.'s; since they must have recourse to history for both; that they have been instructed in the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and hereditary right, and find them all necessary for preserving the present establishment in church and state, and for continuing the succession in the house of Hanover; and must in their own opinion renounce all those doctrines by setting up any other title to the crown. This, I say, seems to be the political creed of all the high principled men I have for some time met with of forty years old and under; which, although I do not pretend to justify in every part, yet I am sure it sets the protestant succession upon a much firmer foundation than all the indigested schemes of those who profess to act upon what they call Revolution principles.

Neither should it perhaps be soon forgotten that, during the greatest licentiousness of the press, while the sacred character of the queen was every day insulted in factious papers and ballads, not the least reflecting insinuation ever appeared against the Hanover family, whatever occasion was offered to intemperate pens by the rashness or indiscretion of one or two ministers from thence.

From all these considerations I must therefore lay it down as an incontestable truth that the succession to these kingdoms in the illustrious house of Hanover is as firmly secured as the nature of the thing can possibly admit; by the oaths of all those who are intrusted

with any office, by the very principles of those who are termed the high church, by the general inclinations of the people, by the insignificancy of that person who claims it from inheritance, and the little assistance he can expect either from princes abroad or adherents at home.

However, since the virulent opposers of the queen and her administration have so far prevailed by their emissaries at the court of Hanover, and by their practices upon one or two ignorant, unmannerly messengers from thence, as to make the elector desire some further security, and send over a memorial here to that end, the great question is how to give reasonable satisfaction to his highness, and (what is infinitely of greater consequence) at the same time consult the honor and safety of the queen, whose quiet possession is of much more consequence to us of the present age than his reversion. The substance of his memorial, if I retain it right, is to desire that some one of his family might live in England, with such a maintenance as is usual to those of the royal blood, and that certain titles should be conferred upon the rest, according to ancient custom. The memorial does not specify which of the family should be invited to reside here; and if it had, I believe however her majesty would have looked upon it as a circumstance left to her own choice.

But as all this is most manifestly unnecessary in itself, and only in compliance with the mistaken doubts of a presumptive heir; so the nation would (to speak in the language of Mr. Steele) expect that her majesty should be made perfectly easy from that side for the future; no more to be alarmed with apprehensions of visits, or demands of writs, where she has not thought fit to give any invitation. The nation would likewise expect that there should be an end of all private commerce between that court and the leaders of a party here; and that his electoral highness should declare himself entirely satisfied with all her majesty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad, her choice of ministers at home, and particularly in her most gracious condescensions to his request: that he would upon all proper occasions, and in the most public manner, discover his utter dislike of factious persons and principles, but especially of that party which under the pretence or shelter of his protection has so long disquieted the kingdom: and lastly, that he would acknowledge the goodness of the queen and justice of the nation in so fully securing the succession to his family.

It is indeed a problem which I could never comprehend, why the court of Hanover, who have all along thought themselves so perfectly secure in the affections, the principles, and the professions of the low church party, should not have endeavored, according to the usual politics of princes, to gain over those who are represented as their enemies; since these supposed enemies had made so many advances, were in possession of all the power, had framed the very settlement to which that illustrious family owes its claim, had all of them abjured the pretender, were now employed in the great offices of state, and composed a majority in both houses of parliament. Not to mention that the queen herself, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This one would think might be a strength sufficient not only to obstruct but to bestow a succession: and since the presumed heir could not but be perfectly secure of the other party, whose greatest avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights, it must therefore surely have been worth his while to have made at least one step toward cultivating a fair correspondence with the power in possession. Neither could those who are called his friends have blamed him, or with the least decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why might not the reasons of this proceeding in the elector be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavor to believe that his highness is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced that no true member of the church of England can easily be shaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation. That these are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keep only fair with the others from a true notion he has of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of interest or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his highness cannot sure but entertain a very high esteem of such ministers, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a successor's utmost displeasure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is supposed alone to favor, and to be guided entirely in his judgment of British affairs and persons by their opinions.

But to return from this digression: the presence of that infant prince among us could not, I think in any sort, be inconsistent with the safety of the queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or exposed in his person by vicious com-

panions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might represent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court, by affecting German modes and refinements in dress or behavior: nor would there be any occasion of insinuating to him how much more his levee was frequented than the antechamber of St. James's. Add to all this the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of government, each so very different from those he would leave behind. By which likewise he might be highly useful to his father, if that prince should happen to survive her majesty.

The late king William, who, after his marriage with the lady Mary of England, could have no propable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's husband (the duke of York having a young wife), was no stranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princess; which I observe the rather, because I could heartily wish the like disposition were in another court, and because it may be disagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a sudden, or speak to his subjects by an interpreter.

An ill-natured or inquisitive man may still perhaps desire to pi the question further, by asking what is to be done in case it should so happen that this malevolent working party at home has cre enough with the court of Hanover to continue the suspicion, jealousy, and uneasiness there, against the queen and her ministry; to make such demands be still insisted on as are by no means thought proper to be complied with; and in the mean time to stand at arms' length with her majesty and in close conjunction with those who oppose her.

I take the answer to be easy: in all contests the safest way is to put those we dispute with as much in the wrong as we can. When her majesty shall have offered such or the like concessions as I have above mentioned, in order to remove those scruples artificially raised in the mind of the expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is supposed to have been misled, she has done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her case, and will be justified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of those who now side

against the court will probably be more temperate; and if a due despatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of such as wish well to the constitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or interest of a successor to gratify so small a faction as will probably then remain, at the expense of a much more numerous and considerable part of his subjects. Neither do I see how the principles of such a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, because I think Luther and Calvin seem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers; and because a German prince will probably be suspicious of those who think they can never depress the prerogative enough.

But supposing once for all as far as possible that the elector should utterly refuse to be upon any terms of confidence with the present ministry and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the succession; nor easy with the queen herself but upon such conditions as will not be thought consistent with her safety and honor; and continue to place all his hopes and trust in the discontented party: I think it were humbly to be wished that whenever the succession shall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince should be made by himself, and not by his deputies; because I am of opinion that the clause empowering the successor to appoint a latent, unlimited number, additional to the seven regents named in the act, went upon a supposition that the secret committee would be of such whose enmity and contrary principles disposed them to confound the rest. King William, whose title was much more controverted than that of her majesty's successor can ever probably be, did for several years leave the administration of the kingdom in the hands of lords-justices during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himself was frequently attempting an invasion; whence one might imagine that the regents appointed by parliament upon the demise of the crown would be able to keep the peace during an absence of a few weeks without any colleagues. However, I am pretty confident that the only reason why a power was given of choosing dormant viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a necessity to invite over any of the family here during her majesty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the elector can use to insist upon both.

To conclude: the only way of securing the constitution in church and state, and consequently this very protestant succession itself, will be by lessening the power of our domestic adversaries as much

as can possibly consist with the lenity of our government; and if this be not speedily done, it will be easy to point where the na ı is to fix the blame; for we are well assured that since the acc her majesty received of the cabals, the triumphs, the insolent behavior of the whole faction during her late illness at Windsor, she has been as willing to see them deprived of all power to do chief as any of her most zealous and loyal subjects can desire.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE CONSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED FROM THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN, AUGUST 9, 1714.

In order to set in a clear light what I have to say upon this subject, it will be convenient to examine the state of the nation with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done without some little retrospection into the five last years of her late majesty's reign.

I have it from unquestionable authority that the duchess of Marlborough's favor began to decline very soon after the queen's accession to the throne, and that the earl Godolphin's held not much above two years longer; although her majesty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin havi fallen early into the interests of the lower party for certain reasons not seasonable here to be mentioned (but which may deserve a place in the history of that reign), they made large steps that way upon the death of the prince of Denmark, taking several among the warmest leaders of that side into the chief employments of state. Mr. Harley, then secretary of state, who disliked their proceedings and had very near overthrown their whole scheme, was removed with the utmost indignation; and about the same time sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. St. John, with some others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the queen, who had then a great esteem for the person and abilities of Mr. Harley (and in proportion of the other two, although

t that time not equally known to her), was deprived of his service rith some regret; and upon that and other motives well known at ourt, began to think herself hardly used; and several stories ran bout, whether true or false, that her majesty was not always treated th that duty she might expect. Meantime the church party were l in their complaints; surmising from the virulence of several amphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavors to repeal the sacramental test, from the avowed principles and free speeches of some persons in power, and other jealousies needless to repeat, that ill designs were forming against the religion established. These fears were all confirmed by the trial of Sacheverell, which drew the populace, as one man, into the party against the ministry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious that the queen had still a reserve of favor for Mr. Harley, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal; for the earl of Godolphin's coach and his happening to meet near Kensington, the earl, a few hours after, reproached the queen that she privately admitted Mr. Harley, and was not without some difficulty undeceived by her majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial this gentleman, by the queen's command and the intervention of Mrs. Masham, was brought up the back stairs, and that princess, spirited by the addresses from all parts, which showed the inclinations of her subjects to be very averse from the proceedings in court and parliament, was resolved to break the united power of the Marlborough and Godolphin families, and to begin this work by taking the disposal of employments into her own hands, for which an opportunity happened by the death of the earl of Essex, lieutenant of the Tower, whose employment was given to the earl Rivers, to the great discontent of the duke of Marlborough, who intended it for the duke of Northumberland, then colonel of the Oxford regiment, to which the earl of Hertford was to succeed. Some time after the chamberlain's staff was disposed of to the duke of Shrewsbury in the absence and without the privity of the earl of Godolphin. The earl of Sunderland's removal followed; and lastly, that of the high treasurer himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof Mr. Harley (made at the same time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other removals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it suffice that in eight or nine months' time

the whole face of the court was altered, and very few frie
former ministry left in any great stations there.

I have good reason to be assured that when the queen l
change she had no intentions to carry it so far as the chu
expected, and have since been so impatient to see. For
she was a true professor of the religion established, yet
motives to this alteration did not arise from any dang
hended to that or the government, but from a desire to g
the dominion of some who she thought had kept her too
too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremel
and timorous, yet upon some occasions positive to a grea
And when she had got rid of those who had as she thou
her the most uneasiness, she was inclined to stop and en
fancy of acting upon a moderating scheme, whence it was
ficult to remove her. At the same-time I must confess m
that this imagination was put into her head, and made use
encouragement to begin that work, after which her advis
think it easier to prevail with her to go as far as they th
That these were her majesty's dispositions in that conjunc
be confirmed by many instances. In the very height of th
she appeared very loth to part with two great officers of
other party, and some whose absence the new ministers m
estly wished held in for above two years after.

Mr. Harley, who acted as first minister before he had th
he was a lover of gentle measures and inclined to procr
so he could not with any decency press the queen too muc
her nature, because it would be like running upon the r
his predecessor had split. But violent rumors running
the kingdom and the new parliament against the princ
persons of the low-church party, gave this minister a ver
part to play. The warm members in both houses, especial
the commons, pressed for a thorough change, and so did
the queen's new servants, especially after Mr. Harley
earl and high treasurer. He could not in good policy own
of power, nor fling the blame upon his mistress. And as
secrecy was one of his faults, he would often upon these
keep his nearest friends in the dark. The truth is, he l
other views, which were better suited to the maxims of s
neral than to that situation of affairs. By leaving many
ments in the hands of the discontented party he fell in

n's humor; he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity; and a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to while anything remained undisposed of. He seemed also to , as other ministers have done, that, since factions are neces- in such a government as ours, it would be prudent not altoge- to lay the present one prostrate, lest another more plausible, therefore not so easy to grapple with, might arise in its stead. However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjustly laid on him. He had no favorites among the Whig party, whom he kept in upon the score of old friendship or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the rest of the ministry together.

AN INQUIRY
INTO THE BEHAVIOR OF
THE QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,
WITH RELATION TO THEIR QUARRELS AMONG THEMSELVES, AND THE DESIGN CHARGED UPON THEM OF ALTERING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN.

SINCE the death of the queen it was reasonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and speculations, besides the scene and station I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compass, and being wholly excluded from any view of favor under the present administration, upon that invincible reason of having been in some degree of trust and confidence with the former, I have not found the transition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified, both by nature and education.

The reading of and inquiring after news not being one of my diversions, having always disliked a mixed and general conversation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and being placed by the duties of my function at a great distance from the seat of business, I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world; only from the little I know and hear it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage to a

degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable con between people of different parties; and what the consequen this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the which I thank God is no concern of mine.

There are two points with reference to the conduct of th ministry much insisted on, and little understood by those who or talk upon that subject, wherein I am sufficiently qual give satisfaction, and would gladly do it, because I see very weight laid upon each and most men's opinion of persons and regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having lost all of any reconcilement between the treasurer and the rest (ministry, I retired into the country to await the issue of that flict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in th of Oxford's disgrace, to whom the lord Bolingbroke imme succeeded as first minister; and I was told that an earldom a Garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the tr staff against the next session of parliament, of which I c nothing certain, being then in Berkshire, and receiving this a from some of his friends. But all these schemes became abortive, by the death of the queen, which happened in three after the earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event I took the first opportunity of witl ing to my place of residence, and rejoiced as much as any his majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then th and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procu the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly mental. And I thank God I have been ever since a loyal l spectator during all the changes that have happened, alth were no secret to any man of common sagacity that his majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should hap succeed, would be determined to those who most opposed th ceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign I think there has not since happened one particular of any which the ministers did not often mention at their tables a they certainly expected from the disposition of the court at H in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all oc publicly disapproved their proceedings, excepting only the a of the duke of Ormond, which indeed neither they nor I, believe any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pre

:; and now it is done, it looks like a dream to those who
er the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors,
his own; his long unspotted loyalty, his affability, generosity,
sweetness of nature. I knew him long and well, and excepting
frailties of his youth, which had been for some years over, and
t easiness of temper which did sometimes lead him to follow
judgment of those who had by many degrees less understand-
than himself, I have not conversed with a more faultless person;
great justice and charity; a true sense of religion without osten-
n; of undoubted valor, thoroughly skilled in his trade of a
lier; a quick and ready apprehension, with a good share of
erstanding, and a general knowledge in men and history, although
some disadvantage by an invincible modesty, which however
i not but render him yet more amiable to those who had the
ior and happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with him.
s is a short imperfect character of that great person, the duke
of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treason, and therefore I
ll not presume to offer one syllable in his vindication upon that
against the decision of a parliament. Yet this I think may
allowed me to believe, or at least to hope, that when, by the
direct and repeated commands of the queen his mistress, he committed those faults for which he has now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himself to be acting high treason than he did when he was wounded and a prisoner at Landen for his sovereign king William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon this occasion, although I am sensible it is an old precept of wisdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I consider, at the same time, how easily some men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain stupidity or ill nature, without any strain of philosophy; and although the uncertainty of human things be one of the most obvious reflections in morality, yet such unexpected, sudden, and signal instances of it as have lately happened among us are so much out of the usual form that a wise man may perhaps be allowed to start and look aside, as at a sudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune, who, having singled out three persons from among the rest of mankind, on whose friendship and protection I might depend, whose

conversation I most valued and chiefly confined myself to, should live to see them all within the compass of a year accused of high treason; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the issue. As my own heart was free from all treasonable thoughts, so I did little imagine myself to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But the fashion of this world passeth away. Having already said something of the duke of Ormond, I shall add a little toward the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with so many advantages of nature and fortune as the late secretary Bolingbroke: descended from the best families in England, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferior in degree to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God has yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study, the latter of which he seldom omitted even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer; for although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for some time to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious, yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals, whereof I have reason to believe he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account he had a great respect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, especially the latter, whom he would be gladly thought to resemble. His detractors charged him with some degree of affectation, and perhaps not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him and the applause of the whole, to escape some tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to business, was a most artful negotiator, and perfectly understood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper was his prodigious application whenever he thought it necessary; for he would plod whole days and nights like the lowest clerk in an office. His talent of speaking in public, for which he was so very much celebrated, I know nothing of except from the

i ıations of others; but understanding men of both parties e assured me that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The earl of Oxford is a person of as much virtue as can possibly consist with the love of power; and his love of power is no greater than what is common to men of his superior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it less after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only instance that ever fell within my memory or observation of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceivable impression upon his temper or behavior. As his own birth was illustrious, being descended from the heirs general of the Veres and the Mortimers, so he seemed to value that accidental advantage in himself and others more than it could pretend to deserve. He abounded in good nature and good humor, although subject to passion, as I have heard it affirmed by others and owned by himself; which, however, he kept under the strictest government, till toward the end of his ministry, when he began to grow soured and to suspect his friends, and perhaps thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favorer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he caressed without distinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them should be his enemies: and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be so; at least if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets published against him, which he frequently read by way of amusement, with a most unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion so much as by appearing uneasy when the dealers in that kind of writing first began to pour out their scurrilities against me; which he thought was a weakness altogether inexcusable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greatest variety of knowledge that I have anywhere met with, was a perfect master of the learned languages, and well skilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory and a most exact judgment. In drawing up any state-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in so strong and clear a light. Although his style were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend, yet often to save time he would leave the smaller alterations to others. I have heard that he spoke but seldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our

constitution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments, which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause; his sagacity was such that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right and themselves in the wrong. He was utterly a stranger to fear; and consequently had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality and contempt of money were such that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the representation of others, except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety, nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were at least as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: and I rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better: of which, among others, the late earl of Sunderland and the present lord Somers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances; who used to talk in so frank a manner that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and by that appearance of confidence would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, that he has seldom or never communicated anything which was of importance to be concealed wherein he has not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to. Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination or delay: which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and minister better matched than his sovereign and he

upon that article: and, therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewise heavily charged with the common court vice of promising very liberally and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet I am confident his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe that those whom he talked well of or suffered to be often near him were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt or dislike was no hinderance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honor for almost four years of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass that men of exalted abilities when they are called to public affairs are generally drawn into inconveniences and misfortunes, which others of ordinary talents avoid; whereof there appear so many examples, both ancient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the case of Themistocles, Aristides, Scipio, and others; and of sir Walter Raleigh, the earls of Clarendon and Strafford, here in England. But I look upon it that God, intending the government of a nation in the several branches and subordinations of power, has made the science of governing sufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwise the world would be left in a desolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the most fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation; among which, princes, who of all other mortals are the worst educated, have twenty millions to one against them that they shall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the same reasons, are against every one of noble birth or great estates.

Accordingly we find that the dullest nations, ancient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or persons qualified for administration. But I take the infelicity of such extraordinary men to have been caused by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of little helps and little hindrances; which is made by Hobbes the definition of magnanimity: and this contempt, as it certainly displeases the people in general, so it gives offence to all with whom such ministers have to deal: for I never yet knew a minister who was not earnestly desirous to have it thought that the art of government was a most profound science; whereas, it requires no more in reality than diligence, honesty, and a moderate share of plain natural sense. And, therefore, men thus qualified may very reasonably and justly think that the business of the world is best brought about by regularity and forms wherein themselves excel. For I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise from the practice of some refined ministers to act in common business out of the common road, than from all the usual topics of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life and among all societies or communities; where no men are better trusted, or have more success in business, than those who, with some honesty and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place, and method; and, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their colleagues and the public than a contempt or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superior genius and an equal desire of doing good: which has made me sometimes say to a great person of this latter character, that a small infusion of the alderman was necessary to those who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occasion I cannot forget a very trifling instance, that, one day observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, the sharpness of the instrument occasioned its moving so irregularly and crooked that he spoiled the whole sheet; whereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which directed by a little strength and a steady hand never failed to go right.

But to return from this long digression: about a fortnight after the queen's death I came to my place of residence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by several of my acquaintance of both parties, and soon learned that what they objected was

the general sense of the rest. Those of the church side made me a thousand reproaches upon the slowness and inactivity of my friends, upon their foolish quarrels with each other for no visible cause, and thereby sacrificing the interests of the church and kingdom to their private piques; and that they had neglected to cultivate the favor and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of these gentlemen's displeasure fell upon the earl of Oxford: "That he had acted a trimming part; was never thoroughly in the interest of the church, but held separate commerce with the adverse party: that, either from his negligence, procrastinating nature, or some sinister end, he had let slip many opportunities of strengthening the church's friends; that he undertook more business than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the rest of the ministers." Many facts were likewise mentioned which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I shall only take notice of one relating to Ireland, where he kept four bishoprics undisposed of, though often and most earnestly pressed to have them filled; by which omission the church interest of that kingdom in the house of lords is in danger of being irrecoverably lost.

Those who discoursed with me after this manner did at the same time utterly renounce all regard for the pretender; and mentioned with pleasure the glorious opportunity then in his majesty's hands of putting an end to party distinctions for the time to come; and the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness was lest the zeal of the party in power might not perhaps represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers and men in hopes by the queen's death talked with great freedom in a very different style: they all directly asserted "That the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the pretender," although they would sometimes a little demur upon the earl of Oxford; and by a more modern amendment they charged the same accusation without any reserve upon the late queen herself. "That if her majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable." But in that juncture it happened (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) things were not ripe. "That this accusation would in a short time infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noonday to all the world." And the consequences naturally following from these positions were, "That the leaders ought to lose their

heads, and all their abettors be utterly stripped of power and favor."

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature, it may perhaps be either of some use or satisfaction to examine those two points; that is to say, first, how far these ministers are answerable to their friends for their neglect, mismanagement, and mutual dissensions; and secondly, with what justice they are accused by their enemies for endeavoring to alter the succession of the crown in favor of the pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occasionally done this already in two several treatises, of which the one is a history,[1] and the other memoirs[2] of particular facts, but neither of them fit to see the light at present, because they abound with characters freely drawn and many of them not very amiable, and therefore intended only for the instructing of the next age and establishing the reputation of those who have been useful to their country in the present. At the same time I take this opportunity of assuring those who may happen some years hence to read the history I have written, that the blackest characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the least mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expose the odiousness of vice; for I have always held it as a maxim that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an historian, who indeed has it in his power to reward virtue but not to punish vice; because I never yet saw a profligate person who seemed to have the least regard in what manner his name should be transmitted to posterity; and I knew a certain lord [earl of Wharton], not long since dead, who I am very confident would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice whether he should be represented to future ages as an Atticus or a Catiline.

However, being firmly resolved, for very material reasons, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power, I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances during the four last years of queen Anne's reign which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church-party who object against the unsteadiness, neglect, and want of concert in the last ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

[1] Of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne.

[2] Relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry in 1710.

It is most certain that when the queen first began to change her servants it was not from a dislike of things but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular would be *incidere per ignes*. It was the issue of Dr. Sacheverell's trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low-church party, knowing that her displeasure went no further than against one single family, did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances. But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation against the parliament that her majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which I am confident she did not at first intend. Upon this resolution, delivered by the queen in council in a more determinate manner than was usual with her, as I was particularly informed by my lord Somers, then president, some who were willing to sacrifice one or two persons would not sacrifice their cause, but immediately flew off, and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to resign their employments, which the queen suffered most of them to do with the utmost regret, and which those who knew her best thought to be real, especially lord Somers and lord Cowper, for whom she had as great a personal regard and esteem as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned without the least assistance from the court: whether to gain a reputation of impartiality where they were secure, or, as Mr. Harley's detractors would have it (who was then minister), from a refinement of his politics, not to suffer upon the account of I know not what wise reasons too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met they soon began to discover more zeal than the queen expected or desired. She had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehensive scheme, which she maintained with great firmness, nor would ever depart from until half a year before her death; but this neither the house of commons nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture since; several country members, to almost a third part of the house, began immediately to form themselves into a body under a fantastic name of the October Club. These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and

expected that when the session ended a general removal would be made; but it happened otherwise, for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess appeared to me wholly unaccountable and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard and partly knew, "That he acted thus to keep men at his devotion by letting expectation lie in common;" for I found the effect did not answer, and that in the mean time he led so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him. His answer was short and cold: "That he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and queen were employed; but that all things could not be done on a sudden." I have reason to believe that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while in reality he had little or none; and, besides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himself rather than lay it upon the queen his mistress, who was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious, and from the opinion of having been formerly too much directed, fell into the other extreme and became difficult to be advised. So that few ministers had ever perhaps a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship in appearance than what I observed between those three great men who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, "I would venture to prophesy that, however inconstant our court had hitherto been, their ministry would certainly last, for they had the church, the crown, and the people entirely on their side: then it happened that the public good and their private interest had the same bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that does not always fall to the share of men in power. But principally because I observed they heartily loved one another, and I did not see how their

kindness could be disturbed by competition, since each of them seemed contented with his own district; so that, notwithstanding the old maxim which pronounces court friendships to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives." But it seems the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred, contrary to all appearances and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees and from what causes their dissensions grew I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. Harley was stabbed by Guiscard, the writer of a weekly paper called the Examiner, taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, "That the French assassin confessed he at first intended to have murdered Mr. secretary St. John; who, sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other." Whether the secretary had been thus informed or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn: but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which by a very unfair decision derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. St. John, and left Mr. Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: of both which, although he had a sufficient share (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life), yet I am confident the time of his illness was a period of more quiet and ease than he ever enjoyed during the rest of his administration. This report was not unresented by Mr. Harley's friends; and the rather because the fact was directly otherwise, as it soon appeared by Guiscard's confession.

While that minister lay ill of his wound and his life in question, the weight of business fell in some measure upon the secretary, who was not without ambition; which I confess I have seldom found among the wants of great men: and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs in case Mr. Harley should die; although at the same time I must do justice to Mr. St. John, by repeating what he said to me with great appearance of concern (and he was but an ill dissembler), "That if Mr. Harley's accident should prove fatal it would be an irreparable loss: that as things then stood, his life was absolutely necessary: that as to himself he was not master of the scheme by

which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the queen; neither did he see how it would be possible for him in such a case to wade through the difficulties they were then under." However, not to be over-particular in so nice a point, thus much is certain, that some things happened during Mr. Harley's confinement which bred a coldness and jealousy between those two great men, and these, increasing by many subsequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was soon followed by his promotion to an earldom and the treasurer's staff, he was earnestly pressed to go on with the charge of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The queen having thought fit to take the key from the duchess of Marlborough, it was after some time given to another great lady, wholly in the interest of the opposite party; who by a most obsequious behavior, of which she is a perfect mistress, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual access, quickly won so far upon the affections of her majesty, that she had more personal credit than all the queen's servants put together. Of this lady's character and story, having spoken so much in other papers which may one day see the light, I shall only observe that, as soon as she was fixed in her station, the queen, following the course of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavors were indeed used to divert her majesty from this choice: but she continued steady, and pleaded "That, if she might not have liberty to choose her own servants, she could not see what advantage she had gotten by the change of her ministry:" and so little was her heart set upon what they call a high-church or Tory administration, that several employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commissions, remained in the hands of those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the earl of Nottingham was pleased to prepare and offer a vote in the house of lords against any peace while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice; and by casting up the numbers concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was desired and promised to speak to a certain lord who was looked upon as dubious. That lord

attended accordingly; but heard not a word of the matter from her majesty, although she afterward owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony grossly deceived, and the vote carried against the court. The queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance, that a person in high station among her domestics, who that day in her presence had shown his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark of distinction and favor, which by his post he could not pretend to; and was not removed from her service but with exceeding difficulty many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried if some persons very near her majesty had not given assurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen; which her behavior seemed to confirm.

But when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her — "That the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of Spain should be found impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had hitherto been vainly endeavored either by treaty or war: that the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burden and charge, especially with annual additions: that other expedients might possibly be found for preventing France and Spain from being united under the same king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: that the design of this vote was to put her majesty under the necessity of dissolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside; and this by sacrificing her present servants to the rage and vengeance of the former;" with many other obvious considerations not very proper at this time to be repeated — her majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient that her own coldness or the treasurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice had left her, which was, to create a number of peers sufficient to turn the balance in the house of lords. I confess that, in my history of those times, where this matter among others is treated with a great deal more liberty, and consequently very unfit for present perusal, I have refined so far as to

conjecture that if this were the treasurer's council he might possibly have given it upon some further views than that of avoiding the consequences of my lord Nottingham's vote. And what those were I suppose I may offer without offence. It is known enough that, from the time of the Revolution to the period I am now speaking of, the favor of the court was almost perpetually turned toward those who in the party term are called Whigs, or the low-church; and this was a space of above 20 years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage, and the bishops' bench almost wholly renewed. But the majority of landed men still retaining the old church principles in religion and government, notwithstanding all endeavors to convert them, the late king was under many insuperable difficulties during the course of his reign; elections seldom succeeding so well as to leave the court side without strenuous opposition, sufficient to carry many points against him which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's succeeding to the crown, the church party, who seemed to have grown more numerous under all discouragements, began to conceive hopes that her majesty, who had always professed to favor their principles, would make use of their service. And indeed upon that foot things stood for some time; but a new war being resolved on, three persons[1] who had most credit with her majesty, and who were then looked upon to be at least as high principled as could possibly consist with the protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against France, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the history above mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a low-church ministry, which continued for several years; till at length grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame (whether justly or not) upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, which in effect was a general muster of both parties, her majesty, following her own inclinations and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry and take Mr. Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that minister says, by the

[1] The duke of Marlborough and the earls of Godolphin and Sunderland.

basest insinuations; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute; although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent lady,[1] upon whose veracity I entirely depend; and who being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular fact wherein she was immediately concerned, and trusted better than any one man or number of men, except the majority of a house of commons.

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church party in the nation outnumbered the other, and especially in the several counties. But in the house of lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majority; nor even could this have been expected if several great lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, the earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and some others, who certainly came into the queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the government of England cannot go on while the two houses of parliament are in opposition to each other, and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men, one of these two things was of necessity to be done; either first to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the Whig stamp, by force of a prodigious expense, which would be neither decent nor safe, and perhaps at that time hardly feasible, or else to turn the balance in the house of lords; which, after the success of lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwise to be done than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order at once to make the queen and her people easy upon that article for the rest of her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the treasurer's meaning when he advised those advancements, which, however, I confess I did very much dislike.

But if after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong, yet I do not see how the treasurer can justly be blamed for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful. Perhaps he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper manage-

[1] There can be no doubt that Mrs. Masham was the conductress of the whole intrigue.

ment; but when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise without unravelling whatever had been done, which, in the language of those times, would have been called delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had so lately got rid of. And I believe no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to take the same step when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace, yet the treasurer's friends began to press him anew for further changes in employments, concluding from what was past that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning, for the queen had no dislike at all to the other party (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them), further than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her majesty resolved to put as speedy an end as she could with honor and safety to her kingdoms, and therefore fell with readiness enough into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But in dispensing her favors she was extremely cautious and slow, and, after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious that she overshot the mark and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but if the treasurer offered at the same time a warrant or other instrument to her, already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent beforehand, she would not, and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or even although the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. secretary St. John, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities the following session in the house of commons; and the peace being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps towards it, which he accordingly did with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was

over, the queen thought fit to give him a title, and that he might not lose his rank created him viscount. There had been an earldom in his name and family lately extinct, though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant, and the secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, "that making him a viscount would be but rigorous justice; and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favor." But the queen could not be prevailed with, because, to say the truth, he was not much at that time in her good graces, some women about the court having infused an opinion into her that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the earl of Oxford, and freely told me that he would never depend upon the earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him than what was necessary for carrying on the public service. And although I have good reason to be assured that the treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and lady Masham then protested to me, yet my lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were so strong that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men began to split the court into parties. Harcourt lord-chancellor, the dukes of Shrewsbury and Argyle, sir William Wyndham, and one or two more, adhered to the secretary; the rest were either neuters or inclined to the treasurer, whether from policy or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting, which the state of affairs at that time could very ill admit, and must have rendered the earl of Oxford inexcusable if the queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents wherewith it must be confessed his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the secretary, but kept them under stricter government. My lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open, and as men of great genius are superior to common rules he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so perhaps the other was too free, not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets, although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity or lightness.

And upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find and lament the ill consequences of them in her affairs both at home and abroad, and to lay the blame upon her treasurer, whose greatest fault in his whole ministry was too much compliance with his mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident that this alteration in the queen's temper toward the earl of Oxford could never have appeared if he had not thought fit to make one step in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Dr. Sacheverell's trial, my lady Masham was very much heard and trusted upon that point, and it was by her intervention Mr. Harley was admitted into her majesty's presence. That lady was then in high favor with her mistress, which I believe the earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind and the incompatibility of power, but the juncture was not favorable for such a refinement, because it was early known to all who had but looked into the court that this lady must have a successor who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My lady Masham was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship; and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen her mistress; talents as seldom found or sought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there; so that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public than a coldness between this lady and the first minister; nor a greater mistake in the latter than to suffer or connive at the lessening of her credit, which he quickly saw removed very disadvantageously to another object [the duchess of Somerset], and wanted the effects of when his own was sunk in the only domestic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favor to the earl was thus gradually lessening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and seemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out some proper opportunity for delivering up his staff, but this her majesty would not then admit, because indeed it was not easy to determine who should succeed him.

In the midst of these dispositions at court, the queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor about Christmas, 1713. It was confidently reported in town that she was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the earl of Wharton's house. Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party, which proceeding men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A messenger was immediately despatched with an account of the queen's illness to the treasurer, who was then in town, and in order to stop the report of her death appeared next day abroad in his chariot with a pair of horses, and did not go down to Windsor till his usual time. Upon his arrival there the danger was over, but not the fright, which still sat on everybody's face, and the account given of the confusion and distraction the whole court had been under is hardly to be conceived, upon which the treasurer said to me, "Whenever anything ails the queen these people are out of their wits, and yet they are so thoughtless that as soon as she is well they act as if she were immortal." I had sufficient reason both before and since to allow his observations to be true, and that some share of it might with justice be applied to himself.

The queen had early notice of this behavior among the discontented leaders during her illness. It was indeed an affair of such a nature as required no aggravation, which however would not have been wanting, the women of both parties who then attended her majesty being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests; and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the constitution either in

church or state. She therefore determined to fall into all just and proper methods that her ministers should advise her to, for the preservation and continuance of both. This I was quickly assured of, not only by the lord-chancellor and lord Bolingbroke, but by the treasurer himself.

I confess myself to have been thoroughly persuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the ministers, by uniting them in pursuing one general interest; and considering no further than what was fittest to be done, I could not easily foresee any objections or difficulties that the earl of Oxford would make. I had for some time endeavored to cultivate the strictest friendship between him and the general [the duke of Ormond], by telling both of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they spoke of each other; and by convincing the latter of what advantage such a union must be to her majesty's service. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horse and foot-guards appointed to attend on the queen's person, several officers took every occasion, with great freedom and bitterness of speech, to revile the ministry upon the subject of the peace and the pretender, not without many gross expressions against the queen herself; such as I suppose will hardly be thought on or attempted; but certainly not suffered, under the present powers; which proceeding, beside the indignity, begot an opinion that her majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court or at the levee of the general or first minister, adjourned to publish their disaffection in coffee-houses and gaming ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three who had gone the greatest lengths should have a price fixed for their commissions somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The duke of Ormond desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed; which sum his grace told me the treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money; and I cannot but say that, having often at the duke's desire pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers as made me think he really intended it. But I was quickly undeceived; for expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great

expressions of esteem and friendship for the duke of Ormond, and mentioning some ill treatment he had received from his friends, he said, "he knew not why he should do other people's work." The truth is, that except the duke, my lord Trevor, and Mr. secretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left of any consequence in her majesty's service. The lord-chancellor [Harcourt], lord Bolingbroke, and lady Masham, openly declared against him; to whom were joined the bishop of Rochester [Dr. Atterbury] and some others. Dartmouth, then privy-seal, and Poulett, lord-steward, stood neuters. The duke of Shrewsbury hated the treasurer, but sacrificed all resentments to ease, profit, and power, and was then in Ireland, acting a part directly opposite to the court, which he had sagacity enough to foresee might quickly turn to account, so that the earl of Oxford stood almost single, and every day found a visible declension of the queen's favor toward him; which he took but little care to redress, desiring nothing so much as leave to deliver up his staff; which, however, as conjunctures then stood, he was not able to obtain, his adversaries not having determined where to place it; neither was it, upon several accounts, a work so proper to be done while the parliament sat, where the ministry had already lost too much reputation, and especially in the house of lords. By what I could gather from several discourses with the treasurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reasoned with himself. The church party continued violently bent to have some necessary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court or in her majesty's service, except the duke of Shrewsbury and one or two more, were in the same opinion. The queen herself, since her last illness at Windsor, had the like dispositions; and I think it may appear from several passages already mentioned that the blame of those delays so often complained of did not originally lie at the earl of Oxford's door. But the state of things was very much changed by several incidents. The chancellor, lord Bolingbroke, and lady Masham, had entirely forsaken him upon suspicions I have mentioned before: which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he never would be at the pains to clear. And as he first lessened his confidence with the queen by pressing her upon those very points for which his friends accused him that they were not performed, so upon her change of sentiments after her recovery he lost all favor and credit with her

for not seconding those new resolutions from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew as well as all others who were near the court that it was hardly possible the queen c survive many months; in which case he must of necessity b upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of t party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done; or if her majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons he continued his excuses to the duke of Ormond for not advancing the money; and during the six last months of his ministry would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time the queen's countenance was wholly changed toward him; she complained of his silence and sullenness, and in return gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the treasurer and lord Bolingbroke, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned, and might very probably have been prevented if the treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both sides had not too much observed the common prudential forms of not caring to intermeddle; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my lord Trevor may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. Prior, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in France at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that th

two great men had hardly a common friend left except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived that what I wanted in weight and credit might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years, and their candor was so great that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders when, upon the queen's being last at Windsor, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment, without other company, where they would have four hours' time to come to a good understanding; but in two days after I learned from them both that nothing was done.

There had been three bishoprics for some time vacant in Ireland; and I had prevailed on the earl of Oxford that one of them should be divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen and approved by her; but upon some difficulties not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed. I pressed the treasurer every week while her majesty was at Windsor, and every day after her return, to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and growing at length impatient of so many excuses I fell into some passion; when his lordship freely told me "that he had been earnest with the queen upon that matter about ten times the last fortnight, but without effect, and that he found his credit wholly at an end." This happened about eleven weeks before the queen died; and two nights after, sitting with him and lord Bolingbroke, in lady Masham's lodgings at St. James's for some hours, I told the treasurer "that, having despaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only stayed some time longer to forward the disposal of those bishoprics in Ireland; which since his lordship told me was out of his power, I now resolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redress nor endure the sight of: that before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions: first, whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and secondly, whether upon the present foot the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months?" Lord Bolingbroke answered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the treasurer after his manner evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkshire to await the issue,

which ended in the removal of my lord-treasurer, and three days after in her majesty's death.

Thus I have with some pains recollected several passages, which I thought were most material for the satisfaction of those who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the ministry. For indeed it looked like a riddle to see persons of gr and undisputed abilities, called by the queen to her service in the place of others with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running on a sudden into such a common beaten court track of ruin, by divisions among themselves; not only without a visible cause but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse of evil instruments or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissension: for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the queen; who, from the variety of hands she had employed and reasonings she had heard since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes, which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice. She had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions which is usually charged upon her sex. And lastly (as I have before observed), having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault was the treasurer, who, not being able to influence the queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known principle of state prudence "That a first minister must always preserve the reputation of power." But I have ever thought that there are few maxims in politics which, at some conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; she was positive in her nature and extremely given to delay. And surely these were no proper qualities for a chief minister to personate toward his nearest friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promises. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preserving at the expense of bringing sincerity into question. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the ministers and one or two friends of the treasurer constantly met to dine at his house, one of the company at-

tacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord who perpetually opposed the queen's measures were not dismissed from a great employment,[1] which, beside other advantages, gave that lord the power of choosing several members of parliament. The treasurer evaded the matter with his usual answer, "That this was whipping-day." Upon which the secretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, said "It was a strange thing that my lord Oxford would not be so kind to his friends and so just to his own innocence as to vindicate himself where he had no blame; for to his knowledge and the chancellor's (who was then also present) the treasurer had frequently and earnestly moved the queen upon that very point without effect." Whereupon this minister, finding himself pressed so far, told the company "That he had at last prevailed with her majesty, and the thing would be done in two days:" which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the earl of Oxford's disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the queen; and this to my particular knowledge was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence I have already given my opinion. However, the treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: he had abundance of merit with them all; not only upon account of the public, the whole change of the ministry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him and lady Masham; but likewise from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore in common justice, as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: and I mention it to the honor of the secretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the treasurer, that, having myself upon many occasions joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the secretary would in a little time after frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those whose business it should have been, as it certainly was their interest, to have interposed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: but of this I have already spoken.

[1] The duke of Somerset, master of the horse.

CHAPTER II.

Written about a year after.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say anything upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the pretender: for upon the earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me "That the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world;" and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue. This discovery we all expected from the report of the secret committee: but when that treatise appeared (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state pamphlet arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts or a transcript of letters: and for what related to the pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the public that the whole intrigue privately carried on in personal treaties between the earl of Oxford and the abbé Gualtier; which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the English ministry: I conceive that whoever is at distance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the popish legends together. And to make such an assertion in a public report, delivered to the house of commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will some time or other be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability as is hard to be equalled in a Spanish romance. I think it will be allowed that the articles of high treason drawn up against the earl were not altogether founded upon the report; or at least, that those important hints about bringing in the pretender were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet than an impeachment; since this accusation has no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But notwithstanding all this and that the earl of Oxford, after two years' residence in the tower, was at length dismissed without any trial, yet the reproach still went on that the queen's last ministry in concert with their mistress were deeply engaged in a design to set the pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accusation I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance, for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make on their first appearance: whereas they might as well have spared that

ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of choosing what servants he will.

There are two points which I believe myself able to make out First, that neither the late queen nor her ministers did ever entertain a design of bringing in the pretender during her majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that, if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances, which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity; and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance; I asked them seriously "Whether they or any of their friends did in earnest believe or suspect the queen or the ministry to have any favorable regards toward the pretender?" They all confessed for themselves "That they believed nothing of the matter:" and particularly, a person at present in great employment said to me with much frankness, "You set up the church and Sacheverell against us: and we set up trade and the pretender against you."

The second point I would observe is this, that during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment "Whether they knew or had heard of any one particular man (except those who professed to be nonjurors) that discovered the least inclination toward the pretender?" And the whole number they could muster up did not amount to above five or six; among which, one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman of little consequence and of a broken fortune: yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the duke of Buckingham, in whose company I never was above once or twice at most. I am therefore as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that upon the queen's death, if we except papists and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in England of all ranks who had any thoughts of the pretender; and among these

not six of any quality or consequence: but how it has come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to inquire.

The last point is of the same strain; and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word: that having been for the space of almost four years very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word let fall in favor of the pretender, although I was curious enough to observe in a particular manner what passed upon that subject. And I cannot but think that, if such an affair had been in agitation, I must have had either very bad luck or a very small share of common understanding not to have discovered some grounds at least for suspicion: because I never yet knew a minister of state, or indeed any other man, so great a master of secrecy as to be able among those he nearly conversed with wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his designs. This I say upon a supposition that they would have held on the mask always before me, which, however, I have no reason to believe. And I confess it is with the expense of some patience that I hear this matter summarily determined by those who had no advantages of knowing anything that passed, otherwise than what they found in a libel or a coffeehouse, or at best from general reasonings built upon mistaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto said upon this point can have no influence further than my own personal credit reaches, yet I confess I shall never be brought to change my opinion till some one who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any single particular from the letters, the discourses, or the actions of those ministers, as a proof of what they allege; which has not yet been attempted or pretended.

But I believe there may be several arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident to those who will hear reason that the queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For first, when her majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known that those whom she appointed to succeed them were generally accounted favorers of what is called the low church party; not only my lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the rest: among which I can imme-

diately name the dukes of Shrewsbury, Newcastle, and Argyle, the earls of Peterborough, Rivers, Strafford, Ilay, and Orrery, the lords Mansel and Masham, with several others whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the earl of Dartmouth, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterward: which I suppose will clearly evince that the bringing in of the pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew anything of the queen's disposition must believe she had no inclinations at all in favor of the pretender. She was highly and publicly displeased with my lord Bolingbroke, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an opera when his lordship was sent to France upon some difficulties about the peace. Her majesty said "That he ought immediately to have withdrawn upon the appearance of the other:" wherein, to speak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little mistaken. And at her toilet among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, she would frequently let fall expressions of such a nature as made it manifest how little she deserved those reproaches which had been cast on her since her death upon that account.

Besides, I have already said that her majesty began those changes at court for no other cause than her personal displeasure against a certain family and their allies; and from the hope she had to obtain a peace by the removal of some whose interest it was to obstruct it: that when the former chancellor, president, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, she pressed them somewhat more than it became her dignity to continue in their stations; of which I suppose my lord Cowper is yet a living witness.

I am forced to repeat what I have before observed, that it was with the utmost difficulty she could be ever persuaded to dismiss any person upon the score of party; and that she drove her ministers into the greatest distress, upon my lord Nottingham's vote against any peace without Spain, for want of speaking to one or two depending lords, although with the last danger of breaking the measures she was most fond of toward settling the repose of Europe. She had besides, upon the removal of the duchess of Marlborough, chosen another great lady to succeed [the duchess of Somerset], who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: a lady openly professing the utmost aversion for the persons, the prin

ciples, and measures of those who were then in power, and excelling all even of her own sex in every art of insinuation: and this her majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her of the inconveniences which would ensue. Her only objection against several clergymen recommended to her for promotion in the church was their being too violent in party. And a lady in high favor with her has frequently assured me, "That whenever she moved the queen to discard some persons who upon all occasions with great virulence opposed the court, her majesty would constantly refuse, and at the same time condemn her for too much party zeal."

But besides all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the pretender at the time when her majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths when king James II. abdicated. They found a prince upon the throne before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and consequently could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And truly this was in general the case of the whole kingdom; for the adherents of king James II. were all either dead or in exile, or sunk in obscurity, laden with years and want; so that if any guilt were contracted by the revolution, it was generally understood that our ancestors were only to answer for it. And I am confident (with an exception to professed nonjurors) there was not one man in ten thousand through England who had other sentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended by arguing the prodigious disaffection at present; because the same thing has happened before from the same cause, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the same event.

But such a disaffection could hardly have been raised against an absent prince who was only in expectation of the throne; and indeed I cannot but reckon it as a very strong argument for the good disposition, both in the ministry and kingdom, toward the house of Hanover, that during my lord Oxford's administration there was never thrown out the least reflection against that illustrious house in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened if the small party writers could have thought that by such a performance they would have made their court to those in power, and which would certainly have been a very useful preliminary if any attempt had been intended toward altering the succession to the crown. But,

however, to say the truth, invectives against the absent and those with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious; for hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience has shown. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy than for the climate of England. But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majesty with France and Spain were calculated in several points directly against the pretender, as he has now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could anything be more superficial than the politics of those who could be brought to think that the regent of France would ever engage in measures against the present king of England; and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the case of the earl of Stair, should serve so long for an amusement, cannot be sufficiently wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief interest of the duke of Orleans is woven and twisted with that of king George; and this, whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young king of France to live longer or not? For in the second case, the regent perfectly agrees with our present king in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession has been broken for his sake; by which means he likewise will be encumbered with a pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And even in the other case, the chance of a boy's life and his leaving heirs male of his body is so dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent or his children will certainly keep that prince as long as his power continues very firm in his alliance with England.

And as this design was originally intended and avowed by the queen's ministers in their treaties with France and Spain, so the events have fully answered in every particular. The present king succeeded to these crowns with as hearty and universal a disposition of the people, as could possibly consist with the grief for the loss of so gracious and excellent a princess as her late majesty. The parliament was most unanimous in doing everything that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any design which France or Spain might probably have laid to make a diversion by an invasion upon Scotland, with the

pretender at the head, in case her majesty had happened to die during the course of the war; and upon the death of the late French king, the duke of Orleans fell immediately into the strictest measures with England; as the queen and her ministers easily foresaw it would be necessary for him to do, from every reason that could regard his own interest. If the queen had died but a short time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged against us had thought fit to have thrown some troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in England toward the house of Hanover would in all probability have prevented the consequences of such an enterprise. But on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her majesty's life, and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual to fortify the present king's title and secure his possession than that very peace so much exploded by one party and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions under the present situation of things it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But if any articles of that peace were likely to endanger the protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the Dutch, who were guarantees of that succession, and valued for zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article; and this for no greater a reward than a share in the assiento trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true I appeal to M. de Buys, who upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the earl of Nottingham's vote against any peace while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter easy by getting a full approbation from the States, his masters, of all her majesty's proceedings, provided they might be sharers in that trade. I can add this further, that some months after the conclusion of the peace, and amid all the appearing discontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long resided in Holland, and was occasionally employed by the ministers here, assured me "That he had power from the pensionary to treat with the earl of Oxford about sending hither an extraordinary embassy from Holland, to declare that the States were fully

satisfied with the whole plan of the peace, upon certain conditions which were easy and honorable, and such as had no relation at all to the pretender." How this happened to fail I never inquired, nor had any discourse about it with those in power; for then their affairs were growing desperate, by the earl of Oxford's declination in the queen's favor; both which became so public, as well as her majesty's bad state of health, that I suppose those circumstances might easily cool the Dutch politicians in that pursuit.

I remember to have heard it objected against the last ministry, as an instance of their inclination toward the pretender, "That they were careless in cultivating a good correspondence with the house of Hanover." And, on the other side, I know very well what continual pains were employed to satisfy and inform the elector and his ministers in every step taken by her majesty, and what offers were made to his highness for any further securities of the succession in him and his family that could consist with the honor and safety of the queen. To this purpose were all the instructions given to earl Rivers, Mr. Thomas Harley, lord Clarendon, and some others. But all endeavors were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which has often made me remember the common observation of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes; and this is never more verified than in courts and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce from my own knowledge and observation three or four very surprising instances. I have seen an old bed-maker, by officiously going to one door when gratitude as well as common sense should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expense of some thousand lives and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity or wilfulness of a beggarly Dutchman,[1] who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance which rendered ineffectual all endeavors of the late ministry to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum to a very inconsiderable French vagrant,[2] gave the opportunity to a more industrious party of corrupting that channel

[1] Carew lord Hunsdon, born and bred in Holland.

[2] Robethon, then at Hanover, but in the service of some other German prince, it is not known how, got into some credit with the elector.

through which all the ideas of the dispositions and designs of the queen, the ministers, and the whole British nation, were conveyed.

The second point which I conceived myself able to make out is this, that if the queen's ministers had, with or without the knowledge of their mistress, entertained any thoughts of altering the succession in favor of the pretender, it was absolutely necessary for them to have begun and prosecuted that design as soon as they came into her majesty's service.

There were two circumstances which would have made it necessary for them to have lost no time. First, because it was a work that could not possibly be done on a sudden; for the whole nation, almost to a man, excepting professed nonjurors, had conceived the utmost abhorrence of a popish successor; and as I have already observed, the scruple of conscience upon the point of loyalty was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors who lay starving in obscurity; so that, in order to have brought such an affair about in a parliamentary way, some years must have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one person odious and another amiable, neither of which is to be soon compassed toward absent princes, unless by comparing them with those of whom we have had experience, which was not then the case.

The other circumstance was the bad condition of the queen's health, her majesty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout with other disorders increasing on her, so that whoever was near the court for about the two last years of her reign might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months without pretending to prophecy. And how little a time the ministers had for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been may be judged from the umbrage taken by several lords of the church party in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers might possibly be of some disadvantage to the house of Hanover. And the universal declaration, both among lords and commons at that time, as well in favor of the elector as against the pretender, are an argument beyond all conviction that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the duke of Shrewsbury's opinion: "That there could be no doubt of the elector's undisturbed

succession; but the chief difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the church and people and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures which he foresaw would arrive." And it must be to all impartial men above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her majesty's servants were upon this article; that, knowing so well through what channels all favor was to pass upon the queen's demise, they by their coming into power had utterly and for ever broken all measures with the opposite party, and that in the beginning of their administration there wanted not, perhaps, certain favorable junctures which some future circumstances would not have failed to cultivate. Yet their actions showed them so far from any view toward the pretender that they neglected pursuing those measures which they had constantly in their power, not only of securing themselves, but the interests of the church, without any violence to the protestant succession in the person of the elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only disgrace of the ministry. To prevent this evil was, I confess, the chief point wherein all my little politics terminated; and the methods were easy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favor with a prince by a readiness to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however professing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party, acting in opposition to the true interest of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be distinguished by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for personal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge, of which truth Greece and Rome, as well as many other states, will furnish plenty of examples. This reflection I could not well forbear, although it may be of little use further than to discover my own resentment. And yet perhaps that misfortune ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence than of prudence or of courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry by the house of commons, that they put a lie or falsehood into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. Thomas Harley was sent to the elector of Hanover with instructions to offer his highness any further securities for settling the succession in him and his family that could consist with her majesty's honor and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the secretary of state a little before his return from Hanover, signifying in direct terms:

"That the elector expressed himself satisfied in the queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her." He writ to the same purpose to one of the under-secretaries; and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read, and the queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. Harley to have been charged with. From what has since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the queen; but, without question, her majesty had a fair excuse to take the elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain where these accusers of that excellent princess' veracity will, I suppose, not profess at least an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point wherein, as I said, all my little politics terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion, and would have put it in practice, if it pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed how well it was known at court what measures the elector intended to follow whenever his succession should take place, and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons which influenced and fixed his highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavors to divert him from it. Now, if we consider the dispositions of England at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest and of the people in general, were of the church party, it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor to have procured a house of commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with success after the election against a majority at least of three in four, because the trouble and expense would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For neither could such a number of members find their account in joint

of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard, merely for the sake of governing by a small party against the bent and genius of the nation. And as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added that the government of England cannot move a step while the house of commons continues to dislike proceedings or persons employed; at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent and are made so necessary; whereas a minister is but the creature of a day, and a house of lords has been modelled in many reigns by enlarging the number as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature at that time could have provided against the power and influence of a court or ministry in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves; which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under king Charles I., although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat that those who charge the earl of Oxford and the rest of that ministry with a design of altering the succession of the crown in favor of the pretender will perhaps be at some difficulty to fix the time when that design was in agitation; for if such an attempt had begun with their power it is not easy to assign a reason why it did not succeed; because there were certain periods when her majesty and her servants were extremely popular, and the house of Hanover not altogether so much, upon account of some behavior here and some other circumstances that may better be passed over in silence; all which however had no other consequence than that of repeated messages of kindness and assurance to the elector. During the last two years of the queen's life her health was in such a condition that it was wondered how she could hold out so long: and then as I have already observed it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprise which required so much time, and which the ministers themselves had rendered impracticable by the whole course of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of those dissensions which had early risen among them.

The party now in power will easily agree that this design of

overthrowing the succession could not be owing to any principle of conscience in those whom they accuse; for they know very well, by their own experience and observation, that such kind of scruples have given but small disturbance of late years in these kingdoms. Since interest is therefore the only test by which we are to judge the intentions of those who manage public affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shown how the interest of the queen's ministers could be advanced by introducing the pretender before they were charged with such an intention. Her majesty was several years younger than her intended successor; and at the beginning of that ministry had no disorders except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortener of life; and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their mistress; so that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an English ministry; considering likewise the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time in their favor. And it will be hard to find an instance in history of a set of men in full possession of power so sanguine as to form an enterprise of overthrowing the government without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of that a ministry in such circumstances durst engage in so dangerous an attempt without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments than hazard the loss of their heads at so great odds before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an accusation that I think none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least till toward the end of their ministry; and then very absurdly, because the want of time and other circumstances rendered such a work impossible, for several reasons which I have already related.

And whoever considers the late queen, so little enterprising in her nature, so much given to delay, and at the same time so obstinate in her opinions (as restiness is commonly attended with slowness), so great a pursuer of peace and quiet, and so exempt from the two powerful passions of love and hatred, will hardly think she had a spirit turned for such an undertaking; if we add to this the contempts she often expressed for the person and concerns of the chevalier her brother, of which I have already said enough to be

lerstood.

It has been objected against the late queen and her servants, as a mark of no favorable disposition toward the house of Hanover, that the electoral prince was not invited to reside in England; and at the same time it ought to be observed that this objection was raised and spread by the leaders of that party who first opposed the counsel of inviting him; offering among other arguments against it the example of queen Elizabeth, who would not so much as suffer her successor to be declared, expressing herself that she would not live with her grave-stone always in her sight; although the case be by no means parallel between the two queens. For in her late majesty's reign the crown was as firmly settled on the Hanover family as the legislature could do it; and the question was only whether the presumptive heir of distant kindred should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with the sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction which her majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved; and therefore the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed that where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject the consequence of family dissensions may not always be considerable.

For my own part I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterward offer many reasons for it in a discourse intended for the public, but stopped by the queen's death, that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in England; by which I conceived the queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of English manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at the helm before I offered it; neither were they nor their mistress to be blamed that such a resolution was not pursued. Perhaps, from what has since happened, the reader will be able to satisfy himself.

I have now said all I could think convenient (considering the

time wherein I am writing) upon those two points which I proposed to discourse on, wherein I have dealt with the utmost impartiality, and I think upon the fairest supposition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their interests and their passions; for I am not so weak as to think one ministry more virtuous than another, unless by chance or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which last, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and where it happens is even then of little use when factions are violent. But it so falls out that, among contending parties in England, the general interest of church and state is more the private interest of one side than the other; so that whoever professes to act upon a principle of observing the laws of his country may have a safe rule to follow by discovering whose particular advantage it chiefly is that the constitution should be preserved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly speaking, be above two parties in such a government as ours; and one side will find themselves obliged to take in all the subaltern denominations of those who dislike the present establishment in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public interest, yet whenever their leaders are taken into power under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-designing prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness which there is little reason to hope; or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of, especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature; in which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in by their own supposed consent to be their own enslavers; and where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth? or will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power after the manner of other nations? For whoever considers the course of the Roman empire after Cæsar's usurpation, the long continuance of the Turkish government, or the destruction of the Gothic balance in most kingdoms of Europe, will easily see how controllable that maxim is that *res nolunt diu malè administrari;*

because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects than by good fundamental laws, in which when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man, whose vices are seldom known to end but with himself.

ABSTRACT

OF THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE INVASION OF IT BY JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE COURT AND EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

TO THE COUNT DE GYLLENBORG.

Dublin, Nov. 2, 1719.

SIR,—It is now about sixteen years since I first entertained the design of writing a history of England, from the beginning of William Rufus to the end of queen Elizabeth; such a history, I mean, as appears to be most wanted by foreigners and gentlemen of our own country; not a voluminous work, nor properly an abridgment, but an exact relation of the most important affairs and events without any regard to the rest. My intention was to inscribe it to the king your late master, for whose great virtues I had ever the highest veneration as I shall continue to bear to his memory. I confess it is with some disdain that I observe great authors descending to write any dedications at all; and for my own part, when I looked round on all the princes of Europe, I could think of none who might deserve that distinction from me beside the king your master (for I say nothing of his present Britannic majesty, to whose person and character I am an utter stranger and likely to continue so); neither can I be suspected of flattery on this point, since it was some years after that I had the honor of an invitation to his court

before you were employed as his minister in England, which I heartily repent that I did not accept; whereby, as you can be my witness, I might have avoided some years' uneasiness and vexation during the last four years of our excellent queen, as well as a long melancholy prospect since, in a most obscure disagreeable country, and among a most profligate and abandoned people.

I was diverted from pursuing this history partly by the extreme difficulty, but chiefly by the indignation I conceived at the proceedings of a faction which then prevailed; and the papers lay neglected in my cabinet until you saw me in England, when you know how far I was engaged in thoughts and business of another kind. Upon her majesty's lamented death, I returned to my station in this kingdom, since which time there is not a northern curate among you who has lived more obscure than myself, or a greater stranger to the commonest transactions of the world. It is but very lately that I found the following papers, which I had almost forgotten. I publish them now for two reasons: first, for an encouragement to those who have more youth[1] and leisure and good temper than I toward pursuing the work as far as it was intended by me, or as much further as they please; the second reason is, to have an opportunity of declaring the profound respect I have for the memory of your royal master, and the sincere regard and friendship I bear to yourself; for I must bring to your mind how proud I was to distinguish you among all the foreign ministers with whom I had the honor to be acquainted. I am a witness of the zeal you showed not only for the honor and interest of your master, but for the advantage of the protestant religion in Germany, and how knowingly and feelingly you often spoke to me on that subject. We all loved you, as possessed of every quality that could adorn an English gentleman, and esteemed you as a faithful subject to your prince and an able negotiator; neither shall any reverse of fortune have power to lessen you either in my friendship or esteem; and I must take leave to assure you further that my affection toward persons has not been at all diminished by the frown of power upon them. Those whom you and I once thought great and good men continue still so in my eyes and my heart, only with a . . . . . *Cætera desiderantur.*

[1] The author was then in his fifty-second year.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

FROM THE INVASION BY JULIUS CÆSAR, TO WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE most ancient account we have of Britain is, that the island was full of inhabitants, divided into several petty kingdoms, as most nations of the world appear to have been at first. The bodies of the Britons were painted with a sky-colored blue, either as an ornament or else for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were heathens, as all the world was before Christ except the Jews.

Their priests were called druids: these lived in hollow trees, and committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly lost.

The Britons had wives in common, so many to a particular tribe or society; and the children were in common to that society.

About fifty years before Christ, Julius Cæsar, first Roman emperor, having conquered Gaul or France, invaded Britain rather to increase his glory than conquests; for having overcome them in one or two battles he returned.

The next invasion of Britain by the Romans (then masters of most of the known world) was in the reign of the emperor Claudius; but it was not wholly subdued till that of Nero. It was governed by lieutenants or deputies sent from Rome, as Ireland is now by deputies from England, and continued thus under the Romans for about 460 years; till that empire being invaded by the Goths and Vandals, the Romans were forced not only to recall their own armies but also to draw from hence the bravest of the Britons, for their assistance against those barbarians.

The Roman conquests in this island reached no farther northward than to that part of Scotland where Stirling and Glasgow are seated. The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: it was inhabited by a barbarous people called Caledonians and Picts, who being a rough fierce nation daily infested the British borders. Therefore the emperor Severus built a wall from Stirling to Glasgow to prevent the invasions of the Picts: it is commonly called the Picts' Wall.

These Picts and Caledonians or Scots, encouraged by the departure of the Romans, do now cruelly infest and invade the Britons by sea and land; the Britons choose Vortigern for their king, who was forced to invite the Saxons (a fierce northern people) to assist him against those barbarians. The Saxons come A. D. 455

over and beat the Picts in several battles; but at last pick quarrels with the Britons themselves, and after a long war drive them into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and establish themselves in seven kingdoms in Britain, now called England. The seven kingdoms are usually styled the Saxon Heptarchy.

460. About this time lived king Arthur (if the whole story be not a fable), who was so famous for beating the Saxons in several battles.

The Britons received Christianity very early, and as is reported from some of the disciples themselves; so that when the Romans left Britain the Britons were generally Christians. But the Saxons

600. were heathens till pope Gregory the Great sent over hither Austin the monk, by whom Ethelbert king of the South Saxons, and his subjects, were converted to Christianity, and the whole island soon followed the example.

After many various revolutions in this island among the king-

800. doms of the Saxons, Egbert, descended from the West-Saxon kings, became sole monarch of England.

The language in Britain was British (now called Welsh) or Latin; but with the Saxons English came in, although extremely different from what it is now. The present names of towns, shires, &c., were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called England, from the Angles, who were a branch of the Saxons.

As soon as the Saxons were settled the Danes began to trouble and invade them, as they (the Saxons) had before done the Britons.

These Danes came out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway; a rough, warlike people, little different from the Saxons, to whom they were nigh neighbors.

After many invasions from the Danes, Edgar, king of England, sets forth the first navy. He was entitled "king of all Albion" (an old name of this island), and was the first absolute monarch. He made peace with the Danes and allowed them to live in his dominions mixed with the English.

In this prince's time there were five kings in Wales who all did him homage for their country.

These Danes began first to make their invasions here about the year 800; which they after renewed at several times and under several leaders, and were as often repulsed. They used to come with vast numbers of ships, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of London, Winchester, &c. Encouraged by success and

prey, they often wintered in England, fortifying themselves in the northern parts, from whence they cruelly infested the Saxon kings. In process of time they mixed with the English (as was said before), and lived under the Saxon government: but Ethelred, 978.
when king of England, growing weary of the Danish insolence, a conspiracy is formed, and the Danes massacred in one day all over England.

Four years after, Sweyn, king of Denmark, to revenge the death of his subjects, invades England; and after battles fought and much cruelty exercised, he subdues the whole kingdom, forcing Ethelred to fly into Normandy.

Sweyn dying, his son Canutus succeeds in the kingdom; but Ethelred returning with an army, Canutus is forced to withdraw to Denmark for succor.

Ethelred dies, and his son Edmund Ironside succeeds; but Canutus returning with fresh forces from Denmark, after several battles the kingdom is parted between them both. Edmund dying, his sons are sent beyond sea by Canutus, who now is sole king of England.

Hardicanute, the last Danish king, dying without issue, Edward, son of Ethelred, is chosen king. For his great holiness he was surnamed the Confessor, and sainted after his death. He was the first of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He first introduced what is now called the common law. In his time began the mode and humor among the English gentry of using the French tongue and fashions, in compliance with the king, who had been bred up in Normandy.

The Danish government in England lasted but twenty-six years under the three kings.

Edward the Confessor married the daughter of earl Godwin, an English nobleman of great power, but of Danish extraction; but wanting issue he appointed Edgar Atheling, grandson to his brother, to succeed him, and Harold, son of earl Godwin, to be governor of the young prince. But upon Edward's death Harold neglected Edgar Atheling and usurped the crown for himself.

Edward, while he was in Normandy, met so good reception that it was said he made a promise to that duke, that in case he recovered his kingdom and died without issue he would leave it to him. Edward dying, William duke of Normandy sends to Harold to claim the crown; but Harold, now in possession, resolves to keep it.

Upon which duke William having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades England, lands at Hastings, and sets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To Harold he sent his messenger, demanding the kingdom and his subjection: but Harold returned him this answer. "That unless he departed his land he would make him sensible of his just displeasure." So Harold advanced his forces into Sussex, within seven miles of his enemy. The Norman duke, to save the effusion of blood, sent these offers to Harold: "either wholly to resign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in single combat." To this Harold did not agree.

Then the battle joined. The Normans had gotten the worst of it had it not been for a stratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement Harold was killed, and Willi
1066. duke of Normandy became king of England under the name of William the Conqueror.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE SECOND,

SURNAMED RUFUS.

At the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldest son Robert, upon some discontent with his father, being absent in France, William, the second son, made use of this juncture, and without attending his father's funeral hastened to England; where, pursuant to the will of the deceased prince, the nobility, although more inclined to favor Robert, were prevailed with to admit him king; partly by his promises to abate the rigor of the late reign and restore the laws and liberties which had been then abolished, but chiefly by the credit and solicitations of Lanfranc; for that prelate had formerly a share in his education and always a great affection for his person. At Winchester he took possession of his father's treasure:[1] in obedience to whose command, as well as to ingratiate himself with the people, he distributed it among churches and religious houses, and applied it to the redeeming of prisoners and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time Robert returned to Normandy, took possession of that duchy with great applause and content of his people, and spited at the indignity done him by his father, and the usurpation of his brother in consequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and

[1] Which was 60,000*l.* in silver, beside gold, jewels, and plate.

army to invade England; nor did there want any occasion to promote his interest, if the slowness, the softness, and credulity of his nature, could have suffered him to make a right improvement of it.

Odo bishop of Baieux, of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign, a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character, being restored to his liberty and possessions in England, grew into envy and discontent, upon seeing Lanfranc preferred before him by the new king in his favor and ministry. He therefore formed a conspiracy with several nobles of Norman birth to depose the king, and sent an invitation to Robert to hasten over. Meantime the conspirators, in order to distract the king's forces, seized on several parts of England at once; Bristol, Norwich, Leicester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Bath, and Durham, were secured by several noblemen: Odo himself seized Rochester, reduced the coasts of Kent, and sent messages to Robert to make all possible speed.

The king, alarmed at these many and sudden defections, thought it the best course to begin his defence by securing the good will of the people. He redressed many grievances, eased them of certain oppressive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his forest, with other marks of indulgence, which, however forced from him by the necessity of the time, he had the skill or fortune so to order as they neither lost their good grace nor effect; for immediately after he raised great forces both by land and sea, marched into Kent, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered Tunbridge and Pevensey, in the latter of which Odo himself was taken prisoner, and forced to accompany the king to Rochester. This city refused to surrender at the king's summons; Odo undertook to prevail with the obstinacy of the inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained either by a real or seeming force; however, the king, provoked at their stubbornness and fraud, soon compelled them to yield, retook his prisoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure England, sent him into Normandy.

By these actions performed with such great celerity and success, the preparations of duke Robert were wholly disappointed; himself, by the necessity of his affairs, compelled to a treaty with his brother upon the terms of a small pension and a mutual promise of succeeding to each other's dominions on failure of issue, forced to resign his pretensions, and return with a shattered fleet to Normandy.

About this time died archbishop Lanfranc; by whose death the king, loosed from that awe and constraint he was under, soon began to discover those irregularities of his nature which till then he had suppressed and disguised, falling into those acts of oppression and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the see of Canterbury four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own use, together with those of several other bishoprics and abbeys, and disposed of all church preferments to the highest bidder. Nor were his exactions less upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended transgression of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to observe men's actions and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth observation that these corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of several learned men, given rise to two customs, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, first, the successors of this king continuing the custom of seizing on the accruing rents in the vicinity of sees and abbeys, it grew in process of time to be exacted as a right or acknowledgment to the king as founder; whence the revenues of vacant bishoprics belong at this day to the crown. The second custom had an original not unlike. Several persons, to avoid the persecutions of the king's informers and other instruments of oppression, withdrew themselves and their effects to foreign countries; upon which the king issued a proclamation forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his license; from whence, in the judgment of the same authors, the writ *ne exeat regno* had its beginning.

By these and the like arbitrary methods having amassed great treasures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raised a powerful army to invade his brother in Normandy; but upon what ground or pretext the writers of that age are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjust princes that old oppressions are best justified by new, or whether, having a talent for sudden enterprises, and justly apprehending the resentment of duke Robert, he thought it the wiser course to prevent injuries than to revenge them. In this expedition he took several cities and castles from his brother, and would have proceeded further if Robert had not desired and obtained the assistance of Philip king of France, who came with an army to his relief. King William, not thinking it safe or prudent to proceed further against his enemy, supported by so great an ally, yet loth to lose the fruits of his time and valor,

ll upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever prac-
d oftener or with greater success, and that was to buy off the
rench king with a sum of money. This had its effect; for that
e, not able to oppose such powerful arms, immediately with-
w himself and his forces, leaving the two brothers to concert
measures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the side
f king William; for he kept all the towns he had taken, obliged
is brother to banish Edgar Atheling out of Normandy, and for a
urther security brought over with him to England the duke him-
elf, to attend him in his expedition against Malcolm, king of Scot-
and, who during his absence had invaded the borders. The king,
aving raised great forces by sea and land, went in person to repel
he inroads of the Scots; but the enterprise was without success;
or the greatest part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and
is army very much diminished by sickness and famine, which
orced him to a peace of little honor; by which, upon the condi-
ion of homage from that prince, the king of England agreed to
iver him up those twelve towns (or manors) in England which
lcolm had held under William the Conqueror; together with a
ension of 12,000 marks.

At this time were sown the seeds of another quarrel between
im and duke Robert, who, soliciting the king to perform some
ovenants of the last peace, and meeting with a repulse, withdrew
n great discontent to Normandy.

King William in his return from Scotland fell dangerously sick
t Gloucester, where, moved by the seasonable exhortations of his
lergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to discover great
rks of repentance, with many promises of amendment and retri-
bution, particularly for his injuries to the church. To give credit
o which good resolutions he immediately filled several vacant sees,
giving that of Canterbury to Anselm, a foreigner of great fame
for piety and learning. But as it is the disposition of men who
derive their vices from their complexions that their passions usually
beat strong and weak with their pulses, so it fared with this prince;
who, upon recovery of his health, soon forgot the vows he had
made in his sickness, relapsing with greater violence into the same
irregularities of injustice and oppression, whereof Anselm, the new
archbishop, felt the first effects. This prelate, soon after his pro-
motion, offered the king a sum of money by way of present; but

enraged, sought all occasions to make him uneasy; until
the poor archbishop, tired out with perpetual usurpati
least what was then understood to be such) upon his jur
privileges, and possessions, desired the king's license for a
to Rome, and upon a refusal went without it. As soon
withdrawn, the king seized on all his revenues, converti
his own use, and the archbishop continued in exile
succeeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the king and ar
are not, in my opinion, considerable enough to deserve a
this brief collection, being of little use to posterity and
entertainment; neither should I have mentioned it at al
the occasion it gives me of making a general observatio
may afford some light into the nature and disposition of th
Not only this king's father and himself, but the princes fo
successions of the fairest character, have been severely
violating the rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogetl
out reason. It is true this character has made the ligl
pression, as proceeding altogether from the party inju
contemporary writers being generally churchmen; and it
confessed that the usurpations of the church and court o
were in those ages risen to such heights as to be altogethe
sistent either with the legislature or administration of a
pendent state; the inferior clergy both secular and regular,
upon such immunities as wholly exempted them from
power: and the bishops re ving all controversies with th

land, came to his court, with intentions to settle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controversy arose about some circumstances relating to the homage which Malcolm was to pay; in the managing whereof king William discovered so much haughtiness and disdain, both in words and gestures, that the Scottish king, provoked by such unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but soon came back at the head of a powerful army, and entering Northumberland with fire and sword, laid all waste before him. But as all enterprises have in the progress of them a tincture of those passions by which they were spirited at first, so this invasion, begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable passion, was carried on with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event; for Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, to prevent the destruction of his own country where he had great possessions, gathering what forces he could suddenly raise, and without waiting any directions from the king, marched against the Scots, who were then set down before Alnwick-castle: there by an ambush Malcolm and his eldest son Edward were slain, and the army, discouraged by the loss of their princes, entirely defeated. This disaster was followed in a few days by the death of queen Margaret, who, not able to survive her misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miseries of that kingdom end till, after two usurpations, the surviving son of Malcolm, who had fled to England for refuge, was restored to his crown by the assistance of king William.

About this time, the hidden sparks of animosity between the two brothers, buried but not extinguished in the last peace, began to flame out into new dissensions: duke Robert had often sent his complaints to the king for breach of articles, but without redress; which provoked him to expostulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the king in plain terms with injustice and perjury; but no men are found to endure reproaches with less temper than those who most deserve them: the king, at the same time filled with indignation, and stung with guilt, invaded Normandy a second time, resolving to reduce his brother to such terms as might stop all further complaints. He had already taken several strongholds by force either of arms or of money, and intending entirely to subdue the duchy, gave orders to have 20,000 men immediately raised in England, and sent over to him. The duke, to defend himself against these formidable preparations, had recourse again

to his old ally the king of France, who very readily advanced with an army to his assistance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own account; for beside the appearance of glory and justice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle by preserving his neighboring state in the hands of a peaceful prince from so powerful and restless an enemy as the king of England; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain; for king William, either loth to engage in a long and dangerous war, or hastened back by intelligence of some troubles from Wales, sent offers to his army, just ready to embark for Normandy, that upon payment of 10s. a man, they might have leave to return to their own homes. This bargain was generally accepted: the money was paid to the king of France, who immediately withdrew his troops; and king William, now master of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

In this passage there are some circumstances which may appear odd and unaccountable to those who will not give due allowances for the difference of times and manners; that an absent prince, engaged in an unjust war with his own brother and ill-beloved at home, should have so much power and credit as by his commission to raise 20,000 men on a sudden, only as a recruit to the army he had already with him; that he should have a fleet prepared ready and large enough to transport so great a number; that upon the very point of embarking he should send them so disgraceful an offer; and that so great a number of common soldiers should be able and willing to pay such a sum of money, equal to at least twelve times as much in our times, and that after being thus deluded and spoiled at once they should peaceably disband and retire to their several homes. But all this will be less difficult to comprehend when we reflect on the method of raising and supporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in use, and so continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the king in his wars, with a proportioned number of soldiers, who were their tenants on easy rents in consideration of military service. This was but the work of a few days, and the troops consisted of such men as were able to maintain their own charges either at home or abroad; neither was there any reason to apprehend that soldiers would ever become instruments for introducing slavery, who held so great a share in the property.

The king upon his return from Normandy made an unsuccessful

expedition against the Welsh, who upon the advantages of his absence had, according to their usual custom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford. Upon the king's approach they fled into their fastnesses among the mountains, where he pursued them for some time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loss of great numbers of his men to no purpose. From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home; for Robert earl of Northumberland, overrating his late services against the Scots as much perhaps and as unjustly as they were undervalued by the king, refused to come to his court, which in those days was looked on as the first usual mark of discontent in a nobleman, and was often charged by princes as a formal accusation. The earl, having disobeyed the king's summons and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depose king William and set up Stephen earl of Albemarle, son of a sister to William the Conqueror, but all was prevented by the celerity of this active prince, who, knowing that insurrections are best quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible speed and surprised the rebels at Newcastle, took the castles of Tinmouth and Bamburgh, where the obstinacy of the defendants provoked him contrary to his nature to commit cruelties upon their persons by cutting off their hands and ears and other the like inhumanities. The earl himself was taken prisoner as he endeavored to make his escape, but suffered no other punishment than to be confined for the rest of his life [thirty years].

About this time began the holy war for the recovering of Palestine; which having not been the enterprise of any one prince or state, but that wherein most in Christendom had a share, it cannot with justice be silently passed over in the history of any nation.

Pope Urban II., in a council at Clermont, made a pathetic exhortation, showing with what danger and indignity to Christendom the Turks and Saracens had for some ages not only overrun all Asia and Africa, where Christianity had long flourished, but had also made encroachments into Europe, where they had entirely subdued Spain and some other parts; that Jerusalem, the holy city, where our Saviour did so many miracles and where his sepulchre still remained, to the scandal of the Christian name, lay groaning under the tyranny of infidels; that the swords which Christian princes had drawn against each other ought to be turned against the common enemy of their name and religion; that this should be reckoned an ample

satisfaction for all their past sins: that those who died in this expedition should immediately go to heaven, and the survivors would be blessed with the sight of our Lord's sepulchre.

Moved by these arguments and the influence of the person who delivered them, several nobles and prelates immediately took upon them the cross: and the council dissolving in this high fit of zeal, the clergy upon their return home prevailed so far in their several countries that in most parts of Europe some great prince or lord became a votary for the Holy Land; as Hugh the Great, brother to the king of France: Godfrey duke of Lorrain; Reimond count of Toulouse: Robert duke of Normandy, and many others. Neither ought it to be forgotten that most of these noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raised, pawned their dominions to those very prelates who had first engaged them in this enterprise: doubtless a notable mark of the force of oratory in the churchmen of those ages, who were able to inspire that devotion into others whereof they seemed so little sensible themselves.

But a great share in the honor of promoting this religious war is attributed to the zeal and industry of a certain French priest, commonly called Peter the Hermit, who, being at Jerusalem upon pilgrimage some time before and entering often into private treaty with the patriarch of that city, came back fully instructed in all the measures necessary for such a war: to these was joined the artifice of certain dreams and visions that might pass for divine admonition; all which added to the piety of his exhortations gave him such credit with the pope and several princes of Christendom that he became in his own person the leader of a great army against the infidels, and was very instrumental for engaging many others in the same design.

What a spirit was thus raised in Christendom among all sorts of men cannot better be conceived than from the vast numbers of these warlike pilgrims, who at the siege of Nice are said to have consisted of 600,000 foot and 100,000 horse; and the success at first was answerable to the greatness of their numbers, the valor of their leaders, and the universal opinion of such a cause; for besides several famous victories in the field, not to mention the towns of less importance, they took Nice, Antioch, and at last Jerusalem, where duke Godfrey was chosen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthusiasm, as I take this to have been, is a compos-

tion only fit for sudden enterprises, like a great ferment in the blood, giving double courage and strength for the time, until it sink and settle by nature into its old channel; for in a few years the piety of these adventurers began to slacken and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies: however, to this spirit of devotion there succeeded a spirit of honor which long continued the vein and humor of the times, and the Holy Land became either a school wherein young princes went to learn the art of war, or a scene wherein they affected to show their valor and gain reputation when they were weary of peace at home.

The christians held possession of Jerusalem above eighty years, and continued their expeditions to the Holy Land almost as many more, with various events; and after they were entirely driven out of Asia the popes have almost in every age endeavored in vain to promote new croisadoes; neither does this spirit seem extinct among us even to this day; the usual projects of sanguine men for uniting Christendom against the Turk being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the same fountain.

Robert, in order to furnish himself out for this war, pawned his duchy to the king for 10,000 marks of gold,[1] which sum was levied with so many circumstances of rigor and exaction toward the church and laity as very much increased the discontents of both against the prince.

I shall record one act of this king's which, being chiefly personal, may pass rather for a part of his character than a point of history. 1099.

As he was hunting one day in the New Forest a messenger express from Normandy brought him intelligence that Helie count de la Fleche had laid close siege to Mans, and expected to carry the town in a few days. The king leaving his chase commanded some about him to point whereabout Mans lay, and so rode straight on without reflection until he came to the coast. His attendants advised him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned, "They that love me will follow me." He entered the ship in a violent storm, which the mariners beholding with astonishment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger, but the king commanded them instantly to put off to sea and not be afraid, for he had never in his life heard of any king that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy

[1] Equal to 1,400,400*l.* as money passes now.

from before the city and took the count himself prisoner, who raging at his defeat and captivity exclaimed "That this blow was from fortune; but valor could make reprisals, as he should show if ever he regained his liberty." This being told the king, he sent for the count, let him understand that he had heard of his menaces, then gave him a fine horse, bid him begone immediately, and defied him to do his worst.

It would have been an injury to this prince's memory to let pass an action by which he acquired more honor than from any other in his life, and by which it appeared that he was not without some seeds of magnanimity had they been better cultivated or not overrun by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing else in this king's reign that deserved to be remembered; for as to an unsuccessful expedition or two against Wales, either by himself or his generals, they were very inconsiderable both in action and event, nor attended with any circumstances that might render a relation of them of any use to posterity either for instruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of casualty, although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the person of a prince is generally less subject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exercise of hunting in the New Forest in Hampshire, a large stag crossed the way before him; the king hot on his game cried out in haste to Walter Tyrrel, a knight of his attendants, to shoot; Tyrrel immediately let fly his arrow, which glancing against a tree struck the king through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without speaking a word. Upon the surprise of this accident all his attendants, and Tyrrel among the rest, fled different ways, until the fright being a little over some of them returned, and causing the body to be laid in a collier's cart for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming, contemptuous manner to Winchester, where it was buried the next day without solemnity, and which is worse without grief.

I shall conclude the history of this prince's reign with a description and character of his body and mind, impartially, from the collections I have made, which method I shall observe likewise in all the succeeding reigns.

He was in stature somewhat below the usual size and big-bellied; but he was well and strongly knit. His hair was yellow or sandy, his face red, which got him the name of Rufus, his forehead flat;

his eyes were spotted and appeared of different colors; he was apt to stutter in speaking, especially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good constitution of health and the frequent exercise of hunting; in his dress he affected gaiety and expense, which having been first introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom grew in succeeding reigns an intolerable grievance. He also first brought in among us the luxury and profusion of great tables. There was in him as in all other men a mixture of virtues and vices and that in a pretty equal degree, only the misfortune was that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent than the former. For being entirely a man of pleasure, this made him sacrifice all his good qualities and gave him too many occasions of producing his ill ones. He had one very singular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promise; he was of undoubted personal valor, whereof the writers in those ages produce several instances, nor did he want skill and conduct in the process of war. But his peculiar excellency was that of great despatch, which, however usually decried and allowed to be only a happy temerity, does often answer all the ends of secrecy and counsel in a great commander by surprising and daunting an enemy when he least expects it, as may appear by the greatest actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of sound natural sense, as well as of wit and humor upon occasion. There were several tenets in the Romish church he could not digest, particularly that of the saints' intercession, and living in an age overrun with superstition he went so far into the other extreme as to be censured for an atheist. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream which seemed to forbode him some misfortune, the king being told the matter turned it into a jest; said the man was a monk and dreamt like a monk, for lucre sake; and therefore commanded Fitzhamon to give him 100*s.* that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpose.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body than any original depravity of his mind, for being of a sanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleasures and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expenses. To supply these the people were perpetually oppressed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that sort of avarice which arises from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, so it is much more ravenous and

violent than the other, which put the king and his evil instruments (among whom Ralph bishop of Durham is of special infamy) upon those pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagancies by all manner of oppression, whereof some are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

He is generally taxed by writers for discovering a contempt of religion in his common discourse and behavior, which I take to have risen from the same fountain, being a point of art and a known expedient for men who cannot quit their immoralities, at least to banish all reflection that may disturb them in the enjoyment, which must be done either by not thinking of religion at all, or if it will obtrude by putting it out of countenance.

Yet there is one instance that might show him to have some sense of religion as well as justice. When two monks were outvying each other in canting[1] the price of an abbey, he observed a third at some distance who said never a word; the king demanded why he would not offer? the monk said he was poor, and besides would give nothing if he were ever so rich; the king replied, then you are the fittest person to have it, and immediately gave it him. But this is perhaps with reason enough assigned more to caprice than conscience, for he was under the power of every humor and passion that possessed him for the present, which made him obstinate in his resolves and unsteady in the prosecution.

He had one vice or folly that seemed rooted in his mind, and of all others most unbefitting a prince; this was a proud, disdainful manner, both in his words and gesture; and having already lost the love of his subjects by his avarice and oppression, this finished the work by bringing him into contempt and hatred among his servants, so that few among the worst of princes have had the luck to be so ill beloved or so little lamented.

He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the state, although not for the sex.

He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of Christ 1100, August 2.

His works of piety were few, but in buildings he was very expensive, exceeding any king of England before or since: among which Westminster-hall, Windsor-castle, the tower of London, and the whole city of Carlisle, remain lasting monuments of his magnificence.

[1] An Irish phrase for selling or buying by auction.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIRST.

This prince was the younger son of William the Conqueror, and bred to more learning than was usual in that age or to his rank, which got him the surname of Beauclerk, the reputation whereof, together with his being born in England and born son of a king, although of little weight in themselves, did very much strengthen his pretensions with the people. Besides, he had the same advantage of his brother Robert's absence which had proved before so successful to Rufus, whose treasures he likewise seized on immediately at his death after the same manner and for the same end as Rufus did those of his father the Conqueror. Robert had been now five years absent in the Holy War, where he acquitted himself with great glory, and although he was now in Apulia, upon his return homeward, yet the nobles pretending not to know what was become of him, and others giving out that he had been elected king of Jerusalem, Henry laid hold of the occasion, and calling together an assembly of the clergy, nobles, and people of the realm at London, upon his promises to restore king Edward's laws and redress the grievances which had been introduced by his father and brother, they consented to elect him king. Immediately after his coronation he proceeded upon reforming the abuses of the late reign; he banished dissolute persons from the court who had long infested it under the protection and example of Rufus; he restored the people to the use of lights in the night, which the Conqueror had forbidden after a certain hour by the ringing of a bell. Then he published his charter and ordered a copy thereof to be taken for every county in England. This charter was in substance — the freedom of mother church from former oppressions, leave to the heirs of nobles to succeed in the possession of their the lands without being obliged to redeem them, only paying to the king a moderate relief, abolition of fines for license of marriage to their heiresses, a promise of not refusing such license unless the match proposed be with the king's enemy,[1] &c., the next of kin to be guardians of the lands of orphans, punishments for coiners of false money, a confirmation of St. Edward's laws, and a general amnesty.

About the same time he performed two acts of justice, which by gratifying the revenge and the love of the people gained very much upon their affections to his person; the first was to imprison Ralph

[1] *i. e.* With a traitor or malcontent.

bishop of Durham, who, having been raised by the late king from a mean and sordid birth to be his prime confident and minister, became the chief instrument as well as contriver of all his oppressions; the second was in recalling and restoring archbishop Anselm, who, having been forced by the continual persecutions of the same prince to leave England, had lived ever since in banishment and deprived of all his revenues.

The king had not been many months on his throne when the news came that duke Robert returned from the Holy Land was received by his subjects with great marks of joy and honor, and in universal reputation for his valor and success against the infidels; soon after which Ralph bishop of Durham, either by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, escaped out of prison and fled over to the duke, whom he stirred up to renew and solicit his pretensions to the crown of England, by writing to several nobles, who, either through old friendship or new discontent, or an opinion of his title, gave him promises of their assistance as soon as he should land in England; but the duke, having returned exceeding poor from the Holy Land, was not yet in a condition for such an undertaking, and therefore thought fit to defer it to a more seasonable opportunity.

As the king had hitherto with great industry sought all occasions to gratify his people, so he continued to do in the choice of a wife. This was Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the late king of Scots, a lady of great piety and virtue; who by the power of persuasion of her friends was prevailed with to leave her cloister for a crown, after she had, as some writers report, already taken the veil. Her mother was sister to Edgar Atheling, the last heir-male of the Saxon race; of whom frequent mention has been made in the two preceding reigns; and thus the Saxon line to the great contentment of the English nation was again restored.

Duke Robert, having now with much difficulty and oppression of his subjects raised great forces, and gotten ready a fleet to convey them, resolved once more to assert his title to the crown of England: to which end he had for some time held a secret correspondence with several nobles, and lately received fresh invitations. The king, on the other side, who had received timely intelligence of his brother's preparations, gave orders to his admirals to watch the seaports, and endeavor to hinder the enemy's landing; but the commanders of several ships, whether Robert had won them by his bribes or his promises, instead of offering resistance became his

guides, and brought his fleet safe into Portsmouth, where he landed his men, and from thence marched to Winchester, his army hourly increasing by great numbers of people, who had either an affection for his person, an opinion of his title, or hatred to the king. In the mean time Henry advanced with his forces, to be near the duke and observe his motions; but like a wise general forbore offering battle to an invader until he might do it with manifest advantage. Besides, he knew very well that his brother was a person whose policy was much inferior to his valor, and therefore to be sooner overcome in a treaty than a fight; to this end, the nobles on both sides began to have frequent interviews, to make overtures, and at last concert the terms of a peace, but wholly to the advantage of the king; Robert renouncing his pretensions in consideration of a small pension, and of succeeding to the crown on default of male issue in his brother.

The defection of nobles and other people to the duke was so great, that men generally thought if it had come to a battle, the king would have lost both the victory and his crown. But Robert, upon his return to Normandy after this dishonorable peace, grew out of all reputation with the world, as well as into perfect hatred and contempt among his own subjects, which in a short time was the cause of his ruin.

The king, having thus by his prudence got rid of a dangerous and troublesome rival, and soon after by his valor quelled the insurrections of the earls of Shrewsbury and Mortain, whom he forced to fly into Normandy, found himself in full peace at home and abroad, and therefore thought he might venture a contention with the church about the right of investing bishops; upon which subject many other princes at that time had controversy with their clergy; but after long struggling in vain, were all forced to yield at last to the decree of a synod in Rome, and to the pertinacy of the bishops in the several countries. The form of investing a bishop was by delivery of a ring and a pastoral staff; which at Rome was declared unlawful to be performed by any lay hand whatsoever; but the princes of Christendom pleaded immemorial custom to authorize them; and king Henry, having given the investiture to certain bishops, commanded Anselm to consecrate them. This the archbishop refused with great firmness, pursuant to what he understood to be his duty, and to several immediate commands of the pope. Both sides adhering to their own senti-

ments, the matter was carried to Rome, where Anselm went in person by the king's desire; who, at the same time, sent ambassadors thither to assert and defend his cause; but the pope still insisting, Anselm was forbidden to return to England. The king seized on all his revenues, and would not restore him until, upon other concessions of the pope, Henry was content to yield up his pretensions to the investiture: but, however, kept the right of electing still in his own hands.

Whatever might have been the method of electing bishops in the more primitive ages, it seems plain to me that in these times and somewhat before, although the election was made *per clerum et populum*, yet the king always nominated at first or approved afterward, and generally both, as may be seen by the style in which their elections ran, as well as by the persons chosen, who were usually churchmen of the court, or in some employment near the king. But whether this were a gradual encroachment of the regal upon the spiritual power I would rather leave others to dispute.

About this time duke Robert came to England upon a visit to
1104. the king, where he was received with much kindness and hospitality; but at the same time the queen had private directions to manage his easy temper, and work him to a consent of remitting his pension: this was compassed without much difficulty; but upon the duke's return to Normandy, he was severely reproved for his weakness by Ralph, bishop of Durham, and the two earls of Mortain and Shrewsbury. These three, having fled from England for rebellion and other treasons, lived exiles in Normandy; and bearing an inveterate hatred to the king, resolved to stir up the duke to a resentment of the injury and fraud of his brother. Robert, who was various in his nature and always under the power of the present persuader, easily yielded to their incitements; reproached the king in bitter terms, by letters and messages, that he had cozened and circumvented him; demanding satisfaction and withal threatening revenge. At the same time, by the advice of the three nobles already mentioned, he began to arm himself as formidably as he could, with the design to seize upon the king's possessions in Normandy: but as this resolution was rashly taken up, so it was as faintly pursued, and ended in his destruction; neither has any prince reason to expect better fortune that engages in a war against a powerful neighbor upon the counsel or instigation of exiles, who, having no further view than to serve their private interest or gratify

their revenge, are sure to succeed in one or the other if they can embark princes in their quarrel, whom they fail not to incite by the falsest representations of their own strength and the weakness of their enemy: for, as the king was now settled in his throne too firmly to be shaken, so Robert had wholly lost all credit and friendship in England; was sunk in reputation at home; and by his unlimited profuseness reduced so low that, having pawned most of his dominions, he had offered Rouen, his capital city, in sale to the inhabitants. All this was very well known to the king, who, resolving to make his advantage thereof, pretended to be highly provoked at the disgraceful speeches and menaces of his brother, which he made the formal occasion of a quarrel: therefore, he first sent over some forces to ravage his country; and understanding that the duke was coldly supported by his own subjects, many of whom came over to the king's army, he soon followed in person with more, took several towns, and placing garrisons therein, came back to England, designing with the first pretext or opportunity to return with a more potent army, and wholly subdue the duchy to his obedience. 1105.

Robert, now grown sensible of his weakness, became wholly dispirited; and following his brother into England, in a most dejected manner begged for a peace: but the king, now fully determined upon his ruin, turned away in disdain, muttering at the same time some threatening words. This indignity roused up once more the sinking courage of the duke; who, with bitter words, detesting the pride and insolence of Henry, withdrew in a rage, and hasting back to Normandy made what preparations he could for his own defence. The king, observing his nobles very ready to engage with him in this expedition, and being assured that those in Normandy would upon his approach revolt from the duke, soon followed with a mighty army and the flower of his kingdom. Upon his arrival he was attended, according to his expectation, by several Norman lords; and with this formidable force sat down before Tinchebray: the duke, accompanied by the two exiled earls, advanced with what strength he had, in hopes to draw the enemy from the siege of so important a place, although at the hazard of a battle. Both armies being drawn out in battalia, that of the king's, trusting to their numbers, began to charge with great fury but without any order. The duke, with forces far inferior, received the enemy with much firmness; and finding they had 1106.

spent their first heat, advanced very regularly against their main body before they could recover themselves from the confusion they were in. He attacked them with so much courage that he broke their whole body, and they began to fly on every side. The king, believing all was lost, did what he could, by threats and gentle words, to stop the flight of his men, but found it impossible: then he commanded two bodies of horse which were placed on either wing to join, and, wheeling about, to attack the enemy in rear. The duke, who thought himself so near a victory, was forced to stop his pursuit, and, ordering his men to face about, began the fight anew: meantime, the scattered parts of the main body which had so lately fled, began to rally and pour in upon the Normans behind, by which duke Robert's army was almost encompassed; yet they kept their ground awhile and made several charges, until at length, perfectly overborne by numbers, they were utterly defeated. There duke Robert, doing all the parts of a great captain, was taken prisoner, together with the earl of Mortain, and almost his whole army; for, being hemmed in on all sides, few of them could make their escape. Thus, in the space of forty years, 1107. Normandy subdued England and England Normandy; which are events perhaps hardly to be paralleled in any other ages or parts of the world.

The king having stayed a while to settle the state of Normandy returned with his brother into England, whom he sent prisoner to Cardiff castle, with orders that he should be favorably used, which for some time were duly observed; until, being accused of attempting to make his escape (whether it were real or feigned), he had his eyes put out with a burning basin by the king's express commands, in which miserable condition he lived for six-and-twenty years.

It is believed the king would hardly have engaged in this unnatural and invidious war with so little pretence or provocation if the pope had not openly approved and sanctified his cause, exhorting him to it as a meritorious action; which seems to have been but an ill return from the vicar of CHRIST to a prince who had performed so many brave exploits for the service of the church, to the hazard of his person and ruin of his fortune. But the very bigoted monks who have left us their accounts of those times do generally agree in heavily taxing the Roman court for bribery and

corruption. And the king had promised to remit his right of investing bishops, which he performed immediately after his reduction of Normandy, and was a matter of much more service to the pope than all the achievements of duke Robert in the Holy Land, whose merits as well as pretensions were now antiquated and out of date.

About this time the emperor Henry V. sent to desire Maude the king's daughter in marriage, who was then a child about eight years old. That prince had lately been embroiled in a quarrel with the see of Rome, which began upon the same subject of investing bishops, but was carried to great extremities; for, invading Italy with a mighty army, he took the pope prisoner, forced him to yield to whatever terms he thought fit to impose, and to take an oath of fidelity to him between his hands: however, as soon as Henry had withdrawn his forces, the pope, assembling a council, revoked all his concessions as extorted by compulsion, and raised great troubles in Germany against the emperor, who, in order to secure himself, sought this alliance with the king. 1109.

About this time likewise died archbishop Anselm, a prelate of great piety and learning, whose zeal for the see of Rome as well as for his own rights and privileges should in justice be imputed to the errors of the time, and not of the man. After his death, the king, following the steps of his brother, held the see vacant five years, contenting himself with an excuse which looked like a jest, That he only waited until he could find another so good a man as Anselm.

In the fourteenth year of this king's reign the Welsh after their usual manner invaded the marches with great fury and destruction; but the king, hoping to put a final end to those perpetual troubles and vexations given to his kingdom by that unquiet people, went in person against them with a powerful army; and to prevent their usual stratagem of retreating to their woods and mountains and other fastnesses, he ordered the woods to be cut down, beset all their places of security, and, hunting them like wild beasts, made so terrible a slaughter that, at length observing them to fling down their arms and beg for quarter, he commandod his soldiers to forbear; then receiving their submissions and placing garrisons where he thought necessary, he returned in great triumph and satisfaction to London.

The princess Maude, being now marriageable, was delivered to the emperor's ambassadors; and for a portion to the young
1114. lady a tax was imposed of 3*s.* upon every hide of land in England, which grew afterward into a custom, and was in succeeding times confirmed by acts of parliament under the name of "reasonable aid for marrying the king's daughter," although levied after a different manner.

As the institution of parliaments in England is agreed by several writers to be owing to this king, so the date of the first has been assigned by some to the fifteenth year of his reign; which however is not to be affirmed with any certainty: for great councils were convoked not only in the two preceding reigns, but for time immemorial by the Saxon princes, who first introduced them into this island, from the same original with the other Gothic forms of government in most parts of Europe. These councils or assemblies were composed according to the pleasure of the prince who convened them, generally of nobles and bishops, sometimes were added some considerable commoners; but they seldom met except in the beginning of a reign, or in times of war, until this king came to the crown; who, being a wise and popular prince, called these great assemblies upon most important affairs of his reign, and ever followed their advice; which if it proved successful the honor and advantage redounded to him, and if otherwise he was free from the blame: thus when he chose a wife for himself and a husband for his daughter, when he designed his expedition against Robert, and even for the election of an archbishop to the see of Canterbury, he proceeded wholly by the advice of such general assemblies summoned for the purpose. But the style of these conventions as delivered by several authors is very various: sometimes it is *comites barones, et cleri* [Brompton]; his marriage was agreed on, *consilio majorum natu et magnatum terræ.* One author [Polydore Virgil] calls it *concilium principium, sacerdotum, et reliqui populi.* And for the election of an archbishop the Saxon Chronicle says, that he commanded by letters all bishops, abbots, and thanes to meet him at Gloucester, *ad procerum conventum.* Lastly, some affirm these assemblies to have been an imitation of the three estates in Normandy. I am very sensible how much time and pains have been employed by several learned men to search out the original of parliaments in England, wherein I doubt they have little satisfied others or themselves. I know likewise that to engage in the same

inquiry would neither suit my abilities nor my subject. It may be sufficient for my purpose if I be able to give some little light into this matter for the curiosity of those who are less informed.

The institution of a state or commonwealth out of a mixture of the three forms of government received in the schools, however it be derided as a solecism and absurdity by some late writers on politics, has been very ancient in the world and is celebrated by the gravest authors of antiquity. For although the supreme power cannot properly be said to be divided, yet it may be so placed in three several hands as each to be a check upon the other; or formed into a balance which is held by him that has the executive power, with the nobility and people in counterpoise in each scale. Thus the kingdom of Media is represented by Xenophon before the reign of Cyrus; so Polybius tells us the best government is a mixture of the three forms, *regno, optimatium, et populi imperio;* the same was that of Sparta in its primitive institution by Lycurgus, made up of *reges, seniores, et populus;* the like may be asserted of Rome, Carthage, and other states: and the Germans of old fell upon the same model, from whence the Goths their neighbors, with the rest of those northern people, did perhaps borrow it. But an assembly of the three estates is not properly of Gothic institution; for these fierce people, when, upon the decline of the Roman empire, they first invaded Europe and settled so many kingdoms in Italy, Spain, and other parts, were all heathens: and when a body of them had fixed themselves in a tract of land left desolate by the flight or destruction of the natives, their military government by time and peace became civil; the general was king, his great officers were his nobles and ministers of state, and the common soldiers the body of the people; but these were freemen, and had smaller portions of land assigned them. The remaining natives were all slaves; the nobles were a standing council; and upon affairs of great importance the freemen were likewise called by their representatives to give their advice. By which it appears that the Gothic frame of government consisted at first but of two states or assemblies under the administration of a single person. But after the conversion of these princes and their people to the christian faith, the church became endowed with great possessions, as well by the bounty of kings as the arts and industry of the clergy winning upon the devotion of their new converts: and power by the common maxim always accompanying property, the ecclesiastics began soon to grow conside-

able, to form themselves into a body, and to call assemblies or sy by their own authority, or sometimes by the command of their princes, who in an ignorant age had a mighty veneration for their learning as well as piety. By such degrees the church arrived at length by very justifiable steps to have her share in the commonwealth, and became a third estate in most kingdoms of Europe; but these assemblies as we have already observed were seldom called in England before the reign of this prince, nor even then were always composed after the same manner: neither does it appear from the writers who lived nearest to that age that the people had any representative at all beside the barons and other nobles, who did not sit in those assemblies by virtue of their birth or creation, but of the lands or baronies they held. So that the present constitution of the English parliament has by many degrees and alterations been modeled to the frame it is now in: which alterations I shall observe in the succeeding reigns as exactly as I can discover them by a diligent search into the histories of the several ages, without engaging in the controverted points of law about this matter, which would rather perplex the reader than inform him.

1116. But to return: Lewis the Gross, king of France, a valiant and active prince, in the flower of his age, succeeding to that crown that Robert was deprived of—Normandy, grew jealous of the neighborhood and power of king Henry, and began early to entertain designs either of subduing that duchy to himself, or at least of making a considerable party against the king, in favor of William son of Robert, whom for that end he had taken into his protection. Pursuant to these intentions, he soon found an occasion for a quarrel, expostulating with Henry that he had broken his promise by not doing homage for the duchy of Normandy, as well as by neglecting to raze the castle of Gisors, which was built on the French side of the river Epte, the common boundary between both dominions.

But an incident soon offered which gave king Henry a pretext for retaliating almost in the same manner; for it happened that upon some offence taken against his nephew Theobald count of Blois by the French king, Lewis in great rage sent an army to invade and ravage the earl's territories. Theobald defended himself for a while with much valor; but at length, in danger to be overpowered, requested aid of his uncle the king of England, who supported him so effectually with men and money that he was able not only to defend his own country but very much to infest and

annoy his enemy. Thus a war was kindled between the two kings: Lewis now openly asserted the title of William the son of Robert, and entering into an alliance with the earls of Flanders and Anjou, began to concert measures for driving king Henry out of Normandy.

The king, having timely intelligence of his enemy's designs, began with great vigor and despatch to prepare for war: he raised, with much difficulty and discontent of his people, the greatest tax that had ever been known in England; and passing over into Normandy with a mighty army, joined his nephew Theobald. The king of France, who had entertained hopes that he should overrun the duchy before his enemy could arrive, advanced with great security towards the frontiers of Normandy; but observing an enemy of equal number and force already prepared to engage him, he suddenly stopped his march. The two armies faced one another for some hours, neither side offering battle: the rest of the day was spent in light skirmishes, begun by the French and repeated for some days following with various success; but the remainder of the year passed without any considerable action.

At length the violence of the two princes brought it to a battle: for Lewis, to give a reputation to his arms, advanced towards the frontiers of Normandy, and after a short siege took Gue Nicaise;[1] there the king met him, and the fight began, which continued with great obstinacy on both sides for nine hours. The French army was divided into two bodies and the English into three; by which means that part where the king fought in person, being attacked by a superior number, began to give way; and William Crispin, a Norman baron, singling out the king of England (whose subject he had been, but banished for treason), struck him twice on the head with so much violence that the blood gushed out of his mouth. The king, inflamed with rage and indignation, dealt such furious blows that he struck down several of his enemies, and Crispin among the rest, who was taken prisoner at his horse's feet. The soldiers, encouraged by the valor of their prince, rallied and fell on with fresh vigor; and the victory seemed doubtful when William, the son of king Henry, to whom his father had intrusted the third body of his army, which had not yet engaged, fell on with this fresh reserve upon the enemy, who was already very much harassed with the toil of the day: this quickly decided the matter; for the French, though valiantly fighting, were overcome, with the 1119.

[1] At that time reckoned an important fortress on the river Epte.

slaughter of several thousand men; their king quitted the field and withdrew to Andely; but the king of England recovering Gue Nicaise returned triumphant to Rouen.

This important victory was followed by the defection of the earl of Anjou to king Henry, and the earl of Flanders fell in the battle; by which the king of France was at once deprived of two powerful allies. However, by the intercession of the former, a peace was soon after made between both crowns. William the king's son did homage to Lewis for the dukedom of Normandy; and the other William, following the fortunes of his father, was left to his pretensions and complaints.

It is here observable that from this time until Wales was subdued to the English crown the eldest sons of England were called dukes of Normandy, as they are now princes of Wales.

The king, having stayed some time in Normandy for the settlement of his duchy after the calamities and confusions of a war, re-
1120. turned to England, to the very great satisfaction of his people and himself. He had enlarged his dominions by the conquest of Normandy; he had subdued all his competitors, and forced even the king of France, their great protector, after a glorious victory, to his own conditions of a peace; he was upon very good terms with the pope, who had a great esteem and friendship for his person, and made him larger concessions than was usual from that see and in those ages. At home he was respected by the clergy, reverenced by the nobles, and beloved by the people; in his family he was blessed with a son of much hopes, just growing to years of manhood, and his daughter was an empress; so that he seemed to possess as great a share of happiness as human life is capable to admit. But the felicity of man depends upon a conjunction of many circumstances, which are all subject to various accidents, and every single accident is able to dissolve the whole contexture; which truth was never verified more than in this prince, who, by one domestic misfortune, not to be prevented or foreseen, found all the pleasure and content he proposed to himself by his prudence, his industry, and his valor, wholly disappointed and destroyed; for William, the young prince, having embarked at Barfleur some time after his father, the mariners, being all drunk, suffered the ship to run upon a rock, where it was dashed to pieces: the prince made a shift to get into the boat, and was making to the shore until forced back by the cries of his sister, whom he received

into the boat; so many others crowded in at the same time that it was immediately overturned. There perished, beside the prince, a natural son and daughter of the king, his niece, and many other persons of quality, together with all their attendants and servants, to the number of 140, beside 50 mariners; but one person escaping.

Although the king survived this cruel misfortune many years, yet he could never recover his former humor, but grew melancholy and morose; however, in order to provide better for the peace and settlement of the kingdom after his death, about five months after the loss of his son, his former queen having died three years before, he married Adelais, a beautiful young lady of the family of Lorrain,[1] in hopes of issue by her; but never had any.

The death of the prince gave occasion to some new troubles in Normandy, for the earls of Meulant and Evreux, Hugh de Montfort, and other associates, began to raise insurrections there, which were thought to be privately fomented by the French king, out of enmity to king Henry, and in favor of William the son of Robert, to whom the earl of Anjou had lately given his daughter in marriage. But William of Tankerville, the king's lieutenant in Normandy, surprising the enemy's forces by an ambush, entirely routed them, took both the earls prisoners, and sent one of them (Meulant) to his master; but the count d'Evreux made his escape. 1124.

King Henry having now lost hope of issue by his new queen, brought with him, on his return to England, his daughter Maude, who by the emperor's death had been lately left a widow and childless; and in a parliament or general assembly which he had summoned at Windsor he caused the crown to be settled on her and her issue, and made all his nobles take a solemn oath to defend her title. This was performed by none with so much forwardness as Stephen earl of Boulogne, who was observed to show a more than ordinary zeal in the matter. This young lord was the king's nephew, being second son of the earl of Blois by Adela, the Conqueror's daughter. He was in high favor with the king his uncle, who had married him to the daughter and heiress of the earl of Boulogne, given him great possessions in England, and made him indeed too powerful for a subject. 1126.

The king, having thus fixed the succession of the crown in his daughter by an act of settlement and an oath of fealty, looked about

[1] She was daughter of Godfrey, duke of Louvain, or the Lower Lorrain.

to provide her with a second husband, and at length determined his choice in Geoffry Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, the son of Fulk, lately deceased.

This prince, whose dominions confined on France and Normandy, was usually courted for an ally by both kings in their several quarrels; but having little faith or honor he never scrupled to change sides as often as he saw or conceived it for his advantage. After the great victory over the French he closed in with king Henry, and gave his daughter to the young prince William; yet at the same time, by the private encouragement of Lewis, he prevailed on the king of England to be easy in the conditions of a peace. Upon the unfortunate loss of the prince and the troubles in Normandy thereupon, he fell again from the king, gave his other daughter to William the son of Robert, and stuck up with France to take that prince again into protection. But dying soon after and leaving his son Geoffry to succeed in that earldom, the king was of opinion he could not anywhere bestow his daughter with more advantage, both for the security and enlargement of his dominions, than by giving her to this earl; by which marriage Anjou would become an acquisition to Normandy, and thus be a more equal match to so formidable a neighbor as France. In a short time the marriage was concluded, and this earl Geoffry had the honor to introduce into the royal family of England the surname of Plantagenet, borne by so many succeeding kings, which began with Henry II., who was the eldest son of this marriage.

But the king of France was in great discontent at this match: he easily foresaw the dismal consequences to himself and his successors from such an increase of dominion united to the crown of England: he knew what impressions might be made in future times to the shaking of his throne by an aspiring and warlike king, if they should happen in a weak reign or upon any great discontents in that kingdom. Which conjectures being highly reasonable (and since often verified by events), he cast about to find some way of driving the king of England entirely out of France; but having neither pretext nor stomach in the midst of a peace to begin an open and formal quarrel, there fell out an accident which gave him plausible occasion of pursuing his designs.

Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, having been lately murdered by some of his subjects upon private revenge, the king of France went in person to take revenge of the assassins, which he per-

ormed with great justice and honor. But the late earl leaving no eir of his body, and several competitors appearing to dispute the ıccession, Lewis rejected some others who seemed to have a fairer tle and adjudged it to William the son of Robert, the better to ecure him to his interests upon any design he might engage in gainst the king of England. Not content with this, he assisted ıe earl in person, subdued his rivals, and left him in peaceable ossession of his new dominion.

King Henry, on the other side, was very apprehensive of his ephew's greatness, well knowing to what end it was directed; owever, he seemed not to regard it, contenting himself to give ıe earl employment at home by privately nourishing the discon- nts of his new subjects, and abetting underhand another pre- nder, for William had so entirely lost the hearts of his people by is intolerable avarice and exactions that the principal towns in landers revolted from him and invited Thierrie earl of Alsace to e their governor. But the king of France generously resolved to ppear once more in his defence, and took his third expedition into landers for that purpose. He had marched as far as Artois when e was suddenly recalled to defend his own dominions from the ury of a powerful and provoked invader; for Henry king of Eng- d, moved with indignation to see the French king, in the midst f a peace, so frequently and openly supporting his most dangerous nemy, thought it the best way to divert Lewis from kindling a re against him abroad by forcing him to extinguish one at home: e therefore entered into the bowels of France, ravaging and lay- ıg waste all before him, and quickly grew so formidable that the rench king to purchase a peace was forced to promise never more assist or favor the earl of Flanders: however, as it fell out, this rticle proved to be wholly needless, for the young earl soon after ave battle to Thierrie and put his whole army to the rout; but ursuing his victory he received a wound in his wrist, which by the nskilfulness of a surgeon cost him his life.

This one slight inconsiderable accident did in all probability put stop to very great events, for if that young prince had survived is victory it is hardly to be doubted but through the justness of is cause, the reputation of his valor, and the assistance of the ing of France, he would in a little time have recovered Normandy, nd perhaps his father's liberty, which were the two designs he ad in agitation; nor could he well have missed the crown of Eng-

land after the king's death, who was now in his decline, when he had so fair a title, and no competitor in view but a woman and an infant.

1129. Upon the king's return from Normandy a great council of the clergy was held at London for the punishing of priests who lived in concubinage, which was the great grievance of the church in those ages, and had been condemned by several canons. This assembly, thinking to take a more effectual course against that abomination as it was called, decreed severe penalties upon those who should be guilty of breaking it, entreating the king to see the law put in execution, which he very readily undertook, but performed otherwise than was expected, eluding the force of the law by an evasion to his own advantage; for, exacting fines of the delinquent priests, he suffered them to keep their concubines without further disturbance; a very unaccountable step in so wise a body for their own concernments as the clergy of those times is looked upon to have been; and although perhaps the fact be not worth recording, it may serve as a lesson to all assemblies never to trust the execution of a law in the hands of those who will find it more to their interests to see it broken than observed.

1132. The empress Maude was now happily delivered of a son, who was afterward king of England by the name of Henry II.; and the king, calling a parliament, had the oath of fealty repeated by the nobles and clergy to her and her issue, which in the compass of three years they all broke or forgot.

1134. I think it may deserve a place in this history to mention the last scene of duke Robert's life, who, either through the poorness or greatness of spirit, having outlived the loss of his honor, his dominions, his liberty, his eyesight, and his only son, was at last forced to sink under the load of eighty years, and must be allowed for the greatest example either of insensibility or contempt of earthly things that ever appeared in a sovereign or private person. He was a prince hardly equalled by any in his time for valor, conduct, and courtesy; but his ruin began from the easiness of his nature, which whoever knew how to manage were sure to be refused nothing they could ask. By such profusion he was reduced to those unhappy expedients of remitting his rights for a pension, of pawning his towns, and multiplying taxes, which brought him into hatred and contempt with his subjects; neither do I think any virtue so little commendable in a sovereign as that

of liberality, where it exceeds what his ordinary revenues can supply; where it passes those bounds his subjects must all be oppressed to show his bounty to a few flatterers, or he must sell his towns, or basely renounce his rights, by becoming pensioner to some powerful prince in the neighborhood, all which we have lived to see performed by a late monarch in our own time and country.

Since the reduction of Normandy to the king's obedience he found it necessary for his affairs to spend in that duchy some part of his time almost every year, and a little before 1135. the death of Robert he made his last voyage there. It was observable in this prince that, having some years past very narrowly escaped shipwreck in his passage from Normandy into England, the sense of his danger had made very deep impressions on his mind, which he discovered by a great reformation in his life, by redressing several grievances, and doing many acts of piety; and to show the steadiness of his resolutions he kept them to the last, making a progress through most parts of Normandy, treating his subjects in all places with great familiarity and kindness, granting their petitions, easing their taxes, and, in a word, giving all possible marks of a religious, wise, and gracious prince.

Returning to St. Denys le Forment from his progress a little indisposed, he there fell into a fever, upon a surfeit of lamprey, which in a few days ended his life. His body was conveyed to England and buried at Reading, in the abbey-church himself had founded.

It is hard to affirm anything peculiar of this prince's character, those authors who have attempted it mentioning very little but what was common to him with thousands of other men, neither have they recorded any of those personal circumstances or passages which only can discover such qualities of the mind as most distinguish one man from another. These defects may perhaps appear in the stories of many succeeding kings, which makes me hope I shall not be altogether blamed for sometimes disappointing the reader in a point wherein I could wish to be the most exact.

As to his person, he is described to be of middle stature, his body strong set and fleshy, his hair black, his eyes large, his countenance amiable and very pleasant, especially when he was merry. He was temperate in meat and drink, and a hater of effeminacy, a vice or folly much complained of in his time, especially that circumstance of long artificial hair, which he forbade upon severe penalties. His three principal virtues were prudence, valor, and

eloquence. These were counterbalanced by three great vices, avarice, cruelty, and lust, of which the first is proved by the frequency of his taxes, the second by his treatment of duke Robert, and the last was notorious. But the proof of his virtues does not depend on single instances, manifesting themselves through the whole course of a long reign, which was hardly attended by any misfortune that prudence, justice, or valor could prevent. He came to the crown at a ripe age, when he had passed thirty years, having learned in his private life to struggle with hardships, whereof he had his share, from the capriciousness and injustice of both his brothers; and by observing their failures he had learned to avoid them in himself, being steady and uniform in his whole conduct, which were qualities they both seemed chiefly to want. This likewise made him so very tenacious as he was observed to be in his love and hatred. He was a strict observer of justice, which he seems never to have violated but in that particular case which political casuists are pleased to dispense with, where the dispute is about a crown. In that he[1] . . . . . .

Considering him as a private man, he was perhaps the most accomplished person of his age, having a facetious wit, cultivated by learning, and advanced with a great share of natural eloquence, which was his peculiar talent: and it was no doubt the sense he had of this last perfection in himself that put him so often upon calling together the great councils of the nation, where natural oratory is of most figure as well as use.

THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

THE veneration which people are supposed naturally to pay to a right line and a lawful title in their kings must be upheld by a long uninterrupted succession, otherwise it quickly loses opinion, upon which the strength of it, although not the justice, is entirely founded: and where breaches have been already made in the lineal descent there is little security in a good title (though confirmed by promises and oaths) where the lawful heir is absent and a popular aspiring pretender near at hand. This I think may pass for a maxim, if any consequences drawn from history can pretend to be called so, having been verified successively three times in this king-

[1] Here the sentence breaks off short, and is left unfinished.

dom — I mean by the two preceding kings and by the prince whose reign we are now writing. Neither can this observation be justly controlled by any instances brought of future princes who being absent at their predecessor's death have peaceably succeeded, the circumstances being very different in every case, either by the weakness or justice of pretenders, or else by the long establishment of lineal succession.

Stephen earl of Boulogne, whose descent has been already shown in the foregoing reign, was the second of three brothers, whereof the eldest was Theobald earl of Blois, a sovereign prince, and Henry, the youngest, was bishop of Winchester and the pope's legate in England. At the time of king Henry's death his daughter the empress was with her husband the earl of Anjou, a grave and cautious prince, altogether unqualified for sudden enterprises; but earl Stephen, who had attended the king in his last expedition, made so great despatch for England,[1] that the council had not time to meet and make any declaration about a successor. When the lords were assembled, the legate had already by his credit and influence among them, brought over a great party to his brother's interests; and the earl himself, knowing with what success the like methods were used by his two last predecessors, was very liberal of his promises to amend the laws, support the church, and redress grievances, for all which the bishop undertook to be guarantee. And thus was Stephen elected by those very persons who had so lately, and in so solemn a manner, more than once sworn fealty to another. 1135.

The motives whereby the nobility were swayed to proceed after this manner were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual struggle between them and their former kings in the defence of their liberties; for the security whereof they thought a king elected without other title would be readier to enter into any obligations, and being held in constant dependence would be less tempted to break them; therefore, as at his coronation they obtained full security by his taking new and additional oaths in favor of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but conditional, to be of force no longer than he should be true to those stipulations.

But other reasons were contrived and given out to satisfy the people; they were were told it was an indignity for so noble a nation to be governed by a woman; that the late king had promised to

[1] Stephen was at Boulogne when he received the news of Henry's death.

marry his daughter within the realm and by consent of parliament, neither of which was observed; and lastly, Hugh Bigod, steward to king Henry, took a voluntary oath before the archbishop of Canterbury, that his master in his last sickness had upon some displeasure disinherited his daughter.

He received the crown with one great advantage that could best enable him to preserve it; this was the possession of his uncle's treasures, amounting to 100,000*l.*, and reckoned as a prodigious sum in those days; by the help of which, without ever raising one tax upon the people, he defended an unjust title against the lawful heir during a perpetual contest of almost twenty years.

In order to defend himself against any sudden invasion, which he had cause enough to expect, he gave all men licence to build castles upon their lands, which proved a very mistaken piece of politics, although grounded upon some appearance of reason. The king supposed that no invader would venture to advance into the heart of his country without reducing every castle in his way, which must be a work of much time and difficulty, nor would be able to afford men to block them up and secure his retreat; which way of arguing may be good enough to a prince of an undisputed title and entirely in the hearts of his subjects; but numerous castles are ill defenders of an usurpation, being the common retreat of malcontents, where they can fly with security and discover their affections as they please; by which means the enemy, although beaten in the field, may still preserve his footing in the bowels of a country, may wait supplies from abroad and prolong a war for many years; nor while he is master of any castles can he ever be at mercy by any sudden misfortune, but may be always in a condition of demanding terms for himself. These and many other effects of so pernicious a counsel the king found through the whole course of his reign; which was entirely spent in sieges, revolts, surprises, and surrenders, with very few battles but no decisive action; a period of so much misery and confusion, which affords little that is memorable for events or useful for the instruction of posterity.

The first considerable enemy that appeared against him was
1136. David, king of Scots, who, having taken the oath of fealty to Maude and her issue, being further engaged by the ties of blood and stirred up through the persuasions of several English nobles, began to take up arms in her cause, and invading the northern parts took Carlisle and Newcastle; but upon the king's speedy

approach with his forces a peace was presently made and the towns restored. However, the Scottish prince would by no means renounce his fidelity to the empress by paying homage to Stephen; so that an expedient was found to have it performed by his eldest son, in consideration of which the king gave, or rather restored, to him the earldom of Huntington.

Upon his return to London from this expedition he happened to fall sick of a lethargy, and it was confidently given out that he was dead. This report was with great industry and artifice dispersed by his enemies, which quickly discovered the ill inclination of several lords, who, although they never believed the thing, yet made use of it for an occasion or pretext to fortify their castles, which they refused to surrender to the king himself; but Stephen was resolved, as he said, to convince them that he was alive and well; for coming against them before he was expected, he recovered Exeter, Norwich, and other fortified places, although not without much difficulty.

It is obvious enough to wonder how a prince of so much valor and other excellent endowments, elected by the church and state after a compliance with all conditions they could impose on him, and in an age when so little regard was had to the lineal descent, lastly confirmed by the pope himself, should be soon deserted and opposed by those very persons who had been the most instrumental to promote him. But beside his defective title and the undistinguished liberty of building castles, there were three circumstances which very much contributed to those perpetual revolts of the nobles against him: first, that upon his coming to the crown he was very liberal in distributing lands and honors to several young gentlemen of noble birth who came to make their court, whereby he hoped to get the reputation of a generous prince and to strengthen his party against the empress; but by this encouragement the number of pretenders quickly grew too fast upon him; and when he had granted all he was able he was forced to dismiss the rest with promises and excuses; who, either out of envy or discontent, or else to mend their fortunes, never failed to become his enemies upon the first occasion that offered. Secondly, when he had reduced several castles and towns which had given the first example of defection from him, he hardly inflicted the least punishment on the authors, which unseasonable mercy, that in another prince and an other age would have been called greatness of spirit, passed in him

for pusillanimity and fear, and is reckoned by the writers of those times to have been the cause of many succeeding revolts. The third circumstance was of a different kind; for, observing how little good effect he had found by his liberality and indulgence, he would needs try the other extreme, which was not his talent. He began to infringe the articles of his charter, to recall or disown the promises he had made, and to repulse petitioners with rough treatment, which was the more unacceptable by being new and unexpected.

Meantime the earl of Anjou, who was not in a condition to assert his wife's title to England, hearing Stephen was employed at home, 1137. entered Normandy with small force, and found it no difficult matter to seize several towns. The Normans, in the present distraction of affairs not well knowing what prince to obey, at last sent an invitation to Theobald, earl of Blois, king Stephen's eldest brother, to accept their dukedom upon the condition of protecting them from the present insults of the earl of Anjou. But before this matter could come to an issue, Stephen, who upon reduction of the towns already mentioned had found a short interval of quiet from his English subjects, arrived with unexpected speed in Normandy, where Geoffry of Anjou soon fled before him, and the whole duchy came over to his obedience, for the farther settlement whereof he made peace with the king of France, constituted his son Eustace duke of Normandy, and made him swear fealty to that prince and do him homage. His brother Theobald, who began to expostulate upon this disappointment, he pacified with a pension of 2000 marks;[1] and even the earl of Anjou himself, who in right of his wife made demands of Stephen for the kingdom of England, finding he was no equal match at present, was persuaded to become his pensioner for 5000 more.[2]

Stephen upon his return to England met with an account of new troubles from the north, for the king of Scots, under pretence of observing his oath of fealty to the empress, infested the borders, and frequently making cruel inroads, plundered and laid waste all before him.

In order to revenge this base and perfidious treatment the king

[1] The mark of Normandy is to be understood here. Such a pension in that age was equivalent to one of 31,000*l.* sterling in the present.

[2] Five thousand marks of silver coin was, in this reign, of the same value as the sum of 77,500*l.* modern currency is now. Here again the Normanic mark seems to be used.

in his march northward sat down before Bedford, and took it after a siege of twenty days. This town was part of the earldom of Huntington, given by Stephen in the late peace to the eldest son of the Scottish king, for which the young prince did homage to him; and it was upon that account defended by a garrison of Scots. Upon intelligence of this surrender king David, overcome with fury, entered Northumberland, where, letting loose the rage of his soldiers, he permitted and encouraged them to commit all manner of inhumanities, which they performed in so execrable a manner as would scarce be credible if it were not attested by almost the universal consent of writers: they ripped up women with child, drew out the infants, and tossed them upon the points of their lances; they murdered priests before the altars; then, cutting the heads from off the crucifixes, in their stead put on the heads of those they had murdered; with many other instances of monstrous barbarity too foul to relate: but cruelty being usually attended with cowardice, this perfidious prince upon the approach of king Stephen fled into places of security. The king of England, finding no enemy on whom to employ his revenge, marched forward into the country, destroying with fire and sword all the southern parts; and would in all probability have made terrible impressions into the heart of Scotland if he had not been suddenly recalled by a more dangerous fire at home, which had been kindled in his absence and was now broken out into a flame. 1138.

Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, came into England some time after the advancement of Stephen to the crown; and, yielding to the necessity of the time, took the oath of fealty upon the same condition used by the other nobles, to be of force so long as the king should keep his faith with him and preserve his dignity inviolate; but, being in his heart wholly devoted to the interests of the empress his sister, and moved by the persuasions of several religious men, he had with great secrecy and application so far practised upon the levity or discontent of several lords as to gain them to his party, for the king had of late very much alienated the nobles against him; first, by seizing several of their persons and dispossessing them of their lands; and secondly, by taking into his favor William d'Ypres, a Flemish commander of noble birth, but banished by his prince. This man, with many of his followers, the king employed chiefly both in his councils and his armies, and made him earl of Kent, to the great envy and displeasure of his English

subjects. The earl of Gloucester therefore, and his accomplices, having prepared all things necessary for an insurrection, it was agreed among them that while the king was engaged against the Scots each of them should secure what towns and castles they could and openly declare for the empress. Accordingly, earl Robert suddenly fortified himself in Bristol; the rest followed his example: Hereford, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Dover, and many other places were seized by several lords; and the defection grew so formidable that the king, to his great grief, was forced to leave his Scottish expedition unfinished, and return with all possible speed to suppress the rebellion begun by his subjects, having first left the care of the north to Thurstan, archbishop of York, with orders carefully to observe the motions of the Scots.

Whilst the king was employed in the south in reducing his discontented lords and their castles to his obedience, David, presuming upon the distance between them, re-entered England with more numerous forces and greater designs than before; for, without losing more time than what was necessary to pillage and destroy the country as he marched, he resolved to besiege York; which, if he could force to surrender, would serve as a convenient frontier against the English. To this end, advancing near the city and having pitched his tents, he sat down before it with his whole army. In the mean time archbishop Thurstan, having already summoned the nobles and gentry of the shire and parts adjacent, had, by powerful persuasions, incited them to defend their country against a treacherous, bloody, and restless enemy; so that before the king of Scotland could make any progress in the siege the whole power of the north was united against him under the earl of Albemarle and several other nobles. Archbishop Thurstan happening to fall sick could not go in person to the army, but sent the bishop of Durham in his stead; by whose encouragements the English, although in number far inferior, advanced boldly toward the enemy and offered them battle, which was as readily accepted by the Scots, who, sending out a party of horse to secure the rising ground, were immediately attacked by the English, and after a sharp dispute entirely defeated. In the heat of the battle the king of Scots, and his son Henry earl of Huntingdon, gave many proofs of great personal valor. The young prince fell with such fierceness upon a body of the English that he utterly broke and dispersed them, and was pursuing his victory when a certain man, bearing aloft the head of an

enemy he had cut off, cried out it was the head of the Scottish king; which being heard and believed on both sides, the English, who had lately fled, rallied again, assaulting their enemies with new vigor; the Scots on the other side, discouraged by the supposed death of their prince, began to turn their backs: the king and his son used all endeavors to stop their flight, and made several brave stands against the enemy; but the greatest part of their army being fled, and themselves almost encompassed, they were forced to give way to fortune, and with much difficulty made their escape.

The loss of the English side was inconsiderable; but of Scots, by general consent of writers, 10,000 were slain. And thus ended the war of the Standard, as it was usually called by the authors of that age: because the English upon a certain engine raised the mast of a ship, on the top whereof in a silver box they put the consecrated wafer and fastened the standards of St. Peter and other saints; this gave them courage, by remembering they were to fight in the presence of God, and served likewise for a mark where to reassemble when they should happen to be dispersed by any accident or misfortune.

Mean time the king was equally successful against his rebellious lords at home, having taken most of their castles and strongholds; and the earl of Gloucester himself, no longer able to make any resistance, withdrew into Normandy, to concert new measures with the empress his sister. Thus the king had leisure and opportunity for another expedition into Scotland, to pursue and improve his victory, where he met with no opposition: however, he was at length persuaded with much difficulty to accept his own conditions of a peace, and David delivered up to him his eldest son Henry as hostage for performance of articles between them. 1139.

The king in his return homeward laid siege to Ludlow Castle, which had not been reduced with the rest: here prince Henry of Scotland, boiling with youth and valor, and exposing his person upon all occasions, was lifted from his horse by an iron grapple let down from the walls, and would have been hoisted up into the castle if the king had not immediately flown to his assistance and brought him off with his own hands by main force from the enemy, whom he soon compelled to surrender the castle.

Stephen, having thus subdued his inveterate enemies the Scots and reduced his rebellious nobles, began to entertain hopes of enjoying a little ease. But he was destined to the pos- 1140.

session of a crown with perpetual disturbance, for he was hardly returned from his northern expedition when he received intelligence that the empress, accompanied by her brother the earl of Gloucester, was preparing to come for England, in order to dispute her title to the kingdom. The king, who knew by experience what a powerful party she already had to espouse her interests, very reasonably concluded the defection from him would be much greater when she appeared in person to countenance and reward it; he therefore began again to repent of the licence he had granted for building castles, which were now likely to prove so many places of security for his enemies and fortifications against himself: for he knew not whom to trust, vehemently suspecting his nobles ever since their last revolt. He therefore cast about for some artifice to get into his hands as many of their castles as he could, in the strength and magnificence of which kind of structures the bishops had far outdone the rest, and were upon that as well as other accounts very much maligned and envied by the temporal lords, who were extremely jealous of the church's increasing power, and glad upon all occasions to see the prelates humbled. The king, therefore, having formed his project, resolved to make trial where it would be least invidious, and where he could foresee least danger in the consequences. At a parliament or assembly of nobles at Oxford it was contrived to raise a quarrel between the servants of some bishops and those of Alan, count of Dinan in Bretagne, upon a contention of rooms in their inns. Stephen took hold of this advantage, sent for the bishops, taxed them with breaking his peace, and demanded the keys of their castles, adding threats of imprisonment if they dared to disobey. Those whom the king chiefly suspected, or rather who had built the most and strongest castles, were Roger bishop of Salisbury, with his nephew and natural son the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, whom the king by many circumstances of rigor compelled to surrender, going himself in person to seize the Devizes, then esteemed the noblest structure of Europe, and built by the forementioned bishop Roger, whose treasure to the value of 40,000 marks,[1] there likewise deposited, fell at the same time into the king's hand, which in a few days broke the bishop's heart, already worn with age and infirmity.

[1] This prelate's treasure is doubtless computed by the smaller or Saxon mark, the use of which still prevailed in England; and, even thus computed, it amounts to a vast sum, equal to about 116,350*l.* of modern money.

It may perhaps not be thought a digression to say something of the fortunes of this prelate, who from the lowest beginnings came to be without dispute the greatest churchman of any subject in his age. It happened that the late king Henry, in the reign of his brother, being at a village in Normandy, wanted a priest to say mass before him and his train; when this man, who was a poor curate thereabouts, offered his service, and performed it with so much dexterity and speed that the soldiers who attended the prince recommended him to their master upon that account as a very proper chaplain for military men. But it seems he had other talents, for having gotten into the prince's service he soon discovered great application and address, much order and economy in the management of his master's fortunes, which were wholly left to his care. After Henry's advancement to the crown this chaplain grew chief in his favor and confidence; was made bishop of Salisbury, chancellor of England, employed in all his most weighty affairs, and usually left vicegerent of the realm while the king was absent in Normandy. He was among the first that swore fealty to Maude and her issue, and among the first that revolted from her to Stephen, offering such reasons in council for setting her aside as by the credit and opinion of his wisdom were very prevalent. But the king in a few years forgot all obligations, and the bishop fell a sacrifice in his old age to those treasures he had been so long heaping up for its support. A just reward for his ingratitude towards the prince that raised him, to be ruined by the ingratitude of another whom he had been so very instrumental to raise.

But Henry bishop of Winchester, the pope's legate, not able to endure this violation of the church, called a council of all the prelates to meet at Winchester, where the king being summoned appeared by his advocate, who pleaded his cause with much learning; and the archbishop of Rouen, coming to the council, declared his opinion, that, although the canons did allow the bishops to possess castles, yet in dangerous times they ought to deliver them up to the king. This opinion Stephen followed very steadily, not yielding a tittle, although the legate, his brother, used all means, both rough and gentle, to work upon him.

The council of bishops broke up without other effect than that of leaving in their minds an implacable hatred to the king in a very opportune juncture for the interest of Maude, who about this time landed at Portsmouth with her brother Robert earl of Glou-

ester. The whole force she brought over for this expedition consisted but in 140 knights: but she trusted altogether in her cause and her friends. With this slender attendance she went to Arundel and was there received into the castle by the widow of the late king; while earl Robert, accompanied only by twenty men, marched boldly to his own city in Gloucester, in order to raise forces for the empress, where the townsmen turned out the king's garrison as soon as they heard of his approach.

King Stephen was not surprised at the news of the empress's arrival, being a thing he had always counted upon, and was long preparing himself against. He was glad to hear how ill she was provided, and resolved to use the opportunity of her brother's absence: for hasting down to Arundel with a sufficient strength he laid siege to the castle, in hopes by securing her person to put a speedy end to the war.

But there were not some very near about the king who, favoring the party of Maude, had credit enough to prevail with him not to venture time and reputation against an impregnable fortress, but rather by withdrawing his forces permit her to retire to some less fortified place, where she might more easily fall into his hands. This advice the king took against his own opinion; the empress fled out of Arundel by night, and after frequent shifting her stages through several towns, which had already declared in her favor, fixed herself at last at Lincoln, where having all things provided necessary for her defence she resolved to continue, and expect either a general revolt of the English to her side or the decision of war between the king and her brother.

But Stephen, who had pursued the empress from place to place, hearing she had shut herself up in Lincoln, resolved to give her no rest; and to help on his design it fell out that the citizens, in hatred to the earl of Chester, who commanded there for the empress, sent a private invitation to the king, with promise to deliver the town and their governor into his hands. The king came accordingly, and possessed himself of the town, but Maude and the earl made their escape a few days before. However, many great persons of Maude's party remained prisoners to the king, and among the rest the earl of Chester's wife, who was daughter to the earl of Gloucester. These two earls, resolving to attempt the relief of their friends, marched with all their forces near Lincoln, where they found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. The

1141.

next morning, after battle offered by the lords and accepted by the king, both sides made ready to engage. The king, having disposed his cavalry on each wing, placed himself at the head of his foot, in whom he reposed most confidence. The army of the lords was divided in three bodies; those whom king Stephen had banished were placed in the middle, the earl of Chester led the van, and the earl of Gloucester commanded the rear. The battle was fought at first with equal advantage and great obstinacy on both sides; at length the right wing of the king's horse, pressed by the earl of Chester, galloped away, not without suspicion of treachery; the left followed the example. The king beheld their flight, and encouraging those about him, fell with undaunted valor upon the enemy, and being for some time bravely seconded by his foot did great execution. At length, overpowered by numbers, his men began to disperse, and Stephen was left almost alone with his sword in his hand, wherewith he opposed his person against a whole victorious army, nor durst any be so hardy to approach him: the sword breaking, a citizen of Lincoln put into his hands a Danish battle-axe, with which he struck to the ground the earl of Chester,[1] who presumed to come within his reach. But this weapon likewise flying in pieces with the force of those furious blows he dealt on all sides, a bold knight of the empress's party, named William de Keynes laid hold on his helmet, and immediately cried out to his fellows, "I have got the king!" Then the rest ran in and he was taken prisoner.

The king being thus secured, was presented to the empress, then at Gloucester, and by her orders conveyed to Bristol, where he continued in strict custody nine months, although with honorable treatment for some time, until either upon endeavoring to make his escape or in malice to the Londoners, who had a great affection for their king, he was by express command from the empress laid in irons, and used with other circumstances of severity.

This victory was followed by a general defection of almost the whole kingdom; and the earl of Anjou, husband to the empress, upon the fame of the king's defeat and imprisonment, reduced without any difficulty the whole duchy of Normandy to his obedience.

The legate himself, although brother to king Stephen, received

[1] The earl of Chester lived nevertheless to fight other battles, and died twelve years after by poison.

her at Winchester with great solemnity, accepted her oath for governing with justice, redressing grievances, and supporting the rights of the church, and took the old conditional one of fealty to her; then, in an assembly of bishops and clergy convoked for the purpose, he displayed the miscarriages of his brother, and declared his approbation of the empress to be queen; to which they unanimously agreed. To complete all, he prevailed by his credit with the Londoners, who stood out the last of any, to acknowledge and receive her into the city, where she arrived at length in great pomp and with general satisfaction.

But it was the misfortune of this princess to possess many weaknesses that are charged to the sex, and very few of its commendable qualities: she was now in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom, except the county of Kent, where William d'Ypres pretended to keep up a small party for the king; when by her pride, wilfulness, indiscretion, and a disobliging behavior, she soon turned the hearts of all men against her, and in a short time lost the fruits of that victory and success which had been so hardly gained by the prudence and valor of her excellent brother. The first occasion she took to discover the perverseness of her nature was in the treatment of Maude, the wife of king Stephen, a lady of great virtue and courage above her sex; who, coming to the empress an humble suitor in behalf of her husband, offered, as a price of his liberty, that he should resign all pretensions to the crown, and pass the rest of his life in exile or in a convent. But this request was rejected with scorn and reproaches; and the queen, finding all entreaties to no purpose, writ to her son Eustace to let him understand the ill success of her negotiation, that no relief was to be otherwise hoped for than by arms; and therefore advised him to raise immediately what forces he could for the relief of his father.

Her next miscarriage was towards the Londoners, who presented her a petition for redressing certain rigorous laws of her father, and restoring those of Edward the Confessor. The empress put them off for a time with excuses, but at last discovered some displeasure at their importunity. The citizens, who had with much difficulty been persuaded to receive her against their inclinations, which stood wholly for the king, were moved with indignation at her unreasonable refusal of their just demands, and entered into a conspiracy to seize her person. But she had timely notice of their design, and leaving the city by night in disguise fled to Oxford.

A third false step the empress made was in refusing her new powerful friend the legate a favor he desired in behalf of Eustace, the king's son, to grant him the lands and honors held by his father before he came to the crown. She had made large promises to this prelate that she would be directed in all things by his advice; and to be refused upon his first application a small favor for his own nephew, stung him to the quick; however, he governed his resentments a while, but began at the same time to resume his affection for his brother. These thoughts were cultivated with great address by queen Maude, who prevailed at last so far upon the legate that private measures were agreed between them for restoring Stephen to his liberty and crown. The bishop took leave of the empress upon some plausible pretence, and retired to Winchester, where he gave directions for supplying with men and provision several strong castles he had built in his diocese, while the queen, with her son Eustace, prevailed with the Londoners and men of Kent to rise in great numbers for the king; and a powerful army was quickly on foot under the command of William d'Ypres, earl of Kent.

In the mean time the empress began to be sensible of the errors she had committed; and in hope either to retrieve the friendship of the legate or take him prisoner, marched with her army to Winchester, where being received and lodged in the castle she sent immediately for the legate, spoke much in excuse of what was past, and used all endeavors to regain him to her interests. Bishop Henry, on the other side, amused her with dubious answers, and kept her in suspense for some days; but sent privately at the same time to the king's army, desiring them to advance with all possible speed, which was executed with so much diligence that the empress and her brother had only time with their troops to march a back way out of the town. They were pursued by the enemy so close in the rear that the empress had hardly time, by counterfeiting herself dead, to make her escape; in which posture she was carried as a corpse to Gloucester; but the earl her brother, while he made what opposition he could with design to stop her pursuers, was himself taken prisoner, with great slaughter of his men. After the battle the earl was in his turn presented to queen Maude, and by her command sent to Rochester to be treated in the same manner with the king.

Thus the heads of both parties were each in the power of his

enemy, and Fortune seemed to have dealt with great equality between them. Two factions divided the whole kingdom, and, as it usually happens, private animosities were inflamed by the quarrel of the public; which introduced a miserable face of things throughout the land, whereof the writers of our English story give melancholy descriptions, not to be repeated in this history; since the usual effects of civil war are obvious to conceive and tiresome as well as useless to relate. However, as the quarrel between the king and empress was grounded upon a cause that in its own nature little concerned the interests of the people, this was thought a convenient juncture for transacting a peace, to which there appeared a universal disposition. Several expedients were proposed; but earl Robert would consent upon no other terms than the deposing of Stephen and immediate delivery of the crown to his sister. These debates lasted for some months, until the two prisoners, weary of their long constraint, by mutual consent were exchanged for each other, and all thoughts of agreement laid aside.

The king, upon recovery of his freedom, hastened to London to get supplies of men and money for renewing the war. He there found that his brother of Winchester had, in a council of bishops and abbots, renounced all obedience to the empress, and persuaded the assembly to follow his example. The legate, in excuse for this proceeding, loaded her with infamy, produced several instances wherein she had broken the oath she took when he received her as queen, and upon which his obedience was grounded; and said he had received information that she had a design upon his life.

It must be confessed that oaths of fealty in this prince's reign were feeble ties for binding the subject to any reasonable degree of obedience; and the warmest advocates for liberty cannot but allow, from those examples here produced, that it is very possible for people to run upon great extremes in this matter; that a monarch may be too much limited, and a subject too little; whereof the consequences have been fully as pernicious for the time as the worst that can be apprehended from arbitrary power in all its heights, although not perhaps so lasting or so hard to be remedied; since all the miseries of this kingdom during the period we are treating of were manifestly owing to that continual violation of such oaths of allegiance as appear to have been contrived on purpose by ambitious men to be broken at pleasure, without the least apprehension of perjury, and in the mean time keep the prince in a continual slavish dependence.

The earl of Gloucester soon after his release went over into Normandy, where he found the earl of Anjou employed in completing the conquest of that duchy; there he delivered him the sons of several English noblemen to be kept as hostages for their fathers' fidelity to the empress, and used many arguments for persuading him to come over in person with an army to her assistance; but Geoffry excused himself by the importance of other affairs, and the danger of exposing the dominions he had newly acquired to rebellions in his absence. However, he lent the earl of Gloucester a supply of 400 men, and sent along with him his eldest son Henry to comfort his mother and be shown to the people.

During the short absence of the earl of Gloucester the empress was closely besieged in Oxford by the king; and provision beginning to fail she was in cruel apprehensions of falling into his hands. This gave her occasion to put in practice the only talent wherein she seemed to excel, which was that of contriving some little shift or expedient to secure her person upon any sudden emergency. A long season of frost had made the Thames passable upon the ice, and much snow lay on the ground: Maude, with some few attendants, clad all in white to avoid being discovered from the king's camp, crossed the river at midnight on foot, and travelling all night, got safe to Wallingford-castle, where her brother and young son Henry, newly returned from France, arrived soon after, to her great satisfaction; but Oxford, immediately upon the news of her flight, surrendered to the king.

However, this disgrace was fully compensated soon after by another of the same kind which happened to king Stephen; for while he and his brother of Winchester were fortifying a nunnery at Wilton, to bridle his enemies at Salisbury, who very much harassed those parts by their frequent excursions, the earl of Gloucester, who watched all opportunities, came unaware with a strong body of men, and set fire to the nunnery while the king himself was in it. Stephen, upon the sudden surprise of the thing, wholly lost or forgot his usual courage, and fled shamefully away, leaving his soldiers to be cut in pieces by the earl.

During the rest of the war, although it lasted nine years longer, there is little memorable recorded by any writer; whether the parties, being pretty equal and both sufficiently tired with so long a contention, wanted vigor and spirit to make a thorough conquest, and only endeavored to keep what they had, or whether the multi-

tude of strong castles, whose numbers daily increased, made it very difficult to end a war between two contending powers almost in balance; let the cause be what it will, the whole time passed in mutual sieges, surprises, revolts, surrenders of fortified places, without any decisive action or other event of importance to be related. By which at length the very genius of the people became wholly bent upon a life of spoil, robbery, and plunder; many of the nobles, although pretending to hold their castles for the king or the empress, lived like petty independent princes in a perpetual state of war against their neighbors; the fields lay uncultivated, all the arts of civil life were banished, no veneration left for sacred persons or things; in short, no law, truth, or religion among men, but a scene of universal misery, attended with all the consequences of an embroiled and distracted state.

About the eleventh year of the king's reign young Henry, now growing toward a man, was sent for to France by a message from his father, who was desirous to see him, but left a considerable party in England to adhere to his interests; and in a short time after (as some write) the empress herself, grown weary of contending any longer in a cause where she had met with nothing but misfortunes of her own procuring, left the kingdom likewise and retired to her husband. Nor was this the only good fortune that befell Stephen; for before the year ended the main prop and pillar of his enemies was taken away by death: this was Robert earl of Gloucester, than whom there have been few private persons known in the world that deserve a fairer place and character in the registers of time for his inviolable faith, disinterested friendship, indefatigable zeal, firm constancy to the cause he espoused, and unparalleled generosity in the conduct thereof: he adhered to his sister in all her fortunes, to the ruin of his own; he placed a crown upon her head; and when she had lost it by her folly and perverseness refused the greatest offers from a victorious enemy who had him in his power, and chose to continue a prisoner rather than recover his liberty by any hazard to her pretensions: he bore up her sinking title in spite of her own frequent miscarriages, and at last died in her cause, by a fever contracted with perpetual toils for her service. An example fit to be shown the world, although few perhaps are likely to follow it; but, however, a small tribute of praise justly due to extraordinary virtue may prove no ill expedient to encourage imitation.

But the death of this lord, together with the absence of the empress and her son in France, added very little to the quiet or security of the king. For the earl of Gloucester, suspecting the fidelity of the lords, had, with great sagacity, delivered their sons to the earl of Anjou, to be kept as pledges for their fathers' fidelity, as we have before related; by which means a powerful party was still kept up against Stephen, too strong to be suddenly broken. Besides, he had by an unusual strain of his conduct lately lost much good will, as well as reputation, in committing an act of violence and fraud on the person of the earl of Chester, a principal adherent of the empress. This nobleman, of great power and possessions, had newly reconciled himself to Stephen, and came to his court at Northampton, where, against all laws of hospitality as well as common faith and justice, he was committed to prison, and forced to buy his liberty with the surrender of Lincoln and all his other places into the king's hands.

Affairs continued in this turbulent posture about two years, the nobles neither trusting the king nor each other. The number of castles still increased, which every man who had any 1149.
possessions was forced to build or else become a prey to his powerful neighbors. This was thought a convenient juncture by the empress and her friends for sending young prince Henry to try his fortune in England, where he landed at the head of a considerable number of horse and foot, although he was then but sixteen years old. Immediately after his arrival he went to Carlisle, where he met his cousin David king of Scots, by whom he was made a knight after the usual custom of young princes and noblemen in that age The king of England, who had soon intelligence of Henry's landing and motions, marched down to secure York, against which he expected the first attempt of his enemy was designed. But, whatever the cause might be (wherein the writers of those ages are either silent or unsatisfactory), both armies remained at that 1150.
secure distance for three months; after which Henry returned back to Normandy, leaving the kingdom in the state of confusion he found it at his coming.

The fortunes of this young prince, Henry Fitzempress, now began to advance by great and sudden steps, whereof it will be no digression to inform the reader, as well upon the connexion they have with the affairs at home about this time, as because they concern the immediate successor to the crown.

Prince Henry's voyage to France was soon followed by the death
1151. of his father Geoffry earl of Anjou, whereby the son became possessed of that earldom together with the duchy of Normandy; but in a short time after he very much enlarged his do-
1152. minions by a marriage, in which he consulted his reputation less than his advantage. For Lewis the Young, king of France, was lately divorced from his wife Eleanor, who, as the French writers relate, bore a great contempt and hatred to her husband and had long desired such a separation. Other authors give her not so fair a character; but whatever might be the real cause, the pretext was consanguinity in the fourth degree. Henry was content to accept this lady with all her faults, and in her right became duke of Aquitain and earl of Poitou, very considerable provinces added to his other dominions.

But the two kings of France and England began to apprehend much danger from the sudden greatness of a young ambitious prince; and their interests were jointly concerned to check his growth. Duke Henry was now ready to sail for England in a condition to assert his title upon more equal terms; when the king of France, in conjunction with Eustace, king Stephen's son, and Geoffry, the duke's own brother, suddenly entered into his dominions with a mighty army, took the castle of Neumarche by storm and laid siege to that of Angers. The duke, by this incident, was forced to lay aside his thoughts of England, and marching boldly toward the enemy resolved to relieve the besieged; but finding they had already taken the castle, he thought it best to make a diversion by carrying the war into the enemy's country; where he left all to the mercy of his soldiers, surprised and burnt several castles, and made great devastations wherever he came. This proceeding answered the end for which it was designed; the king of France thought he had already done enough for his honor, and began to grow weary of a ruinous war which was likely to be protracted. The conditions of a peace, by the intervention of some religious men, were soon agreed. The duke, after some time spent in settling his affairs and preparing all things necessary for his intended expedition, set sail for England, where he landed the same year in the depth of winter with 140 knights and 3000 foot.

Some time before Henry landed, the king had conceived a project to disappoint his designs by confirming the crown upon himself and his own posterity. He sent for the archbishop of Canter-

bury with several other prelates, and proposed that his son Eustace should be crowned king with all the usual solemnity; but the bishops absolutely refused to perform the office by express orders from the pope, who was enemy to Stephen, partly upon account of his unjust or declining cause, but chiefly for his strict alliance with the king of France, who was then engaged in a quarrel against that see, upon a very tender point relating to the revenues of vacant churches. The king and his son were both enraged at the bishops' refusal, and kept them prisoners in the chamber where they assembled, with many threats to force them to a compliance, and some other circumstances of rigor; but all to no purpose, so that he was at length forced to desist. But the archbishop, to avoid further vexation, fled the realm.

This contrivance of crowning the son during the life and reign of the father, which appears so absurd in speculation, was actually performed in the succeeding reign, and seems to have been taken up by those two princes of French birth and extraction, in imitation of the like practice in their native country, where it was usual for kings, grown old and infirm, or swayed by paternal indulgence, to receive their eldest son into a share of the administration with the title of king; a custom borrowed, no doubt, from the later emperors of Rome, who adopted their Cæsars after the like manner.

The king was employed in his usual exercise of besieging castles when the news was brought of Henry's arrival. He left the work he was about and marched directly against the duke, who was then set down before Malmesbury. But Stephen forced him to raise the siege and immediately offered him battle. The duke, although his army was much increased by continual revolts, thought it best to gain time, being still in number far inferior to the king, and therefore kept himself strongly intrenched. There is some difference among writers about the particulars of this war: however, it is generally agreed that, in a short time after, the two armies met and were prepared for battle, when the nobles on both sides, either dreading the consequences or weary of a tedious war, prevailed with the king and duke to agree to a truce for some days in order to a peace; which was violently opposed by Eustace the king's son, a youth of great spirit and courage, because he knew very well it could not be built but upon the ruin of his interests: and therefore, finding he could not prevail, he left the army in a rage, and attended by some followers endeavored to

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satiate his fury by destroying the country in his march: but in a few days, as he sat at dinner in a castle of his own, he fell suddenly dead, either through grief, madness, or poison.

The truce was now expired and the duke began to renew the war with fresh vigor, but the king was wholly dispirited upon this fatal accident and now first began to entertain real thoughts of a peace. He had lost a son whom he dearly loved, and with him he likewise lost the alliance of the French king, to whose sister the young prince was married. He had indeed another son left, but little esteemed by the nobles and people, nor as it appears much regarded by his father. He was now in the decline of his age, decayed in his health, forsaken by his friends, who, since the death of Eustace, fell daily from him; and having no further care at heart for his posterity, he thought it high time to seek repose for his person. The nobles soon observed this disposition in their king, which was so agreeable to their own; therefore, by general consent, Theobald archbishop of Canterbury was appointed mediator between both princes. All matters were soon agreed; an assembly of lords was convened at Winchester, where the king received the duke with great marks of courtesy and kindness. There the peace was confirmed by the king's charter, wherein are expressed the terms of agreement. But I shall relate only the principal.

The king by this charter acknowledged Henry for lawful successor to the crown, in which capacity all the nobles paid him homage, and Henry himself with his party paid homage to Stephen. There is likewise a reservation for William, the king's son, of all the honors possessed by his father before he came to the crown. The king likewise acknowledges the obedience of his subjects to be no longer due to him than he shall observe the conditions of this charter. And for the performance of these articles the archbishops and bishops were appointed guarantees. There were some other articles agreed on which are not mentioned in the charter; as a general pardon; a restitution, to the right owners, of those lands and possessions which had been usurped in the time of the troubles; that all castles built during the war should be razed to the ground, which are said to have been above 1100; that the rights of the church should be preserved; with other matters of less moment.

Thus, by the prudence of archbishop Theobald, the moderation of the two princes engaged, and the universal inclination of the

people, a happy period was put to this tedious and troublesome war: men began to have the prospect of a long peace; nor was it easy to foresee what could possibly arise to disturb it, when discovery was made by accident of a most horrible piece of treachery which, if it had met with success, would have once more set the whole nation in a flame. The duke, after the peace, attended the king to London, to be shown to the people as the undoubted successor to the crown; and having made a progress together through some other parts of the kingdom, they came to Canterbury, where Henry received private notice of a design upon his life. It has been already observed that the king employed in his wars a body of Flemings, to the great discontent of his own subjects, with whom they were very ungracious. These foreigners were much discontented at the peace, whereby they were likely to become useless and burdensome to the present king and hateful to the successor. To prevent which, the commanders among them began to practise upon the levity and ambition of William, the king's son. They urged the indignity he had received in being deprived of his birthright; offered to support his title by their valor, as they had done that of his father; and as an earnest of their intentions, to remove the chief impediment by despatching his rival out of the world. The young prince was easily wrought upon to be at the head of this conspiracy: time and place were fixed; when, upon the day appointed, William broke his leg by a fall from his horse, and the conspirators wanting their leader immediately dispersed. This disappointment and delay, as it usually happens among conspirators, were soon followed by a discovery of the whole plot; whereof the duke, with great discretion, made no other use than to consult his own safety; therefore, without any show of suspicion or displeasure, he took leave of the king and returned to Normandy.

Stephen lived not above a year to share the happiness of this peace with his people; in which time he made a progress through most parts of the kingdom, where he gained universal love and veneration by a most affable and courteous behavior to all men. A few months after his return he went to Dover to have an interview with the earl of Flanders; where after a short sickness he died of the iliac passion, together with his old distemper the hemorrhoids, upon the 25th of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age and the nineteenth of his reign. 1154.

He was a prince of wonderful endowments, both in body and

mind: in his person tall and graceful, of great strength as well as vigor: he had a large portion of most virtues that can be useful in a king toward the happiness of his subjects or himself: courtesy and valor, liberality and clemency, in an eminent degree: especially the last, which he carried to an extreme, though very pardonable, yet hardly consisting with prudence or his own safety. If we except his usurpation of the crown, he must be allowed a prince of great justice; which most writers affirm to have been always unblemished, except in that single instance: for, as to his treatment of the bishops and the earl of Chester, it seems very excusable by the necessity of the time; and it was the general opinion, if he had not used that proceeding with the latter, it would have cost him his crown. Perhaps his injustice to the empress might likewise admit a little extenuation. Four kings successively had sat on the throne without any regard to lineal descent — a period beyond the memory of most men then alive: whereby the people had lost much of that devotion they were used to bear toward an established succession: besides, the government of a woman was then a thing unknown, and for that reason disliked by all who professed to hate innovations.

But the wisdom of this prince was by no means equal to the rest of his virtues. He came to the crown upon as fair a title as his predecessor, being elected by the general consent of the nobles, through the credit of his brother and his own personal merit. He had no disturbance for some time, which he might easily have employed in settling the kingdom and acquiring the love of his people. He had treasure enough to raise and pay armies without burdening the subject. His competitor was a woman, whose sex was the least of her infirmities, and with whom he had already compounded for his quiet by a considerable pension: yet with all these advantages he seldom was master of above half the kingdom at once, and that by the force of perpetual struggling, and with frequent danger of losing the whole. The principal difficulties he had to encounter appear to have been manifest consequences of several most imprudent steps in his conduct, whereof many instances have been produced in the history of his reign: such as the unlimited permission of building castles; his raising the siege of a weak place where the empress was shut up, and must in a few days have fallen into his hands; his employing the Flemings in his wars, and favoring them above his own subjects; and lastly, that abortive project of crown-

ng his son, which procured him at once the hatred and contempt f the clergy, by discovering an inclination to violence and injusice that he durst not pursue: whereas it was nothing else but an ffect of that hasty and sudden disposition usually ascribed to those f his country, and in a peculiar manner charged to this prince: or authors give it as a part of his character to be hot and violent n the beginning of an enterprise, but to slacken and grow cold in he prosecution.

He had a just sense of religion, and was frequent in attending he service of the church, yet reported to be no great friend of the lergy; which, however, is a general imputation upon all the kings f this realm in that and some succeeding reigns, and by no means ersonal to this prince, who deserved it as little as any.

I do not find any alterations during this reign in the meetings of general assemblies, further than that the commons do not seem o have been represented in any of them; for which I can assign no other reason than the will of the king or the disturbance of the time. I observed the word parliament is used promiscuously among authors for a general assembly of nobles, and for a council of bishops, or synod of the clergy; which renders this matter too perplexed to ascertain anything about it.

As for affairs of the church that deserve particular mention, I have not met with any; unless it should be worth relating that Henry, bishop of Winchester, the pope's legate, who held frequent synods during this reign, was the first introducer of appeals to Rome in this kingdom; for which he is blamed by all the monkish historians who give us the account.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND.

A FRAGMENT.

THE spirit of war and contention which had for a long time possessed the nation became so effectually laid during the last year of king Stephen's reign, that no alteration or disturbance en- 1154.
sued upon his death, although the new king after he had received intelligence of it was detained six weeks by contrary winds: besides the opinion of this prince's power and virtues had already begotten so great an awe and reverence for him among the people,

that upon his arrival he found the whole kingdom in a profound peace. He landed at Hartesham about the beginning of December, was received at Winchester by a great number of the nobility, who came there to attend and swear fealty to him, and three weeks after was crowned at Westminster, about the twenty-third year of his age.

For the further settling of the kingdom, after the long distractions in the preceding reign, he seized on all the castles which remained undestroyed since the last peace between him and king Stephen; whereof some he demolished, and trusted others to the government of persons in whom he could confide.

But that which most contributed to the quiet of the realm and the general satisfaction of his subjects was a proclamation published, commanding all foreigners to leave England; enforced with a most effectual clause whereby a day was fixed after which it should be capital for any of them to appear: among these was William d'Ypres earl of Kent, whose possessions the king seized into his own hands.

These foreigners, generally called Flemings by the writers of the English story, were a sort of vagabond soldiers of fortune, who in those ages, under several denominations, infested other parts of Europe as well as England: they were a mixed people, natives of Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, Brabant, and other parts of Spain and Flanders. They were ready to be hired to whatever prince thought fit to employ them; but always upon condition to have full liberty of plunder and spoil. Nor was it an easy matter to get rid of them when there was no farther need of their service. In England they were always hated by the people, and by this prince in particular, whose continual enemies they had been.

After the expulsion of these foreigners, and forcing a few refractory lords to a surrender of their castles, king Henry, like a wise prince, began to consider that a time of settled peace was the fittest juncture to recover the rights of the crown which had been lost by the war. He therefore resumed by his royal authority all crown-lands that had been alienated by his predecessor, alleging that they were unalienable in themselves, and besides that the grants were void as coming from a usurper. Whether such proceedings are agreeable with justice I shall not examine; but certainly a prince cannot better consult his own safety than by disabling those whom he renders discontent, which is effectually done no other way but by depriving them of their possessions.

While the king was thus employed at home, intelligence came

that his brother Geoffry was endeavoring by force to possess himself of the earldom of Anjou, to which he had fair pretensions; for their father, considering what vast dominions would fall 1156. to his eldest son, bequeathed that earldom to the second in his last sickness, and commanded his nobles then about him to take an oath that they would not suffer his body to be buried until Henry (who was then absent) should swear to observe his will. The duke of Normandy, when he came to assist at his father's obsequies, and found that without his compliance he must draw upon himself the scandal of keeping a father unburied, took the oath that was exacted for observance of his will, though very much against his own. But after he was in possession of England, whether it were that his ambition enlarged with his dominions, or that from the beginning he had never intended to observe what he had sworn, he prevailed with pope Adrian (of English birth) to dispense with his oath; and in the second year of his reign went over into Normandy, drove his brother entirely out of Anjou, and forced him to accept a pension for his maintenance. But the young prince, through the resentment of this unnatural dealing, in a short time died of grief.

Nor was his treatment more favorable to the king of Scots, whom upon a slight pretence he took occasion to dispossess of Carlisle, Newcastle, and other places granted by the empress to that prince's father for his services and assistance in her quarrel against Stephen.

Having thus recovered whatever he had any title to demand, he began to look out for new acquisitions. Ireland was in that age a country little known in the world. The legates sent sometimes thither from the court of Rome for urging the payment of annats or directing other church affairs, represented the inhabitants as a savage people, overrun with barbarism and superstition: for indeed no nation of Europe where the Christian religion received so early and universal admittance was ever so late or slow in feeling its effects upon their manners and civility.[1] Instead of refining their manners by their faith, they had suffered their faith to be corrupted by their manners; true religion being almost defaced both in doctrine and discipline, after a long course of time, among a people wholly sunk in ignorance and barbarity. There seem to have been two reasons why the inhabitants of that island continued so long uncultivated; first, their subjection or vassalage to so many petty

[1] The Irish had been very learned in former ages, but had declined for several centuries before the reign of Henry II.

kings, whereof a great number are mentioned by authors beside those four or five usually assigned to the several provinces. These princes were engaged in perpetual quarrels, in doing or revenging injuries of violence, or lust, or treachery, or injustice, which kept them all in a continual state of war. And indeed there is hardly any country how renowned soever in ancient or modern story which may not be traced from the like original. Neither can a nation come out from this state of confusion until it is either reduced under one head at home, or by force or conquest becomes subject to a foreign administration.

The other reason why civility made such late entrances into that island may be imputed to its natural situation, lying more out of the road of commerce or conquest than any other part of the known world. All the intercourse the inhabitants had was only with the western coasts of Wales and Scotland; from whence, at least in those ages, they were not likely to learn very much politeness.

The king, about the second year of his reign, sent ambassadors to pope Adrian, with injunctions to desire his licence for reducing
1155. the savage people of Ireland from their brutish way of living, and subjecting them to the crown of England. The king proceeded thus in order to set up a title to the island, wherein the pope himself pretended to be lord of the see; for in his letter, which is an answer and grant to the king's requests, he insists upon it that all islands upon their admitting the Christian faith become subject to the see of Rome; and the Irish themselves avowed the same thing to some of the first conquerors. In that forementioned letter the pope highly praises the king's generous design, and recommends to him the civilizing of the natives, the protection of the church, and the payment of Peter-pence. The ill success of all past endeavors to procure from a people so miserable and irreligious this revenue to the holy see was a main inducement with the pope to be easy and liberal in his grant; for the king professed a design of securing its regular payment. However, this expedition was not undertaken until some years after, when there happened an accident to set it forward, as we shall relate in its place. * * * * *

HEADS FOR HENRY THE SECOND'S CHARACTER.

EXTRACTED FROM THE MONKS.

[Hard to gather his character from such bad authors.]

A WISE prince to whom other princes referred their differences, and had ambassadors from both empires, east and west, as well as others at once in his court.

Strong and brawny body, patient of cold and heat, big head, broad breast, broken voice, temperate in meat, using much exercise, just stature, *forma elegantissima, colore subrufo, oculis glaucis*, sharp wit, very great memory, constancy in adversity and in felicity, except at last he yielded, because almost forsaken by all; liberal, imposed few tributes, excellent soldier and fortunate, wise and not unlearned. His vices:—mild and promising in adversity, fierce and hard and a violator of faith in prosperity; covetous to his domestics and children, although liberal to soldiers and strangers, which turned the former from him; loved profit more than justice; very lustful, which likewise turned his sons and others from him. Rosamond and the labyrinth at Woodstock. Not very religious; *mortuos milites lugens plus quam vivos amans, largus in publico, parcus in privato.* Constant in love and hatred, false to his word, morose, a lover of ease. Oppressor of nobles, sullen, and a delayer of justice; *verbo varius et versutus* —— used churchmen well after Becket's death; charitable to the poor, levied few taxes, hated slaughter and cruelty. A great memory, and always knew those he once saw.

Very indefatigable in his travels backward and forward to Normandy, &c.; of most endless desires to increase his dominions. * * *

Cætera desiderantur.

AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE COURT AND EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

By one of those cabinet intrigues, of which the real cause has never been ascertained, because perhaps it was too trifling to bear the public eye, Walpole maintained under George II. even more than the power he had enjoyed from the favor of his predecessor. To these events the following piece has emblematical reference.

REGOGE [king George] was the thirty-fourth emperor of Japan, and began his reign in the year 341 of the Christian era, succeeding to Nena [queen Anne], a princess who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-six years before, which made some breaches in the hereditary line; and Regoge, successor to Nena, although of the royal family, was a distant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire which began in the time of the revolution above mentioned, and at the death of the empress Nena were in the highest degree of animosity, each charging the other with a design of introducing new gods and changing the civil constitution. The names of these two parties were Husiges and Yortes [Whigs and Tories]. The latter were those whom Nena the late empress most favored toward the end of her reign, and by whose advice she governed.

The Husige faction, enraged at their loss of power, made private application to Regoge during the life of the empress; which prevailed so far, that upon her death the new emperor wholly disgraced the Yortes, and employed only the Husiges in all his affairs. The Japanese author highly blames his imperial majesty's proceeding in this affair, because it was allowed on all hands that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating scheme. But he on the contrary began his reign by openly disgracing the principal and most popular Yortes, some of which had been chiefly instrumental in raising him to the throne. By this mistaken step he occasioned a rebellion, which, although it were soon quelled by some very surprising turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or

pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in such immense charges, that instead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done by any tolerable management in twelve years of the most profound peace, he left his empire loaded with a vast addition to the old incumbrance.

This prince before he succeeded to the empire of Japan was king of Tedsu [Hanover], a dominion seated on the continent, to the west side of Japan. Tedsu was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he spent some months almost every year, and thither was supposed to have conveyed great sums of money saved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon Tedsu [Bremen and Lubec]: of these he purchased a litigated title, and to support it was forced not only to intrench deeply on his Japanese revenues, but to engage in alliances [the quadruple alliance] very dangerous to the Japanese empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which some authors are of opinion was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of Brennus, who ravaged a great part of Asia; and those of them who fixed in Japan left behind them that kind of military institution which the northern people in ensuing ages carried through most parts of Europe; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a senate of nobles, with a representative from every centenary of private soldiers; and in the assent of the majority in these two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legislature consisted.

I need not further explain a matter so universally known, but return to my subject.

The Husige faction, by a gross piece of negligence in the Yortes, had so far insinuated themselves and their opinions into the favor of Regoge before he came to the empire, that this prince firmly believed them to be his only true friends and the others his mortal enemies.[1] By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The emperor died suddenly in his journey to Tedsu, where, according to his usual custom, he was going to pass the summer.

This prince during his whole reign continued an absolute stranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of Japan, and passing his whole time among old mistresses or a few privadoes,

[1] Throughout the reign of George I. the Whigs were in office and power.

left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a minister, upon the condition of being made easy in his personal revenues, and the management of parties in the senate. His last minister [Walpole], who governed in the most arbitrary manner for several years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other person in Japan, except his only son, the heir to the empire. The dislike he bore to the former was because the minister, under pretence that he could not govern the senate without disposing of employments among them, would not suffer his master to oblige one single person, but lavished it all to his own relations and dependents. But as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the prince his son, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the historian has not accounted for it further than by various conjectures which do not deserve to be related.

The minister above mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a senator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the Vertes. He had been formerly disgraced in the senate for some frauds in the management of a public trust [bribes]. He was perfectly skilled by long practice in the senatorial forms, and dexterous in the purchasing of votes from those who could find their accounts better in complying with his measures than they could probably lose by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He seemed to fail in point of policy by not concealing his gettings, never scrupling openly to lay out vast sums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchasing estates, when it was known that, upon his first coming into business upon the death of the empress Nena, his fortune was but inconsiderable. He had the most boldness and the least magnanimity that ever any mortal was endued with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependents, in a most exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided support against an evil day. He had the best among all false appearances of courage, which was a most unlimited assurance, whereby he would swagger the boldest man into a dread of his power, but had not the smallest portion of magnanimity, growing jealous and disgracing every man who was known to bear the least civility to those he disliked. He had some small smattering in books, but no manner of politeness, nor in his whole life was ever known to advance any one person upon the score of wit, learning, or abilities for business. The whole system of his ministry was corruption, and he never gave bribe or pension without frankly

telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatening them to put an end to his bounty if they failed to comply in every circumstance.

A few months before the emperor's death there was a design concerting between some eminent persons of both parties whom the desperate state of the empire had united to accuse the minister at the first meeting of a new-chosen senate, which was then to assemble, according to the laws of that empire; and it was believed that the vast expense he must be at in choosing an assembly proper for his purpose, added to the low state of the treasury, the increasing number of pensioners, the great discontent of the people, and the personal hatred of the emperor, would, if well laid open in the senate, be of weight enough to sink the minister when it should appear to his very pensioners and creatures that he could not supply them much longer.

While this scheme was in agitation an account came of the emperor's death, and the prince his son [George II.] with universal joy mounted the throne of Japan.

The new emperor had always lived a private life during the reign of his father, who in his annual absence never trusted him more than once with the reins of government, which he held so evenly, that he became too popular to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavorable to the Yortes, at least not altogether to approve the virulence wherewith his father proceeded against them, and therefore immediately upon his succession the principal persons of that denomination came in several bodies to kiss the hem of his garment, whom he received with great courtesy, and some of them with particular marks of distinction.

The prince during the reign of his father, having not been trusted with any public charge, employed his leisure in learning the language, the religion, the customs and disposition of the Japanese; wherein he received great information, among others, from Nomtoc,[1] master of his finances and president of the senate, who secretly hated Lelop-Aw the minister, and likewise from Ramneh [sir Thomas Hanmer], a most eminent senator, who, despairing to do any good with the father, had with great industry, skill, and decency, used his endeavors to instil good principles into the young prince.

Upon the news of the former emperor's death, a grand council was summoned of course, where little passed besides directing the

[1] Sir Spencer Compton, speaker of the house of commons.

ceremony of prohibiting the entrance. But in some days after, the new emperor having consulted with those persons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely considered in his own mind the present state of his affairs as well as the disposition of his people, convened another assembly of his council, wherein, after some time spent in general business suitable to the present emergency, he directed Lelop-Aw to give him in as short terms as he conveniently could an account of the nation's debts, of his management in the senate, and his negotiations with foreign courts, which that minister having delivered according to his usual manner, with much assurance and little satisfaction, the emperor desired to be fully satisfied in the following particulars:—

Whether the vast expence of choosing such members into the senate as would be content to do the public business were absolutely necessary?

Whether those members thus chosen in would cross and impede the necessary course of affairs, unless they were supplied with great sums of money and continued pensions?

Whether the same corruption and perverseness were to be expected from the nobles?

Whether the empire of Japan were in so low a condition that the imperial envoys at foreign courts must be forced to purchase alliances, or prevent a war, by immense bribes given to the ministers of all the neighboring princes?

Why the debts of the empire were so prodigiously advanced in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad?

Whether the Yortes were universally enemies to the religion and laws of the empire and to the imperial family now reigning?

Whether those persons whose revenues consist in lands do not give surer pledges of fidelity to the public, and are more interested in the welfare of the empire, than others whose fortunes consist only in money?

And because Lelop-Aw for several years past had engrossed the whole administration, the emperor signified that from him alone he expected an answer.

This minister, who had sagacity enough to cultivate an interest in the young prince's family during the late emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of his emissaries of what was intended at the council, and had sufficient time to frame as plausible an answer as his cause and conduct would allow. However, having

desired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner: —

"Sir, — Upon this short unexpected warning to answer your imperial majesty's queries, I should be wholly at a loss in your majesty's august presence, and that of this most noble assembly, if I were armed with a weaker defence than my own loyalty and integrity and the prosperous success of my endeavors.

"It is well known that the death of the empress Nena happened in a most miraculous juncture, and that if she had lived two months longer your illustrious family would have been deprived of your right and we should have seen an usurper on your throne, who would have wholly changed the constitution of this empire, both civil and sacred; and although that empress died in a most opportune season, yet the peaceable entrance of your majesty's father was effected by a continual series of miracles. The truth of this appears by that unnatural rebellion which the Yortes raised without the least provocation in the first year of the late emperor's reign, which may be sufficient to convince your majesty that every soul of that denomination was, is, and will be for ever, a favorer of the pretender, a mortal enemy to your illustrious family, and an introducer of new gods into the empire. Upon this foundation was built the whole conduct of our affairs; and since a great majority of the kingdom was at that time reckoned to favor the Yortes faction, who in the regular course of elections must certainly have been chosen members of the senate then to be convoked, it was necessary by the force of money to influence elections in such a manner that your majesty's father might have a sufficient number to weigh down the scale on his side, and thereby carry on those measures which could only secure him and his family in the possession of the empire. To support this original plan I came into the service, but the members of the senate knowing themselves every day more necessary, upon the choosing of a new senate I found the charges to increase, and that after they were chosen they insisted upon an increase of their pensions, because they well knew that the work could not be carried on without them, and I was more general in my donatives because I thought it was more for the honor of the crown that every vote should pass without a division, and that when a debate was proposed, it should immediately be quashed, by putting the question.

"Sir, the date of the present senate is expired, and your impe-

rial majesty is now to convoke a new one, which I confess will be somewhat more expensive than the last, because the Cortes from your favorable reception have begun to resume a spirit whereof the country had some intelligence; and we know the majority of the people, without proper management, would be still in that fatal interest. However, I dare undertake, with the charge only of four hundred thousand sprangs [about a million sterling], to return as great a majority of senators of the true stamp as your majesty can desire. As to the sums of money paid in foreign courts, I hope in some years to ease the nation of them, when we and our neighbors come to a good understanding. However, I will be bold to say they are cheaper than a war where your majesty is to be a principal.

"The pensions indeed to senators and other persons must needs increase from the restiveness of some and scrupulous nature of others, and the new members, who are unpractised, must have better encouragement: however, I dare undertake to bring the eventual charge within eight hundred thousand sprangs. But to make this easy there shall be new funds raised, of which I have several schemes ready, without taxing bread or flesh, which shall be reserved to more pressing occasions.

"Your majesty knows it is the laudable custom of all eastern princes to leave the whole management of affairs, both civil and military, to their viziers.

"The appointments for your family and private purse shall exceed those of your predecessors; you shall be at no trouble further than to appear sometimes in council, and leave the rest to me; you shall hear no clamor or complaints; your senate shall upon occasion declare you the best of princes, the father of your country, the arbiter of Asia, the defender of the oppressed, and the delight of mankind.

"Sir, hear not those who would most falsely, impiously, and maliciously insinuate that your government can be carried on without that wholesome necessary expedient of sharing the public revenue with your faithful deserving senators. This I know my enemies are pleased to call bribery and corruption. Be it so: but I insist that without this bribery and corruption the wheels of government will not turn, or at least will be apt to take fire like other wheels unless they be greased at proper times. If an angel from heaven should descend to govern this empire upon any other scheme than what our enemies call corruption, he must return from whence he came and leave the work undone.

"Sir, it is well known we are a trading nation, and consequently cannot thrive in a bargain where nothing is to be gained. The poor electors who run from their shops or the plough for the service of their country, are they not to be considered for their labor and their loyalty? The candidates who with the hazard of their persons, the loss of their characters, and the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to the senate in a country where they are strangers before the very lords of the soil, are they not to be rewarded for their zeal to your majesty's service, and qualified to live in your metropolis as becomes the lustre of their stations?

"Sir, if I have given great numbers of the most profitable employments among my own relations and nearest allies, it was not out of any partiality, but because I know them best and can best depend upon them. I have been at the pains to mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler heads might probably have been found, but they would not be equally under my direction. A huntsman who has the absolute command of his dogs will hunt more effectually than with a better pack, to whose manner and cry he is a stranger.

"Sir, upon the whole, I will appeal to all those who best knew your royal father, whether that blessed monarch had ever one anxious thought for the public, or disappointment, or uneasiness, or want of money for all his occasions during the time of my administration? And how happy the people confessed themselves to be under such a king I leave to their own numerous addresses, which all politicians will allow to be the most infallible proof how any nation stands affected to their sovereign."

Lelop-Aw having ended his speech and struck his forehead thrice against the table, as the custom is in Japan, sat down with great complacency of mind and much applause of his adherents, as might be observed by their countenances and their whispers. But the emperor's behavior was remarkable, for during the whole harangue he appeared equally attentive and uneasy. After a short pause his majesty commanded that some other counsellor should deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object against what had been spoken by Lelop-Aw.

SHORT REMARKS
ON
BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY.

This author is in most particulars the worst qualified for an historian that ever I met with. His style is rough, full of improprieties, in expressions often Scotch, and often such as are used by the meanest people. He discovers a great scarcity of words and phrases, by repeating the same several hundred times for want of capacity to vary them. His observations are mean and trite, and very often false. His Secret History is generally made up of coffee-house scandals, or at best from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the pretender's birth would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of consequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little Scotch parson of 40*l.* a-year. He was a gentleman born, and in the time of his youth and vigor drew in an old maiden daughter of a Scotch earl to marry him.[1] His characters are miserably wrought, in many things mistaken, and all of them detracting, except of those who were friends to the presbyterians. That early love of liberty he boasts of is absolutely false, for the first book that I believe he ever published is an entire treatise in favor of passive obedience and absolute power, so that his reflections on the clergy for asserting and then changing those principles come very improperly from him. He is the most partial of all writers that ever pretended so much to impartiality, and yet I who knew him well am convinced that he is as impartial as he could possibly find in his heart; I am sure more than I ever expected from him, particularly in his accounts of the papist and fanatic plots. This work may more properly be called a History of Scotland during the Author's Time, with some Digressions relating to England, rather than deserve the title he gives it, for I believe two-thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation and their insignificant brangles and factions. What he succeeds best in is in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the

[1] Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the earl of Cassilis.

recency of the facts he mentions, most of them being still in memory, especially the story of the Revolution, which however is not so well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had so considerable a share in it. After all, he was a man of generosity and good-nature, and very communicative; but in his ten last years was absolutely party-mad, and fancied he saw popery under every bush. He has told me many passages not mentioned in his history, and many that are, but with several circumstances suppressed or altered. He never gives a good character without one essential point, that the person was tender to dissenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, laying down for a maxim, clapt up, and some other words and phrases he uses many hundred times.

Cut out for a court; a pardoning planet; clapt up; left in the lurch; the mob; outed; a great beauty; went roundly to work: all these phrases, used by the vulgar, show him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

EXTRACTS

FROM

SWIFT'S REMARKS

ON

"BURNET'S HISTORY OF HIS OWN TIMES;"

FOLIO EDITION, 1724.

PREFACE, p. 3. *Burnet.* "Indeed the peevishness, the ill-nature, and the ambition of many clergymen has sharpened my spirits perhaps too much against them—so I *warn* my readers to take all that I say on those heads with some grains of allowance."—*Swift.* "I will take his *warning*."

P. 11. *Burnet.* "Colonel Titus assured me that he had it from king Charles I's own mouth, that he was well assured his brother, prince Henry, was poisoned by the earl of Somerset's means."—*Swift.* "Titus was the greatest rogue in England."

P. 18. *Burnet.* "Gowry's conspiracy against king James was confirmed to me by my father."—*Swift.* "And yet Melville makes nothing of it."

P. 20. *Burnet* "Charles I. had such an ungracious way of bestowing favors that the manner of bestowing was almost as mortifying as the favor was obliging."—*Swift.* "Not worth knowing."

P. 23. *Burnet.* "This person (Mr. Stewart), who was only a private gentleman, became so considerable that he was raised by several degrees to be made earl of Traquair, and lord-treasurer of Scotland, and was in great favor; but suffered afterwards such a reverse of fortune that I saw him so low that he wanted bread; and it was generally believed that he died of hunger."—*Swift.* "A strange death! Perhaps it was want of meat!"

P. 26. *Burnet.* "How careful lord Balmerinoch's father was to preserve the petition and the papers relating to that trial, of which, says he, I never saw any copy besides, and which I have now by me, and which indeed is a very noble piece, full of curious matter."—*Swift.* "Puppy!"

P. 28. *Burnet.* "The earl of Argyle was a more solemn sort of man, grave and sober, and free of all scandalous vices."—*Swift.* "As a man is free of a corporation he means.'

P. 29. *Burnet.* "The lord Wharton and the lord Howard of Escrick undertook to deliver some of these; which they did, and were *clapt up* upon it."—*Swift.* "What dignity of expression!"

P. 30. *Burnet.* "King Charles I. was now in great straits—his treasure was exhausted—his subjects highly irritated—his ministry frightened, being exposed to the anger and justice of parliament. He loved high and rough methods; but had neither the skill to conduct them nor the height of genius to manage them."—*Swift.* "Not one good quality named."

P. 31. *Burnet.* "The queen of Charles I. was a woman of great vivacity of conversation, and loved all her life long to be *in intrigues of all sorts.*"—*Swift.* "Not of love, I hope."

P. 34. *Burnet.* "Dickison, Blair, Rutherford, Baily, Cant, and other popular preachers in Scotland, affected great sublimities in devotion. They poured themselves out in their prayers with a loud voice and often with many tears. They had but an ordinary proportion of learning among them; somewhat of Hebrew and very little Greek. Books of controversy with the papists, but above all with the Arminians, was the height of their study."—*Swift.* "Great nonsense! Rutherford was half fool, half mad."

P. 40. *Burnet*, speaking of the bad effects of the marquis of Montrose's expedition and defeat, says, "It alienated the Scots much from the king; it exalted all that were enemies to peace; and there seemed to be some color for all those aspersions that they had cast on the king, as if he had been in a correspondence with the Irish rebels when the worst tribe had been thus employed by him." —*Swift.* "Lord Clarendon differs from all this."

P. 41. *Burnet.* "The earl of Essex told me that he had taken all the pains he could to inquire into the origin of the Irish massacre; but could never see any reason to believe that the king had any accession to it."—*Swift.* "And who but *a beast* ever believed it?"

P. 42. *Burnet.* Arguing with the Scots concerning the propriety of the king's death, he observes that Drummond said, "That Cromwell had plainly the better of them at their own weapons."—*Swift.* "And Burnet thought as Cromwell did."

P. 46. *Burnet.* "Fairfax was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes often every day."—*Swift.* "Fairfax had hardly common sense."

P. 49. *Burnet.* "I will not enter further into the military part; for I remember an advice of marshal Schomberg, never to meddle in the relation of military matters. His observation was, 'Some affected to relate those affairs in all the terms of war, in which they committed great errors, that exposed them to the scorn of all commanders, who must despise relations that pretend to exactness when there were blunders in every part of them.'"—*Swift.* "Very foolish advice; for soldiers cannot write."

P. 50. *Burnet.* "Laud's defence of himself when in the Tower is a very mean performance. In most particulars he excuses himself by this,—that he was but one of many who either in council, star-chamber, or high commission, voted illegal things. Now though this was true, yet a chief minister, and one in high favor, determines the rest so much that they are little better than machines acted by him. On other occasions he says, 'the thing was proved but by one witness.' Now how strong soever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in appeal to the world; for if a thing is true it is no matter how full or defective the proof is." —*Swift.* "All this is full of malice and ill judgment."

P. 50. *Burnet*, speaking of the Basilicon, "supposed to be written by Charles I."—*Swift.* "I think it is a poor treatise, and that the king did not write it."

P. 51. *Burnet.* "Upon the king's death the Scots proclaimed his son king, and sent over sir George Winran, *that married my great aunt*, to treat with him while he was in the isle of Jersey." —*Swift.* "Was that the reason why he was sent?"

P. 53. *Burnet.* "King Charles II., when in Scotland, wrought himself into as grave a deportment as he could. He heard many prayers and sermons, some of great length. I remember, in one fast-day, there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a service."—*Swift.* "Burnet was not then eight years old."

P. 61. *Burnet*, speaking of the period of the usurpation in Scotland—"Cromwell built three citadels, Leith, Ayr, and Inverness, besides many little forts. There was good justice done, and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity."—*Swift.* "No doubt you do."

P. 63. *Burnet*, speaking of the Scotch preachers in the time of the civil wars, says, "The crowds were far beyond the capacity of their churches or the reach of their voices."—*Swift.* "And the preaching beyond the capacity of the crowd—I believe the church had as much capacity as the minister."

P. 64. *Burnet.* "The resolutions sent up by one Sharpe, who had been long in England, and was an active and an eager man."—*Swift.* "Afterwards a bishop, and murdered."

P. 66. *Burnet.* "Thus Cromwell had all the king's party in a net: he let them dance in at pleasure and upon occasions *clapt* them up for a short time."—*Swift.* "A pox of his *claps*."

P. 87. *Burnet*, speaking of the Restoration—"Of all this, Monk had both the praise and the reward; for I have been told a very small share of it belonged to him."—*Swift.* "Malice."

P. 126. *Burnet*, speaking of the execution of the marquis of Argyle.—*Swift.* "He was the greatest villain of his age."

P. 127. *Burnet.* "The proceeding against Warriston was soon despatched."—*Swift.* "Warriston was an abominable dog."

P. 134. *Burnet*, of bishop Leightoun's character, "The grace and gravity of his pronunciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion—his style, however, was rather too fine."—*Swift.* "A fault that Burnet is not guilty of."

P. 140. *Burnet.* "Leightoun did not stand much upon it. He did not *think* orders given without bishops were null and void.

He *thought* the forms of government were not settled by such positive laws as were unalterable, but only by apostolical practices which, as he *thought*, authorized episcopacy, as the best form: yet he did not *think* it necessary to the being of a church, but he *thought* that every church might make such rules of ordinations as they pleased."—*Swift.* "Here's a specimen of style!—*think!*—*thought!*—*thought!*—*think!*—*thought!*"

P. 154. *Burnet,* speaking of a proclamation for shutting up 200 churches in one day!—"Sharpe said to myself he knew nothing of it; yet he was glad it was done without his having any share in it, for by it he was furnished with somewhat in which he was no way concerned, upon which he might cast all the blame of all that followed; yet this was suitable enough to a maxim that he and all that sort of people set up—that the execution of the laws was that by which all governments maintained their strength, as well as their honor."—*Swift.* "Dunce! Can there be a better maxim?"

P. 163. *Burnet.* "John Goodwin and Milton did also escape all censure, to the surprise of all people."—*Swift.* "He censures even mercy."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "Milton was not excepted out of the Act of Indemnity; and afterwards he came out of his concealment and lived many years, much visited by all strangers and much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, though he was then blind; chiefly that of 'Paradise Lost,' in which there is a nobleness both of contrivance and execution, that, though he affected to write in blank verse, without rhyme, and made many new and rough words, yet it was esteemed the beautifullest and perfectest poem that ever was writ, at least in *our* language."—*Swift.* "A mistake!—for it is *in English.*"

P. 164. *Burnet.* "The great share that sir Henry Vane had in the attainder of the earl of Strafford, and in the whole turn of affairs to the total change of government, but above all the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the court think it necessary to put him out of the way."—*Swift.* "A malicious turn!—Vane was a dangerous enthusiastic beast."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "When sir Henry Vane saw his death was designed, he composed himself to it with a resolution that surprised all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some instances of this were very extraordinary, though they cannot be

mentioned with *decency.*"—*Swift.* "His lady *conceived* by him the night before his execution."

P. 180. *Burnet*, speaking of the dissenters in Charles II.'s time looking for a new liturgy, continues, "But all this was overthrown by Baxter, who was a man of great piety and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age. He writ near *two hundred books.*"—*Swift.* "Very sad ones indeed!"

P. 186. *Burnet*, speaking of the great fines raised on the church ill applied, proceeds, "If the half had been applied to the bu of tithes or glebes for small vicarages, here a foundation had b laid for a great and effectual reformation." — *Swift.* "He judges here right, in my opinion."

Ibid. *Burnet*, continuing the same subject, "The men of merit and services were loaded with many livings and many dignities. With this accession of wealth there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living, on the pretence of hospitality, whilst others made purchases and left great estates, most of which we have seen melt away." — *Swift.* "An uncharitable aggravation, a base innuendo."

P. 189. *Burnet.* "Patrick was a great preacher and wrote well on the Scriptures. He was a laborious man in his function, of great strictness of life, but a little too severe against those who differed from him; but that was where he thought their doctrines struck at the fundamentals of religion. He became afterwards more moderate."—*Swift.* "Yes, for he turned a rank Whig."

P. 190. *Burnet.* "Archbishop Tenison was a very learned man, endowed schools, set up a public library," &c. &c. — *Swift.* "The dullest good-for-nothing man I ever knew."

P. 191. *Burnet*, condemning the bad style of preaching before Tillotson, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet, says, "Their discourses were long and heavy; all was *pyebald*, full of many sayings of different languages." — *Swift.* "A noble epithet! How came Burnet not to learn this style? He surely neglected his own talents."

P. 193. *Burnet*, speaking of the first formation of the Royal Society, "Many physicians and other ingenious men went into a society for natural philosophy, but he who labored most was Robert Boyle, the earl of Cork's youngest son, who was looked upon by all who knew him as a very perfect pattern. He was a very dev christian, humble and modest almost to a fault; of a most spo

and exemplary life in all respects. He was highly charitable, and was a mortified and self-denied man that delighted in nothing so much as in doing good. He neglected his person, despised the world, and lived abstracted from all pleasures, designs, and interest." —*Swift.* "And yet Boyle was a very silly writer."

P. 195. *Burnet.* "Peter Walsh, who was the honestest and learnedest man I ever knew among the Popish clergy, often told me there was nothing which the whole Popish party feared more than an union of those of the church of England with the presbyterians. The papists had but two maxims, from which they never departed. The one was to divide us, and the other, to keep themselves united."—*Swift.* "Rogue!!!"

P. 202. *Burnet.* "The queen-mother had brought over from France one Mrs. Stewart, *a great beauty.*" — *Swift.* "A pretty phrase this!"

P. 203. *Burnet.* "One of the first things that was done this session of parliament (1663), was *the execution of my unfortunate uncle Warriston.* He was so disordered, both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to government to proceed against him. He was brought before the parliament to hear what he had to say why his execution should not be awarded. He spoke long, but in a disordered and broken strain, which his enemies fancied had been put on to create pity. He was sentenced to die. His deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a man in his condition; yet when the day of execution came he was very serene; he was cheerful and seemed fully satisfied with his death. He read a speech twice over on the scaffold, that to my knowledge he composed himself, in which he justified all the proceedings in the covenant, and asserted his own sincerity; but condemned his joining with Cromwell and the sectaries; though even in that his intentions had been sincere for the good of his country, and the security of religion. Lord Lauderdale had lived in great friendship with him; but he saw the king was so set against him, that he, who at all times took more care of himself than of his friends, would not in so critical a time seem to favor a man whom the presbyterians had set up as a sort of an idol amongst them, and on whom they did depend more than on any other man alive."— *Swift.* "Pray, was this Warriston hanged or beheaded? A very fit uncle for such a bishop!"

P. 220. *Burnet.* "Pensionary De Witt had the notion of a con-

monwealth from the Greeks and Romans, and from thence he c to fancy that an army commanded by officers of their own c was both more in their own power and would serve them with more zeal, since they themselves had such an interest in success."— *Swift.* "He ought to have judged the contrary."

P. 225. *Burnet,* speaking of the slight rebellion in the 1666, says: "The rest of the rebels were favored by the dar of the night, and the king's troops were not in case to pursue t for they were a poor, harmless company of men become mad oppression."— *Swift.* "A fair historian!"

P. 238. *Burnet.* "Sir John Cunningham was not only an em lawyer, but was, above all, a man of eminent probity and of a s temper, and indeed one of the *piousest* men of the nation."— S "Pray, is that Scotch?"

P. 242. *Burnet.* "When the peace of Breda was concluded king writ to the Scottish council and communicated *that* to and with *that* signified *that* it was his pleasure *that* the army s be disbanded."— *Swift.* "Here are four *thats* in one line."

P. 243. *Burnet.* "Sir Robert Murray, apprehensive that e pacy was to be pulled down, wrote a long and sorrowful let Sheldon, and upon that Sheldon wrote a very long one Robert, which I read, and found more temperate than I could expected from him."— *Swift.* "Sheldon was a very grea excellent man."

P. 245. *Burnet.* "The countess of Dysart was a woman of beauty, but of far greater parts; she had studied, not only di and history, but mathematics and philosophy. She was viol everything she set about — a violent friend, but much more v enemy. When Lauderdale was prisoner after Worcester figh made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and th saved it by her intrigues with Cromwell."— *Swift.* "Cromwe gallantries with her."

P. 253. *Burnet,* speaking of Sheldon's remonstrating wit king about his mistresses, adds, "From that day Sheldon never recover the king's confidence."— *Swift.* "Sheldon re the sacrament to the king for living in adultery."

P. 257. *Burnet.* "Thus lord Clarendon fell under the co fate of great ministers, whose employment exposes them to and draws upon them the indignation of all who are disapp in their pretensions."— *Swift.* "Stupid moralist!"

P. 258. *Burnet*, speaking of the earl of Rochester, second son of the lord Clarendom: "He was thought the smoothest man in the court; and during all the disputes concerning his father, he made his court so dexterously that no resentments ever appeared on that head. He is a man of far greater parts than his brother (who in resentment of his father's ill-treatment always opposed the court), has a *very good pen*, but speaks not gracefully."— *Swift.* "Pray, was this pen of gold or silver?"

Ibid. *Burnet.* "In a conversation I had with the king in his closet, I was struck to hear a prince of his course of life so much disgusted at the ambition and covetousness of the clergy. He said, if the clergy had done their part, it would have been an easy matter to run down the nonconformists. He told me, he had a chaplain that was a very honest man, but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given a living in Suffolk that was full of that sort of people. He had gone about among them from house to house, though he could not imagine what he could say to them, for he said he was a very silly fellow, but that he 'believed his nonsense suited theirs,' for he had brought them all to church, and in reward for his diligence he had given him a bishopric in Ireland."— *Swift.* "Bishop Wolley, of Clonfert."

P. 259. *Burnet.* "If the sectaries were humble and modest, and would tell what would satisfy them, there might be some color for granting them some concessions."— *Swift.* "I think so too."

P. 263. *Burnet*, speaking of the king's attachment to Nell Gwyn, says: "And yet after all he never treated her with the *decencies* of a mistress."— *Swift.* "Pray, what *decencies* are these?"

Ibid. *Burnet.* "The king had another mistress, who was managed by lord Shaftesbury, who was the daughter of a clergyman (one Roberts), in whom her first education had so deep a root, that though she fell into many scandalous disorders, with very dismal adventures in them all, yet a principle of religion was so deeply laid in her, that though it did not restrain her, yet it kept alive in her such a constant horror of sin that she was never easy in an ill course of life, and died with great sense of her former conduct. I was *often with her* the last three months of her life."— *Swift.* "Was she handsome then?"

P. 265. *Burnet.* "Sedley had a more copious wit and sudden than that which furnished a perpetual run of discourse; but he was

not so correct as lord Dorset, nor so sparkling as lord Rochester."—*Swift.* "No better a critic in wit than in style."

P. 266. *Burnet.* "Lord Robarts, afterwards earl of Radnor, who succeeded the duke of Ormond in his government of Ireland, was a morose man, believed to be sincerely just and as wise as a cynical humor could allow him to be."—*Swift.* "How does that hinder wisdom?"

P. 273. *Burnet.* "Charles II. confessed himself a papist to the prince of Orange; and the prince told me he never spoke of this to any other person till *after his death.*"—*Swift.* "What! *after his own death?*"

P. 288. *Burnet.* "The Episcopal party thought I intended to make myself popular at their cost; so they began that strain of fury and calumny that has pursued me ever since from *that sort of people.*"—*Swift.* "A civil term for all who are Episcopal!"

P. 298. *Burnet.* "In compiling the memoirs of the duke of Hamilton, I found there materials for a very large history. I writ it with great sincerity and concealed none of their errors. I did indeed conceal several things that related to the king. I left out some passages that were in his letters, in some of which was too much weakness."—*Swift.* "These letters if they had been published could not have given a worse character of him."

P. 300. *Burnet*, speaking of the Scotch clergy refusing to be made bishops, says, "They had an ill opinion of the court, and could not be brought to leave their retirement."—*Swift.* "For that reason they should have accepted bishoprics."

P. 303. *Burnet.* "Madame (Charles II.'s sister) had an intrigue with another person whom I knew well, the count of Treville. When she was in her last agonies, she said 'Adieu, Treville!' He was so struck with this accident that it had a good effect on him; for he went and lived many years amongst the Fathers of the Oratory, and became both a very learned and devout man. He came afterwards out into the world. I saw him often. He was a man of a very sweet temper, only a little too formal for a Frenchman; but he was very sincere. He was a Jansenist. He hated the Jesuits, and had a very mean opinion of the king, which appeared in all the instances in which it was safe for him to show it."—*Swift.* "Pretty jumping periods!"

P. 304. *Burnet.* "When a foreign minister asked the king's leave to treat with Lockhart in his master's name, the king con-

sented, but with this severe reflection, that he believed he would be true to anybody but himself."— *Swift.* "Does he mean, Lockhart would not be true to Lockhart?"

P. 306. *Burnet.* "The earl of Shaftesbury was the chief man who advised the king to shut up the exchequer."— *Swift.* "Clifford had the merit of it."

P. 321. *Burnet.* "As soon as king William was brought into the command of the armies, he told me he spoke to De Witt, and desired to live in an entire confidence with him. His answer was cold, so he saw he could not depend upon him. When he told me this, he added, he certainly was one of the greatest men of the age, and he believed he served his country faithfully."— *Swift.* "And yet, for all this, the prince contrived that he should be murdered."

P. 322. *Burnet.* "In this famous campaign of Louis XIV. against the Dutch (1672), there was so little heart or judgment shown in the management of that run of success, that when that year is properly set out, it will appear to be one of the least glorious of his life."— *Swift.* "A metaphor only fit for a gamester."

P. 328. *Burnet.* "Prince Waldeck was their chief general, a man of great compass and a true judgment, equally able in the cabinet and in the camp. But he was always unsuccessful, because he was never furnished according to the schemes he had laid down. The opinion that armies had of him as an unfortunate general made him really so; for soldiers cannot have much heart, when they have not an entire confidence in him that has the chief command."— *Swift.* "When he speaks of his great compass, I suppose he means he was very fat."

P. 329. *Burnet.* "It seems the French made no great account of their prisoners, for they released 25,000 Dutch for 50,000 crowns."—*Swift.* "What! ten shillings a piece! By much too dear for a Dutchman."

P. 337. *Burnet.* "This year (1672) the king declared a new mistress, and made her duchess of Portsmouth. She had been maid of honor to madame, the king's sister, and had come over with her to Dover, where the king had expressed such a regard for her that the duke of Buckingham, who hated the duchess of Cleveland, intended to *put her on the king.*"— *Swift.* "Surely he means the contrary."

P. 341. *Burnet.* "Duke of Lauderdale called on me all of a sudden, and put me in mind of the project I had laid before him of

putting all the ousted ministers by *couples* into parishes, that instead of wandering about the country to hold conventicles, they might be stationary, and may have half a benefice."—*Swift.* "A pretty Scotch project! instead of feeding *fifty*, you starve one *hundred*."

P. 370. *Burnet.* "I was ever of Nazanzien's opinion, who never wished to see any more synods of the clergy."—*Swift.* "Dog!"

P. 372. *Burnet*, speaking of an insurrection in Scotland, says, "The king said he was afraid I was too busy, and wished me to be more quiet."—*Swift.* "The king knew him right."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "I preached in many of the churches in London, and was so well received, that it was probable I might be accepted of in any way that depended *on a popular election*."—*Swift.* "Very much to his honor!"

P. 373. *Burnet.* "This violent and groundless prosecution lasted some months; and during this time I said to some that duke Lauderdale had gone so far in opening some wicked designs to me, that I perceived he could not be satisfied unless I was undone; so I told what was mentioned before of the discourses that passed between him and me."—*Swift.* "A Scotch dog!"

P. 378. *Burnet.* "I will henceforth leave the account of our affairs beyond sea wholly to Temple's letters, in which they are very truly and fully set forth."—*Swift.* "Sir William Temple was a man of sense and virtue, to which Burnet was a stranger."

P. 380. *Burnet*, speaking of his being pressed, before parliament, to reveal what passed between him and the duke of Lauderdale in *private*; and the parliament, in case of refusal, threatening him; he says, "Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of what I formerly mentioned."—*Swift.* "Treacherous villain!"

P. 382. *Burnet.* "Sir Harbottle Grimston had always *a great tenderness for dissenters*, though still in the communion of the church."—*Swift.* "Burnet's test of all virtues."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "Lady Grimston was the humblest, the devoutest, and best tempered person I ever *knew of that sort*" (church of England).—*Swift.* "Ah! rogue!"

P. 392. *Burnet.* "Sancroft, dean of St. Paul's, was raised to the see of Canterbury. He was a man of solemn deportment, he had a sullen gravity in his looks, and was considerably learned. He had put on a monastic strictness, and lived abstracted from company. These things, together with his living unmarried and his being fixed in the old maxims of high loyalty, and a superstitious valuing of

little things, made the court conclude that he was a man who might be entirely gained to serve all their ends, or at least that he would be an unactive speculative man, and give them little opposition in anything they might attempt, when they had more promising opportunities."—*Swift.* "False and detracting."

P. 406. *Burnet.* "In this battle between the prince of Orange (afterwards king William) and the duke of Orleans, some regiments of marines, on whom the prince depended, did basely run away; yet the other bodies fought so well that he lost not much, except the *honor of the day.*"—*Swift.* "What he was pretty well used to."

P. 413. *Burnet.* "Upon the examination of Mitchell before the privy-council for the intended assassination of archbishop Sharpe, it being first proposed to cut off the prisoner's right hand and then his left; lord Rothes, who was a pleasant man, said, "Then how shall he wipe his b—ch?" This is not very *decent* to be mentioned in such a work if it were not necessary."—*Swift.* "As decent as a thousand other passages: so he might have spared his apology."

P. 414. *Burnet,* in the last article of the above trial, observes, "That the judge, who hated Sharpe, as he went up to the bench, passing by the prisoner, whispered him—'Confess nothing, except you are sure of your limbs as well as your life.'"—*Swift.* "O rare judge!"

P. 416. *Burnet,* speaking of the execution of the above Mitchell for the attempt against Sharpe, says, "Yet the duke of Lauderdale had a chaplain (Hickes), afterwards dean of Worcester, who published a false and partial relation of this matter in order to the justifying it."—*Swift.* "He was a learned and a pious man."

P. 425. *Burnet.* "Titus Oates had gotten to be a chaplain in one of the king's ships, from which he was dismissed upon complaint of some unnatural practices."—*Swift.* "Only s——y."

P. 441. *Burnet.* "On the impeachment of lord Danby, Maynard, an ancient and eminent lawyer, explained the words of the statute, 25 Edward III., that the courts of law could not proceed but upon one of the crimes there enumerated, but the parliament had still a power, by the clause in that act, to declare what was treason."—*Swift.* "Yes, by a new act, but not by a retrospect there; for Maynard was *a knave and a fool, with all his law.*"

P. 455. *Burnet.* "The bill of exclusion certainly disinherited the next heir, which the king and parliament might do as well as any private man might disinherit his next heir."—*Swift.* "This is

not always true; yet it was certainly in the power of the king and parliament to exclude the next heir."

P. 459. *Burnet.* "For a great while I thought the limitation proposed in the exclusion bill was the wisest and best method."—*Swift.* "It was the wisest because it would be less opposed, and the king would consent to it—otherwise an *exclusion* would have done better."

Burnet, speaking of the party-writings for and against the presbyters and churchmen, continues, "The chief manager of all these angry writings was one sir Roger l'Estrange, a man who had lived in all the late times, and was furnished with many passages, and an unexhausted copiousness in writing."—*Swift.* "A superficial meddling coxcomb."

P. 483. *Burnet.* "I laid open the cruelties of the church of Rome in queen Mary's time, which were not then known; and I *aggravated,* though *very truly,* the danger of falling under the power of that religion."—*Swift.* "A BULL!"

Ibid. *Burnet.* "Sprat had studied a polite style much; but there was little strength in it. He had the beginnings of learning laid well in him; but he has allowed himself, in a course of some years, in much sloth and too many liberties."—*Swift.* "Very false."

P. 509. *Burnet,* speaking of the grand juries in the latter end of king Charles's reign returning *ignoramus* so frequently on bills of indictment, states, that in defence of those *ignoramus juries* it was said "That by the express words of their oath they were bound to make true presentments of what should appear true to them; and therefore if they did not believe the evidence they could not find a bill, though sworn to. A book was writ to support this, in which both law and reason were brought to confirm it."—*Swift.* "This book was written by lord Somers."

P. 525. *Burnet.* "Home was convicted on the credit of *one* evidence. Applications 'tis true were made to the duke of York for saving his life; but he was not born under *a pardoning planet.*"—*Swift.* "Silly fop!"

Burnet, speaking of the surrender of the charters in 1682—"It was said that those who were in the government incorporations, and had their charters and seals trusted to their keeping, were not the proprietors nor masters of those rights. They could not distinguish those corporations nor part with any of their privileges. Others said, 'that whatever might be objected to the reason and equity

of the thing, yet when the seal of a corporation was put to any deed such a deed was good in law.' This matter goes beyond my skill in law to determine."—*Swift.* "What does he think of the surrender of charters, abbeys, &c., &c.?"

P. 528. *Burnet.* "The nonconformists were now persecuted with much eagerness. This was visibly set on by the papists; and it was wisely done by them: for they knew how much the *nonconformists were set against them.*"—*Swift.* "Not so much as they are against the church."

P. 536. *Burnet.* "The truth is juries became at that time the shame of the nation as well as a reproach to religion; for they were packed and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed, and not as matters appeared in the evidence."—*Swift.* "So they are now."

P. 543. *Burnet,* on Rumbold's proposal to shoot the king at Hodsdon in his way to Newmarket, adds, "The conspirators then ran into much *wicked talk* about the means of executing it—but nothing was fixed upon; all was *but talk.*"—*Swift.* "All plots begin with talk."

P. 548. *Burnet.* At the time of lord Russell's plot—"Baille being asked by the king whether they had any design against his person? he frankly said not; but being asked whether he had any consultation with lords or other persons about an insurrection in Scotland, Baillie faltered at this, for his *conscience* restrained him from *lying.*"—*Swift.* "The author and his *cousins* could *not lie,* but they *could plot.*"

P. 553. *Burnet,* speaking of lord Essex's suicide (1683), "His man, thinking he stayed longer than ordinary in his *closet,* looked through the keyhole, and saw him lying dead."—*Swift.* "He cut his throat with a razor on the close-stool."[1]

P. 555. *Burnet.* "On lord Russell's trial Finch summed up the evidence against him, but showed more of a vicious eloquence in turning matters against the prisoner than law."—*Swift.* "Finch was afterwards earl of Aylesford. An arrant r——l!"

P. 568. *Burnet.* "All people were apprehensive of very black designs when they saw Jefferies made chief-justice of the king's bench, who was so scandalously vicious and was drunk every day;

[1] The death of Essex was the subject of much discussion at the time, and of severe prosecution against Messrs. Speke and Bradden, for encouraging a report that he had been murdered in prison.

besides, he had a drunkenness of fury in his temper that looked like enthusiasm. He did not consider the decencies of his post; nor did he seem so much as to affect to seem impartial, as became a judge, but ran out upon all occasions into declamations that did not become the bar, much less the bench. He was not learned in his profession either; and his eloquence, though viciously copious, was neither correct nor agreeable."—*Swift.* "Somewhat like Burnet's eloquence."

P. 572. *Burnet,* on Algernon Sydney's trial, observes, "That Finch aggravated the matter of the book, as a proof of his intentions: for he said, *Scribere est agere.*"—*Swift.* "And yet king George made him earl of Aylesford."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "When Sydney charged the sheriffs who brought him the execution-warrant with having packed the jury, one of the sheriffs wept. He told it to a person from whom Tillotson had it, who told it to me."—*Swift.* "Abominable authority!"

P. 577. *Burnet.* "So that it was plain that after all the story which they had made of the Rye-house plot, it had gone no further, and that a company of seditious and inconsiderable persons were framing among themselves some treasonable schemes that were never likely to come to anything."—*Swift.* "Cursed partiality!"

P. 579. *Burnet.* "The king (Charles II.) had published a story all about the court as a reason for his severity against Armstrong, that he had been sent over by Cromwell to murder him beyond sea; and upon Armstrong's conviction, though the king promised he would not reveal it during his life, yet now looking upon him as dead in law he was free from that promise."—*Swift.* "If the king had a mind to lie, he would have waited till Armstrong was hanged."

P. 585. *Burnet.* "Finding the difficulty of discovering anything, and in confidence, I saved myself out of these difficulties by saying to all my friends that I would not be involved in any such confidence; for as long as I thought our circumstances were such that resistance was not lawful, I thought the concealing any design in order to it was likewise unlawful."—*Swift.* "Jesuitical!"

P. 586. *Burnet.* "Baillie suffered several hardships and fines for being supposed to be in the Rye-house-plot; yet during this he seemed so composed, and even so cheerful, that his behavior looked like the revival of the spirit of the noblest Greeks and Romans."—*Swift.* "Take notice he was *our cousin.*"

P. 587. *Burnet,* speaking of Baillie's execution, says "The only

excuse there was ever pretended for this infamous prosecution was that they were sure he was guilty, and that the whole secret of the negotiation between the two kingdoms was trusted to him; and since he would not discover it, all methods might be taken to destroy him." — *Swift.* "Case of the bishop of Rochester."

P. 588. *Burnet.* "Lord Perth wanting to see Leightoun, I wrote so earnestly to him that he came to London; and on his coming up, was amazed to see a man of seventy years of age look so well and fresh as if time seemed to stand still with him; and yet the next day both speech and sense left him, and he continued panting about twelve hours, and then died without pang or convulsion." — *Swift.* "Burnet killed him by bringing him up to London."

P. 589. *Burnet.* "There were two remarkable circumstances in Leightoun's death. He used often to say that if he were to choose a place to die in it should be an inn, it looking like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all an inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion of it. He added that the officious tenderness of his friends was an entanglement to a dying man, and that the unconcerned attendance of those that could be procured in such a place would give less disturbance. He had his wish." — *Swift.* "Canting puppy!"

P. 590. *Burnet.* "Stearne, archbishop of York, died this year (1684) in the 86th year of his age. He was a sour, ill-tempered man, and minded chiefly to enrich his family."—*Swift.* "And yet he was thought to be the author of the Whole Duty of Man."

P. 596. *Burnet.* "Being appointed to preach the sermon on the Gunpowder-plot (1684) at the Rolls-chapel, I took for my text 'Save me from the lion's mouth; thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorn.' I made no reflections in my thoughts on the lion and unicorn as being the two supporters of the king's escutcheon, for I ever hated all points of that sort as a profanation of Scriptures." — *Swift.* "I doubt that."

Burnet, speaking of the suspicion of Charles II. being poisoned — "Needham called twice to have the stomach opened, but the surgeons seemed not to hear him; and when he moved it a second time, as he told me, heard Lower say to one that stood next him, 'Needham will undo us calling thus to have the stomach opened, for he may see they will not do it.' They were diverted to look to somewhat else; and when they returned to look upon the stomach it was carried away, so that it was never viewed. Le Fevre, a

French physician, told me he saw a blackness in the shoulder, upon which he made an incision and saw it was all mortified. Short, another physician, who was a papist but after a form of his own, did very much suspect foul dealing, and he had talked more freely of it than any of the protestants durst do at that time." — *Swift.* "A physician told me, who had it from Short himself, that he believed him to be poisoned."

P. 596. *Burnet,* concluding the character of Charles II. — "His person and temper, his vices as well as his fortunes, resemble the character that we have given us of Tiberius so much that it were easy to draw the parallel between them. Tiberius's banishment and his coming afterwards to reign makes the comparison in that respect pretty near — his hating of business and love of pleasures — his raising of favorites and trusting them entirely, and then his putting them down and hating them excessively — his art of covering deep designs, particularly of revenge, with an appearance of softness, brings them so near a likeness that I did not wonder much to observe the resemblance of their faces and persons. At Rome I saw one of the last statues made for Tiberius after he had lost his teeth; but bating the alteration which that made, it was so like king Charles that prince Borghese and signior Dominica, to whom it belonged, did agree with me in thinking that it looked like a statue made for him." — *Swift.* "He was certainly a very bad prince, but not to the degree described in this character, which is poorly drawn, and mingled with malice very unworthy an historian: the style is likewise abominable, as is the whole history of observations trite and vulgar."

P. 651. *Burnet.* "Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff of London when Cornish was sheriff, offered to swear against Cornish, and also said that Rumsey had not discovered all he knew. So Rumsey to save himself and Goodenough swore against Cornish; and he was seized on, tried, and executed in a week." — *Swift.* "Goodenough afterwards went to Ireland, practised the law, and died there."

P. 654. *Burnet.* "The archbishop of Armagh (1685) had continued lord-chancellor of Ireland, and was in all respects so complaisant to the court that even his religion became suspected." — *Swift.* "False!"

Ibid. *Burnet.* "And yet this archbishop was not thought thorough-paced; — so sir Charles Porter, who was a zealous prome-

ter of everything the king proposed, and was a man of ready wit, and being poor was thought a person fit to be made a tool of, was declared lord-chancellor of Ireland." — *Swift.* "False and scandalous."

P. 669. *Burnet.* "Solicitor-general Finch had been continued in his employment only to lay the load of this judgment upon him (the prosecution of lord de la Mere). He was presently after turned out, and Powis succeeded him, who was a compliant, young, aspiring lawyer."—*Swift.* "Sir Thomas Powis—good dull lawyer."

P. 672. *Burnet.* "Intimations were everywhere given that the king would not have the dissenters or their meetings disturbed. Some of them began to grow insolent upon this show of favor." — *Swift.* "The whole body of them grew insolent, and complying to the king."

P. 675. *Burnet.* "Sancroft lay silent at Lambeth. He seemed zealous against popery in private discourse; but he was of such a timorous temper, and *so set on the enriching his nephew*, that he showed no sort of courage." — *Swift.* "False as hell."

P. 681. *Burnet.* "The episcopal clergy were in many places so sunk in sloth and ignorance that they were not capable of conducting their zeal; but the presbyterians, though smarting under great severities, expressed on all occasions their unconquerable aversion to popery." — *Swift.* "Partial dog!"

P. 690. *Burnet*, speaking of king William's character, says "He had no vice but one sort, in which he was very *cautious and secret.*" —*Swift.* "It was of two sorts — *male* and *female* — in the *former* he was neither cautious nor secret."

P. 691. *Burnet.* "In a conversation with the prince of Orange at the Hague (1686), when I told him my opinion of toleration, he said 'that was all he would ever attempt to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home.'" — *Swift.* "So it seems the prince even then thought of being king."

P. 692. *Burnet.* "The advice I gave the princess of Orange when queen of England was to endeavor to get the power of king to the prince for life; for this would lay the greatest obligation on him possible, and lay the foundation for a perfect union between them, which had of late been a little embroiled." — *Swift.* "On account of Mrs. Villiers, now lady Orkney; but he proved a *d——d husband for all that.*"

P. 693. *Burnet.* "Penn, the quaker, was a talking vain man,

who had been long in the king's favor, he being the vice-admiral's son." — *Swift.* "He spoke very agreeably and with much spirit."

P. 695. *Burnet.* "Cartwright was promoted to Chester. He was a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning. He was ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous; and by the great liberties he allowed himself, he fell under much scandal of the *worst sort.*" — *Swift.* "Only s——y."

P. 697. *Burnet.* "In all nations the privileges of colleges and universities are esteemed such sacred things that few will venture to disturb them." — *Swift.* "Yet in king George's reign Oxford was insulted with troops, for no manner of cause but their steadiness to the church."

P. 701. *Burnet,* speaking of king James's proceedings against the universities, and that several of the clergy wrote over to the prince of Orange to engage in their quarrel, adds — "When that was communicated to me I was still of opinion that this was an act of despotic and arbitrary power; yet I did not think it struck at the whole, so that it was not in my opinion a lawful case of resistance." — *Swift.* "He was a better *Tory* than I if he spoke as he thought."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "The main difference between the Presbyterians and the Independents was, that the former seemed reconcilable to the church; *for they loved Episcopal ordination and liturgy,* but the Independents were for a commonwealth."—*Swift.* "A damnable lie!"

P. 702. *Burnet.* "So the most considerable amongst them (the dissenters) resolved not to stand at too great a distance from the court, nor provoke the king too far so as to give him cause to think they were irreconcilable to him, lest they should provoke him to take up matters at any time with the church-party." — *Swift.* "Another piece of dissimulation."

Burnet. "The king's choice of Palmer, earl of Castlemain, was liable to great exceptions; for as he was believed to be a Jesuit, he was certainly as hot and eager in all high notions as any of them could be. The Romans were amazed when they heard he was to be the person. His misfortunes were so eminent and public that they who take their measures much from astrology, and from the characters they think are fixed on men, thought it strange to see such a negotiation put into the hands of so unlucky a man." — *Swift.* "This man was the duchess of Cleveland's husband."

P. 710. *Burnet.* "The restless spirit of some of that religion (popery), and of their clergy in particular, showed that they could not be quiet till they were masters."—*Swift.* "All sects are of that spirit."

P. 726. *Burnet.* When king James memorialized the States to deliver up Burnet, he says, "I argued that, being now naturalized in Holland, my allegiance was during my stay in those parts transferred from his majesty to the States."—*Swift.* "Civilians deny that; but I agree with him."

P. 727. *Burnet.* "I now come to the year 1688, which proved memorable, and produced an extraordinary *unheard-of* revolution."—*Swift.* "The devil's in that! Sure all Europe *heard* of it."

P. 746. *Burnet.* "But, after all, the soldiers were *bad Englishmen, and worse Christians;* yet the court of James II. found them too good Protestants to trust much to them."—*Swift.* "Special doctrine!"

P. 752. *Burnet,* doubting of the legitimacy of the pretender and describing the queen's manner of lying-in, says, "all this while the queen lay in bed; and in order to the warming one side of it, a warming-pan was brought, but it was not opened that it might be seen whether there was any fire in it."—*Swift.* "This the ladies say is very foolish."

P. 762. *Burnet.* "The earl of Shrewsbury seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honor."—*Swift.* "Quite the contrary."

P. 763. *Burnet.* "Russell told me that on his return to England from Holland he communicated his design (relative to the revolution) to lord Lumley, who was a late convert from popery and had stood out very firmly all this reign. He was a man who had his interest much to heart, and he resolved to embark deep in this design."—*Swift.* "He was a knave and a coward."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "But the man in whose hands the conduct of the whole design was chiefly deposited, by the prince's own order, was Mr. Sydney, brother to the earl of Leicester, and Mr. Algernon Sydney. He was a graceful man and had lived long in the court, where he had some adventures that became very public. He was a man of sweet and caressing temper."—*Swift.* "An idle, drunken, ignorant rake, without sense, truth, or honor."

P. 764. *Burnet.* "But because Mr. Sydney was lazy, and the business required an active man, who could run about and write

over full and long accounts, I recommended a kinsman of my own, Johnston, whom I had formed and knew to be both faithful and diligent."—*Swift.* "An arrant Scotch rogue."

P. 765. *Burnet.* "Lord Churchill (afterwards duke of Marlborough) was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the court with no literature; but he had a solid and clear understanding, with a constant presence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a court better than any man in it. He caressed all people with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He had no fortune to set up on. This put him on all the methods of acquiring one, and that went so far into him that he did not shake it off when he was in a much higher elevation; nor were his expenses suited enough to his posts; but when allowances are made for that, it must be acknowledged that he is one of the greatest men the age has produced."—*Swift.* "A composition of perfidiousness and avarice."

Ibid. *Burnet,* still speaking of lord Churchill: "he was very doubtful of the pretended birth; so he resolved when the prince should come over to go to him, but to betray no post nor anything more than withdrawing himself with such officers as he could trust with such a secret."—*Swift.* "What could he do more to a mortal enemy?"

P. 772. *Burnet.* "The king of France thought himself tied by no peace, but that when he suspected his neighbors were intending to make war upon him he might, upon such a suspicion, begin a war upon his part."—*Swift.* "The common maxim of princes."

P. 782. *Burnet.* "The morning the prince of Orange embarked for England he took God to witness that he went to that country with no other intentions. but those he had set out in his declaration."—*Swift.* "Then he was perjured; for he designed to get the crown, which he denied in the declaration."

P. 783. *Burnet.* After describing the storm which put back the prince of Orange's fleet, he observes, "in France and England they triumphed, believing it to be a *miracle;* we on the contrary looked upon it as a mark of God's great care to be delivered out of so great a storm."—*Swift.* "Then still it must be a *miracle.*"

P. 785. *Burnet.* "When matters were coming to a crisis at the Revolution an order was sent to the bishop of Winchester to put the president of Magdalen College again into possession, but when the court heard the prince's fleet was blown back the order was

countermanded."—*Swift.* "The bishop of Winchester assured me otherwise."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "And now the court thought it necessary, as an *after-game*, to offer some satisfaction on the point of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales."—*Swift.* "And this was the proper time."

P. 786. "The princess Anne was not present at the queen's delivery; she excused herself, thinking she was breeding, and all motion was forbidden her; but none believed this to be the true reason."—*Swift.* "I have reason to believe this to be true of the princess Anne."

P. 790. *Burnet.* "The prince of Orange's army staid a week at Exeter before any of the gentlemen of the county came in to us. Every day some person of condition came to us from other parts. The first were the lord Colchester, the eldest son of the earl of Powis, and the lord Wharton."—*Swift.* "Famous for his cowardice in the rebellion."

P. 791. *Burnet.* "Soon after that prince George, the duke of Ormond, and the lord Drumlanerick, the duke of Queensberry's eldest son, left king James and came over to the prince."—*Swift.* "Yet how has he been rewarded for this?"

P. 792. *Burnet.* "In a little while a small army was formed about the princess Anne, who chose to be commanded by the bishop of London, of which he too easily accepted."—*Swift.* "And why should he not?"

Ibid. *Burnet.* "A foolish ballad was made about this time treating the papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burthen, said to be Irish words, 'Lero, Lero, Lillibulero,' that made an impression on the army that cannot well be imagined by those who saw it not."—*Swift.* "They are not Irish words, but better than Scotch."

P. 796. *Burnet*, speaking of king James's first attempt to leave the kingdom, says, "With this his reign ended; for it was a plain desertion of his people, and exposing the nation to the pillage of an army which he had ordered the earl of Feversham to disband."—*Swift.* "An abominable assertion, and false consequences."

P. 797. *Burnet.* "The incident of the king's being retaken at Feversham gave rise to the party of Jacobites, for if he had got clear away he would not have had a party left; all would have agreed it was a desertion, and therefore the nation was free and at liberty to secure itself; but what followed upon this gave them a

color to say, 'he was forced away, and driven out.'" — *Swift.* "So he most certainly was, both now and afterwards."

P. 798. *Burnet.* "Jefferies, finding the king was gone, saw what reason he had to look to himself, and apprehending that he was now exposed to the rage of the people whom he had provoked with a particular brutality, he had disguised himself to make his escape, but he fell into the hands of some who knew him, and was insulted by them with as much scorn and rudeness as they could invent. After many hours tossing him about he was carried to the lord mayor, whom they charged to commit him to the Tower, which the lord Lucas had then seized and in it had declared for the prince. The lord-mayor was so struck with the terror of this rude populace and with the disgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him that he fell into fits upon it, of which he died soon after." — *Swift.* "When Jefferies was committed to the Tower he took to drinking strong liquors, which he occasionally did when in power, but now increased his habit most inordinately, with a view to put an end to his life, which it soon did."

P. 799. *Burnet.* "When I had the first account of king James's flight I was affected with this dismal reverse of the fortune of a great prince more than I think fit to express." — *Swift.* "Or than I will believe."

P. 800. *Burnet,* speaking of the dilemma the prince of Orange was in about the king, upon his being brought from Feversham, says, "It was thought necessary to stick to the point of the king's deserting his people, and not to give up that by entering into any treaty with him." — *Swift.* "Base and villanous."

P. 803. *Burnet.* "Now that the prince was come all the bodies about the town came to welcome him. The bishops came the next day (the archbishop of Canterbury excepted). The clergy of London came next. The city and a great many other bodies came likewise, and expressed a great deal of joy for the deliverance wrought for them by the prince's means. Old serjeant Maynard came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The prince took notice of his great age, and said 'that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time:' he answered 'he had like to have outlived the law itself if his highness had not come over.'" — *Swift.* "Maynard was an old rogue for all that."

P. 805. *Burnet,* speaking of the first effects of the Revolution

upon the presbyterians in Scotland, says "They broke in upon the episcopal clergy with great violence and much cruelty; they tore their gowns and drove them from their churches and houses."—*Swift.* "To reward them for which king William abolished episcopacy."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "The episcopal party in Scotland saw themselves under a great cloud, so they resolved all to adhere to the earl of Dundee, who had served some years in Holland, and was a man of good parts and some valuable virtues, but was proud and ambitious, and had taken a violent hatred to the whole presbyterian party."—*Swift.* "He was the best man in Scotland."

P. 807. *Burnet.* "Those who were employed by Tyrconnel to deceive the prince made an application to sir William Temple, who had a long and established credit with him."—*Swift.* "A lie of a Scot; for sir William Temple to my knowledge did not know Tyrconnel."

P. 811. *Burnet,* speaking of the various opinions then agitated relative to the settlement of the state—"Some were of opinion that king James had by his ill administration of the government brought himself into an incapacity of holding the exercise of the sovereign authority any more in his own hand; but as in the case of *lunatics,* the right still remained in him, only the guardianship, or the exercise of it was to be lodged with a *prince-regent;* so that the right of sovereignty should be owned to remain still in the king, and that the exercise of it should be vested in the prince of Orange, as prince-regent."—*Swift.* "A regency certainly was by much the best expedient."

Ibid. *Burnet.* "The third party was made up of those who thought there was an original contract between the king and the people of England, by which the kings were bound to defend their people and govern them according to law; in lieu of which the people were bound to obey and serve the king."—*Swift.* "I am of this party, and yet I would have been for a regency."

P. 813. *Burnet.* "This scheme of a regency was both more illegal and more unsafe than the method they proposed. The law of England had settled the point of the subject's security in obeying the king in possession by the statute of Henry VII. So every man knew he was safe under a king, and so would act with zeal and courage; but all such as should act under a *prince-regent,* created by this convention, were upon a bottom that had not the necessary

forms of law for it."—*Swift.* "There is something in this argument."

P. 816. *Burnet.* "It was proposed that the birth of the pretended prince might be examined into, and I was ordered to gather together all the presumptive proofs that were formerly mentioned: it is true these did not amount to a full and legal proof; yet they seemed to be such violent presumptions that when they were all laid together they were more convincing than plain and downright evidence, for that was liable to the suspicion of subornation, whereas the others seemed to carry on them very convincing characters of truth and conformity."—*Swift.* "Well said, bishop."

P. 817. *Burnet.* "Some people thought it would be a good security for the nation to have a dormant title to the crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige our princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a pretender still in their eye."—*Swift.* "I think this was no ill design, yet it hath not succeeded in mending kings."

P. 819. *Burnet.* "The princess continued all the while in Holland, being shut in there by the east winds and by the freezing of the rivers, so that she came not to England till the debates were over."—*Swift.* "Why was she sent for till the matter was agreed? This clearly shows the prince's original design was to be king, against what he professed in his declaration."

P. 824. *Burnet.* "A pamphlet was published at this time (1689), which was laid thus: 'The prince had a just cause of making war on the king.' In that most of them agreed. In a just war, which is an appeal to God, success is considered as the decision of Heaven; so the prince's success against king James gave him the right of conquest over him, and by it all his rights were transferred to the prince."—*Swift.* "The author wrote a paper to prove this. It was burnt by the hangman, and was a very foolish scheme."

P. 525. *Burnet* (second volume), speaking of the act for the general naturalization of protestants, and the opposition made against it by the high church, adds, "It was at last carried in the house of commons by a great majority; but all those who appeared for this large and comprehensive way were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the church; and in that I had a large share."—*Swift.* "Dog!"

P. 526. *Burnet.* "The faction here found out proper instruments to set the same humor on foot in Ireland during the last of Roches-

ter's government, and as it was said by his directions. So the clergy were making the same bold claims there that had raised disputes amongst us."—*Swift.* "Dog! dog! dog!"

P. 580. *Burnet.* "*One Prior*, who had been Jersey's secretary, upon his death was employed to prosecute that peace which his principal did not live to finish. Prior had been taken a boy out of a tavern by the earl of Dorset, who accidentally found him reading Horace, and he being very generous gave him an education in literature."—*Swift.* "Malice!"

P. 581. *Burnet.* "Many mercenary pens were set at work to justify our proceedings and to defame our allies, more particularly the Dutch. This was done with much art but *with no regard to truth*, in a pamphlet entitled 'The Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry."—*Swift.* "*It was all true.*"

P. 582. *Burnet.* "The Jacobites did with the greater joy entertain this prospect of peace, because the dauphin had, in a visit to St. Germaine, congratulated that court upon it, which made them conclude it was to have a happy effect with relation to the pretender's affairs."—*Swift.* "The queen hated and despised the pretender to my knowledge."

P. 583. *Burnet.* "In a conference I had with the queen on the subject of peace, 'she hoped bishops would not be against peace.' I said a good peace was what we prayed for; but any treaty by which Spain and the West Indies were left to king Philip must in a little time deliver all Europe into the hands of France; and if any such peace could be made she was betrayed and we were all ruined; in less than three years time she would be murdered, and the fires would again be raised in Smithfield."—*Swift.* "A false prophet in every particular."

P. 589. *Burnet.* "The queen having sent a message to the lords to adjourn, it was debated that the queen could not send a message to any one house to adjourn when the like message was not sent to both houses. The pleasure of the prince in convening, dissolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of parliament, was always directed to both houses, but never to one house without the same intimation being given to the other."—*Swift.* "Modern nonsense."

P. 591. *Burnet.* "The house of commons, after their recess, entered on the observations of the commissioners for taking the public accounts, and began with Walpole (sir Robert Walpole), whom they resolved to put out of the way of disturbing them in

the house. The thing laid to his charge stood thus: after he, as secretary at war, had contracted with some for forage to the horse that lay in Scotland, he, finding that the two persons who had contracted for it made some gain by it, named a friend of his own as a third person, that he might have a share in the gain; but the other two had no mind to let him in to know the secret of their management, so they offered him *five hundred pounds* for his share: he accepted it, and the money was remitted. But they not knowing his address directed their bill to Walpole, who indorsed it, and the person concerned received the money. This transaction was found out, and Walpole was charged with it, as a bribe that he had taken for his own use for making the contract. Both the persons that remitted the money and he who received it were examined, and affirmed that Walpole was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the house insisted upon his having indorsed the bill, and not only voted this a corruption, but sent him to the Tower and expelled him the house." — *Swift.* "Walpole began early, and has been thriving in this business *twenty-seven years*, up to January, 1739."

P. 609. *Burnet.* "A new set of addresses ran about. Some mentioned the protestant succession and the house of Hanover with zeal, others more coldly, and some made no mention at all of it; and it was universally believed that no addresses were so acceptable to the minister as those of *the last sort.*" — *Swift.* "Foolish and factious."

P. 610. *Burnet.* "The duke of Ormond had given the States such assurances of his going along with them through the whole campaign that he was let into the secrets of all their councils, which by that confidence were all known to the French; and if the auxiliary German troops had not been prepared to disobey his orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the French army, would have forced the States to come into the new measures; but that was happily prevented."—*Swift.* "Vile Scotch dog! how does he dare to touch Ormond's honor so falsely?"

P. 669. *Burnet*, speaking of the progress of his own life, says, "The pleasures of sense I did soon nauseate."—*Swift.* "Not so soon with the wine of some elections."

Here end the remarks on bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, but opposite to the title page of "The Life of the Author,

by Thomas Burnet, esq.," and in the Life, are the following remarks: —

Opposite to the title-page.—*Swift.* "A rude, violent, party business."

In the Life, p. 722. *Thomas Burnet.* "The character I have given of his wives will scarce make it an addition to his character that he was a most affectionate husband. His tender care of the *first* during a course of sickness that lasted for many years, and *his fond love of the other two,* and the deep concern he expressed for their loss, were no more than their just due from one of his humanity, gratitude, and discernment."—*Swift.* "What! only three wives!"

P. 723. *Thomas Burnet.* "The bishop was a kind and bountiful master to his servants, whom he never changed but with regret and through necessity; friendly and obliging to all in employment under him, and peculiarly happy in the choice of them; particularly in that of the steward to the bishopric and his courts, William Wastefield, esq. (a gentleman of a plentiful fortune at the time of his accepting this post), and in that of his domestic steward Mr. *Macknay.*" — *Swift.* "A Scot; his own countryman."

REMARKS

ON THE

CHARACTERS OF THE COURT OF QUEEN ANNE.

[The original Characters are printed in roman; Swift's remarks in Italics.]

THESE Characters, drawn up in the name of John Macky (but written by Mr. Davis, an officer in the customs), were annexed to "Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, esq., during the reigns of king William, queen Anne, and king George I." printed in 1739, from a MS. said to be attested by his son, Spring Macky, esq.

Dr. Swift's notes are transcribed from a copy formerly belonging to John Putland, esq., a near relation to the dean, who took them from Swift's own handwriting.

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

A TALL handsome man for his age, with a very obliging addr of a wonderful presence of mind, so as hardly ever to be c posed; of a very clear head and sound judgment; every way capable of being a great man if the great success of his arms and the heaps of favors thrown upon him by his sovereign do not raise his thoughts above the rest of the nobility, and consequently draw upon him the envy of the people of England. He is turned fifty years of age. — *Detestably covetous.*

DUKE OF ORMOND.

With all the qualities of a great man except that of a statesman, hating business. He is about forty years of age. — *Fairly enough writ.*

DUKE OF SHREWSBURY.

Never was a greater mixture of honor, virtue [*none*], and good sense in any one person than in him: a great man, attended with a sweetness of behavior and easiness of conversation which charms all who come near him; nothing of the stiffness of a statesman, yet the capacity and knowledge of a piercing wit. He speaks French and Italian as well as his native language; and although but one ·ve yet he has a most charming countenance, and is the generally beloved by the ladies of any gentleman in his t

He is [illegible] years old.

DUKE OF SOMERSET

Is of a middle stature, well shaped, a very black complexion, a lover of music and poetry; of good judgment [*not a grain; hardly common sense*]; but by reason of a great hesitation in his speech wants expression. He is about forty-two years old.

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

Has been the finest and handsomest gentleman of his time; loves the ladies and plays; keeps a noble house and equipage; is tall, well made, and of a princely behavior; of nice honor in everything but the paying his tradesmen. Past sixty years old.—*A very poor understanding.*

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

He is a nobleman of learning and good natural parts, but of no principles; violent for the high church, yet seldom goes to it; very proud, insolent, and covetous; and takes all advantages. — *This character is the truest of any.*

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

He has the exterior air of business, and application enough to make him very capable; in his habit and manners very formal; a tall, thin, very black man, like a Spaniard or Jew; above fifty years old. — *He fell in with the Whigs; was an endless talker.*

EARL OF ROMNEY.

He was the great wheel on which the Revolution rolled. [*He had not a wheel to turn a mouse.*] Of great honor and honesty, with a moderate capacity.—*None at all.*

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

He has one only daughter, who will be the richest heiress in Europe.—*Now countess of Oxford; cheated by her father.*

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

He is a gentleman good-natured to a fault; very well bred, and has many valuable things in him; is an enemy to business; very credulous; well shaped, black complexion, much like king Charles; not thirty years old.—*A shallow coxcomb.*

DUKE OF BOLTON.

Does not makes any figure at court.—*Nor anywhere else. A great booby.*

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

He is a man of honor, nice in paying his debts; and living well with his neighbors in the country, does not much care for the conversation of men of quality or business; is a tall black man, like his father the king; about forty years old.—*He was a most worthy person, very good-natured, and had very good sense.*

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Grandson to king Charles II.; a very pretty gentleman; has been abroad in the world; zealous for the constitution of his country; a tall black man, about twenty-five years old.—*Almost a slobberer, without one good quality.*

SIR NATHAN WRIGHTE,
LORD-KEEPER.

Is son of a clergyman; a good common lawyer, a slow chancellor, and no civilian. Chance, more than choice, brought him the seals.—*Very covetous.*

JOHN [RALPH] DUKE OF MONTAGU.

Since the queen's accession to the throne he has been created a duke, and is now sixty years old.—*As arrant a knave as any in his time.*

MARQUIS OF HARRINGTON.

One of the best beloved gentlemen by the country party in England.—*A very poor understanding.*

LORD SOMERS.

Of a creditable family in the city of Worcester. [*Very mean; his father was a noted rogue.*] He is believed to have been the best chancellor that ever sat in the chair.—*I allow him to have possessed all excellent qualifications except virtue; he had violent passions, and hardly subdued them by his great prudence.*

LORD HALIFAX.

He is a great encourager of learning and learned men; is the patron of the muses; of very agreeable conversation; a short fair man, not forty years old.—*His encouragements were only good words and good dinners. I never heard him say one good thing, or seem to taste what was said by another.*

EARL OF DORSET.

One of the finest gentlemen in England in the reign of king Charles II., of great learning [*small or none*], extremely witty, and

has been the author of some of the finest poems in the English language, especially satire; the Mæcenas and prince of our English poets; one of the pleasantest companions in the world when he likes his company [*not of late years, but a very dull one*]. He is very fat, troubled with the spleen, and turned of fifty years old.

EARL RIVERS.

He was one of the greatest rakes in England in his younger days; but always a lover of the constitution of his country; is a gentleman of very good sense, and very cunning; brave in his person, a lover of play, and understands it perfectly well; has a very good estate, and improves it every day; something covetous; is a tall handsome man, and of a very fair complexion. He is turned of forty years old.—*An arrant knave in common dealings, and very prostitute.*

EARL OF PORTLAND.

He is supposed to be the richest subject in Europe; very profuse in gardening, birds, and household furniture, but mighty frugal in everything else; of a very lofty mien, and yet not proud; of no deep understanding, considering his experience; neither much beloved nor hated by any sort of people, English or Dutch. He is turned of fifty years old.—*As great a dunce as ever I knew.*

EARL OF DERBY.

On his brother's death he came to the house of peers, where he never will make any great figure, the sword being more his profession; he is a fair complexioned man, well shaped, taller than the ordinary size, and a man of honor. He is turned of forty years old.—*As arrant a ********* as his brother.*

EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

He affects popularity, and loves to preach in coffee-houses and public places; is an open enemy to revealed religion; brave in his person; has a good estate; does not seem expensive, yet always in debt, and very poor. A well-shaped thin man, with a very brisk look, near fifty years old.—*This character is for the most part true.*

EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

This gentleman is endued with a great deal of learning, virtue, [*no*], and good sense [*no*]; very honest; and zealous for the liberty of the people.

EARL OF STAMFORD.

Is one of the branches of the Greys, a noble family in England. He does not want sense; but by reason of a defect in his speech wants elocution; is a very honest man himself, but very suspicious of everybody that is not of his party, for which he is very zealous; jealous of the power of the clergy, who he is afraid may some time or other influence our civil government. From a good estate he is become very poor, and much in debt; he is something above the middle stature, and turned of fifty years old.—*He looked and talked like a very weak man; but it was said he spoke well in council.*

EARL OF THANET.

He is a good country gentleman, a great assertor of the prerogatives of the monarchy and the church; a thin, tall, black, red-faced man, turned of sixty years old.—*Of great piety and charity.*

EARL OF SANDWICH.

Of very ordinary parts; married the witty lord Rochester's daughter, who makes him very expensive; a tall, thin, black man, about thirty-five years old.—*As much a puppy as ever I saw; very ugly and a fop.*

EARL OF RANELAGH.

He is a bold man and very happy in jests and repartees, and has often turned the humor of the house of commons when they have designed to have been very severe. He is very fat, black, and turned of sixty years old.—*The vainest old fool I ever saw.*

LORD LUCAS.

He is every way a plain man, yet took a great deal of pains to seem knowing and wise; everybody pitied him when the queen turned him out for his seeming good nature and real poverty: he is very fat, very expensive, and very poor; turned of fifty years old.—*A good plain humdrum.*

EARL WINCHELSEA.

He loves jests and puns [*I never observed it*], and that sort of low wit; is of short stature, well shaped, with a very handsome countenance.—*Being very poor he complied too much with the party he hated.*

LORD POULET OF HINTON.

He is certainly one of the hopefulest gentlemen in England; is very learned, virtuous, and a man of honor; much esteemed in the

country for his generous way of living with the gentry, and his charity to the poorest sort. He makes but a mean figure in his person, is of a middle stature, fair complexion, not handsome, nor thirty years old.—*This character is fair enough.*

LORD TOWNSHEND.

Is a gentleman of great learning, attended with a sweet disposition; a lover of the constitution of his country; is beloved by everybody that knows him [*I except one*]; and when once employed in the administration of public affairs may show himself a great man. He is tall and handsome; about thirty years old.

LORD DARTMOUTH.

He sets up for a critie in conversation; makes jests and loves to laugh at them; takes a great deal of pains in his office, and is in a fair way of rising at court; is a short, thick man, of a fair complexion, turned of thirty-four years old.—*This is fair enough writ; but he has little sincerity.*

LORD WHARTON.

One of the completest gentlemen in England; has a very clear understanding and manly expression, with abundance of wit. He is brave in his person, much of a libertine, of middle stature, fair complexion, and fifty years old.—*The most universal villain I ever knew.*

LORD MAHON.

He is brave in his person, bold in his expressions, and rectifies, as fast as he can, the slips of his youth, by acts of honesty, which he now glories in more than he was formerly extravagant.—*He was little better than a conceited talker in company.*

EARL OF KENT.

Is the first branch of the ancient family of Grey. The present gentleman was much esteemed when lord Ruthen; was always very moderate, has good sense, and a good estate, which, with his quality, must make him always bear a considerable figure in the nation; he is a handsome man, not above forty years old.—*He seems a good-natured man, but of very little consequence.*

EARL OF LINDSAY.

A fine gentleman, has both wit and learning.—*I never observed a grain of either.*

EARL OF ABINGDON.

A gentleman of fine parts, makes a good figure in the counties of Oxford and Buckingham; is very high for the monarchy and church; of a black complexion; past forty years old.—*Very covetous.*

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

He is very subtle and cunning, never entered into the measures of king William, nor ever will, in any probability, make any great appearance in any other reign. He is above sixty years old.—*If it be old Chesterfield, I have heard he was the greatest knave in England.*

EARL OF BERKELEY.

A gentleman of learning, parts, and a lover of the constitution of his country: a short, fat man, fifty years old.—*Intolerably lazy and indolent and somewhat covetous.*

EARL OF FEVERSHAM.

A third son of the family of Duras in France; he came over with one of the duke of York's family; is a middle-statured, brown man, turned of fifty years old.—*He was a very dull old fellow.*

EARL OF GRANTHAM.

He is a very pretty gentleman, fair complexioned, and past thirty years old.—*And good for nothing.*

LORD DE LA WARR.

A free jolly gentleman, turned of forty years old.—*Of very little sense; but formal and well stocked with the low kind of lowest politics.*

LORD LEXINGTON.

He is of good understanding and very capable to be in the ministry; a well-bred gentleman and an agreeable companion; handsome; of a brown complexion; forty years old.—*A very moderate degree of understanding.*

LORD GREY OF WERK.

A sweet disposed gentleman; he joined king William at the Revolution, and is a zealous assertor of the liberties of the people: a thin, brown, handsome man, middle stature, turned of forty years old.—*Had very little in him.*

LORD CHANDOS

Was warm against king William's reign and does not make any great figure in this; but his son, Mr. Bridges [afterward duke of Chandos] does; being a member of the house of commons, one of the counsellors to the prince, and a very worthy gentleman.—*But a great complier with every court.*

LORD GUILDFORD

Is son to the lord-keeper North, has been abroad, does not want sense nor application to business, and his genius leads him that way. He is fat, fair, of middle stature, and past thirty years old.—*A mighty silly fellow.*

LORD GRIFFIN,

Having followed king James's fortunes, is now in France. He was always a great sportsman, and brave; a good companion, turned of sixty years old.—*His son was a plain drunken fellow.*

LORD CHOLMONDELEY.

This lord is a great lover of country sports; is handsome in his person, and turned of forty years old.—*Good for nothing, as far as ever I knew.*

LORD BUTLER OF WESTON,

Earl of Arran in Ireland, and brother to the duke of Ormond; of very good sense, though seldom shows it; of a fair complexion, middle stature, toward forty years old.—*This is right; but he is the most negligent of his own affairs.*

MR. MANSEL.

He is a gentleman of a good deal of wit and good nature; a lover of the ladies, and a pleasant companion; is very thin, of a fair complexion, middle stature, and turned of thirty years old.—*Of very good nature, but a very moderate capacity.*

ROBERT HARLEY, Esq.,

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

He is skilled in most things, and very eloquent [*a great lie*]; was bred a presbyterian, yet joins with the church-party in everything, and they do nothing without him.

MR. BOYLE,

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,

Is a good companion in conversation; agreeable among the ladies; serves the queen very assiduously in council; makes a considerable

figure in the house of commons; by his prudent administration obliges everybody in the exchequer; and in time may prove a great man. Is turned of thirty years old.—*Had some very scurvy qualities, particularly avarice.*

SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND,

POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

He is a gentleman of a very sweet, easy, affable disposition; of good sense, extremely zealous for the constitution of his country, yet does not seem over forward; keeps an exact unity among the officers under him, and encourages them in their duty, through a peculiar familiarity, by which he obliges them and keeps up the dignity of being master. He is a handsome man, middle stature, toward forty years old.—*A fair character.*

MR. SMITH,

ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S PRIVY-COUNCIL.

A gentleman of much honor; a lover of the constitution of his country; a very agreeable companion in conversation; a bold orator in the house of commons,[1] when the interest of his country is at stake; of a good address, middle stature, fair complexion, turned of forty years old.—*I thought him a very heavy man.*

CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL.D.

He was very poor at the Revolution; had no business to support him all the reign of king William; yet made a good figure. He is a very cloudy-looked man, fat, of middle stature, about fifty years old.—*He was used ill by most ministers; he ruined his estate, which put him under a necessity to comply with the times.*

MATTHEW PRIOR, Esq.,

COMMISSIONER OF TRADE.

On the queen's accession to the throne he was continued in his office; is very well at court with the ministry, and is an entire creature of my lord Jersey's, whom he supports by his advice: is one of the best poets in England, but very factious in conversation; a thin, hollow-looked man, turned of forty years old.—*This is near the truth.*

[1] He was one time speaker of the house of commons.

THOMAS TENISON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

A plain, good, heavy man, now much in years, and wearing out; very tall, of a fair complexion, and seventy years old.—*The most good-for-nothing prelate I ever knew.*

GILBERT BURNET,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Of a very good family in Scotland, of the name of Burnet; his father was lord [*laird*] of Cremont. He is one of the greatest [*Scotch*] orators of the age he lives in. His History of the Reformation, and his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, show him to be a man of great learning; but several of his other works show him to be a man neither of prudence nor temper; his sometimes opposing and sometimes favoring the dissenters, has much exposed him to the generality of the people of England; yet he is very useful in the house of peers, and proves a great pillar, both of the civil and ecclesiastical constitution, against the encroachments of a party that would destroy both. He is a large, bold-looked man, strong made, and turned of fifty years old.—*His characters are miserably wrought, in many things mistaken, and all of them detracting, excepting of those who were friends to the presbyterians. His own true character would take up too much time for me (who knew him well) to describe it.*

GEORGE STEPNEY, Esq.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE EMPEROR.

A gentleman of admirable natural parts, very learned, one of the best poets [*scarce of a third rate*] now in England, and perhaps equal to any that ever was.

MR. METHUEN,

AMBASSADOR TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

A man of intrigue, but very muddy in his conceptions, and not quickly understood in anything. In his complexion and manners much of a Spaniard; a tall, black man, fifty years old.—*A profligate rogue, without religion or morals; but cunning enough, yet without abilities of any kind.*

LORD RABY,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

He is a young gentleman *de bon naturel*, handsome, of fine understanding [*very bad, and cannot spell*], and with application may prove a man of business: he is of low stature [*he is tall*], well shaped, with a good face, fair complexioned, not thirty years old.

MR. HILL,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE DUKE OF SAVOY,

Is a gentleman of good family in Shropshire. He was designed for the church, and took deacon's [*priest's*] orders, but having a genius for business, and falling into the acquaintance of my lord Ranelagh when tutor to my lord Hyde, he was sent into Flanders as paymaster-general to the English troops there. He is a gentleman of very clear parts, and affects plainness and simplicity [*au contraire*] in his dress and conversation particularly. He is a favorite to both parties [*to neither*], and is beloved for his easy access and affable way by those he has business to do with. He is a thin tall man [*short, if I remember right*], taller than the ordinary stature, near fifty years old.

SIR LAMBERT BLACKWELL,

ENVOY TO THE GREAT DUKE OF TUSCANY.

He affects much the gentleman in his dress, and the minister in his conversation; is very lofty, yet courteous when he knows his people; much envied by his fellow-merchants; of a sanguine complexion, taller than the ordinary size, about forty years old.—*He seemed to be a very good-natured man.*

MR. (DR.) AGLIONBY,

ENVOY TO THE SWISS CANTONS.

He has abundance of wit, and understands most of the modern languages well; knows how to tell a story to the best advantage, but has an effected manner of conversation; is thin, splenetic, and tawny complexioned, turned of sixty years old. — *He had been a papist.*

MR. D'AVENANT,

AGENT AT FRANKFORT.

A very giddy-headed young fellow, with some wit, about twenty five years old. — *He is not worth mentioning.*

LORD CUTTS.

He has abundance of wit, but too much seized with vanity and self-conceit; he is affable, familiar, and very brave; towards fifty years old. — *The vainest old fool alive.*

LORD GALLWAY.

One of the finest gentlemen in the army, with a head fitted for the cabinet as well as the camp; is very modest, vigilant, and sincere; a man of honor and honesty [*in all directly otherwise*], without pride or affectation; wears his own hair; is plain in his dress and manners; towards sixty years old. — *A deceitful, hypocritical, factious knave; a damnable hypocrite, of no religion.*

EARL OF ORKNEY.

He is a very well shaped black man; is brave; but by reason of a hesitation in his speech wants expression: married Mrs. Villiers, and got a good estate by her; is turned of forty years old. — *An honest good-natured gentleman, and has much distinguished himself as a soldier.*

SIR CHARLES HARO,

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

At the Revolution he had a company in the foot-guards, was afterwards lieutenant-colonel to that regiment, was made colonel to the fusileers, and gradually advanced to the post he now has, which he well deserves, being of good understanding and abundance of learning; fit to command if not too covetous: he is a short black man, fifty years old. — *His father was a groom; he was a man of sense, without one grain of honesty.*

COLONEL MATTHEW AYLMER,[1]

VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET.

He has a very good head, indefatigable and designing; is very zealous for the liberty of the people; makes a good figure in the parliament as well as the fleet; is handsome in his person; turned of fifty years old. — *A virulent party-man, born in Ireland.*

REAR-ADMIRAL BYNG

Is one of the best sailors in England and a fine gentleman in everything else; of a good family and estate in Bedfordshire; understands all the several branches of the navy thoroughly; is a fair

[1] Afterwards lord Aylmer.

complexioned man, and toward fifty years old.—*Of a good old Kentish family.*

JAMES, DUKE OF HAMILTON.

On the queen's accession to the throne he made strong efforts to get into the administration, but has not yet succeeded, though he is well received at court; he is brave in his person, with a rough air of boldness; of good sense, very forward and hot for what he undertakes; ambitious and haughty; a violent enemy; has been very extravagant in his manner of living, but now grows covetous; he is supposed to have some thoughts towards the crown of England when the queen dies, being descended from the house of Stuart and having a great interest in that kingdom by his relations and dependants. He has a great estate, and three brothers earls, Selkirk, Orkney, and Ruglen; a fourth a commander at sea: he is of a middle stature, well made, of a black, coarse complexion, a brisk look; toward fifty years old.—*He was made master of the ordnance; a worthy good-natured person, very generous, but of a middle understanding; he was murdered by that villain Macartney, an Irish Scot.*

DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Few of his years have a better understanding, nor a more manly behavior. He has seen most of the courts of Europe; is very handsome in his person, fair complexioned; about twenty-five years old. — *Ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot; has no principle but his own interest and greatness. A true Scot in his whole conduct.*

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE;

Representative of the ancient and noble family of Graham; great-grandson to the famous Montrose who was hanged and quartered for Charles I., and grandson by the mother to the duke of Rothes. He inherits all the great qualities of these two families, with a sweetness of behavior which charms all those who know him; has improved himself in most foreign courts; is very beautiful in his person, and about twenty-five years old. — *Now very homely, and makes a sorry appearance.*

EARL OF SUTHERLAND.

A very honest man; a great assertor of the liberties of the people; has a good rough sense; is open and free; a great lover of his bottle and his friend; brave in his person, which he has shown in several duels; too familiar for his quality, and often keeps com-

pany below it; is a fat, fair-complexioned man, forty-five years old. —*A blundering, rattle-pated, drunken sot.*

SECRETARY JOHNSTOUN,

NOW LORD REGISTER.

He is very honest [*a treacherous knave*], yet something too credulous and suspicious; endued with a great deal of learning and virtue; is above little tricks; free from ceremony; and would not tell a lie for the world. [*One of the greatest knaves even in Scotland.*] Very knowing in the affairs of foreign courts, and the constitution of both kingdoms; a tall, fair man, and toward fifty years old.

MR. CARSTAIRS.

A presbyterian minister who fled from Scotland after the insurrection for religion in the reign of Charles II. He is the cunningest, subtle dissembler in the world, with an air of sincerity; a dangerous enemy, because always hid; an instance of which was secretary Johnstoun, to whom he pretended friendship till the very morning he gave him a blow, though he had been worming him out of the king's favor for many months before; he is a fat, sanguine-complexioned, fair man, always smiling where he designs most mischief; a good friend when he is sincere; turned of fifty years old.—*A true character, but not strong enough by a fiftieth part.*

EARL OF MARR.

He is a very good manager in his private affairs, which were in disorder when his father died, and is a stanch countryman; fair complexioned, low stature, and thirty years old.—*He is crooked; he seemed to be a gentleman of good sense and good nature.*

ANDREW FLETCHER.

A gentleman of a fair estate in Scotland, attended with the improvement of a good education. He has written some excellent tracts, but not published in his name; and has a very fine genius; is a low, thin man, brown complexion, full of fire, with a stern, sour look, and fifty years old. —*A most arrogant, conceited pedant in politics; cannot endure the least contradiction in any of his visions or paradoxes.*

EARL OF MIDDLETON.

He was against the violent measures of king James's reign, and for that reason made no great figure at court while that prince was

upon the throne, yet he continued firm to his majesty's interest to the last; was proof against all the offers made him by king William; and after being frequently imprisoned in England, followed king James to France, where he had the chief administration given him. He is one of the politest gentlemen in Europe; has a great deal of wit, mixed with a sound judgment and a very clear understanding; of an easy, indifferent address, but a careless way of living. He is a black man, of a middle stature, with a sanguine complexion, and one of the pleasantest companions in the world; toward sixty years old.—*Sir William Temple told me he was a very valuable man and a good scholar. I once saw him.*

EARL OF WEEMS.

He has not yet been in the administration; is a fine personage, and very beautiful; has good sense, and is a man of honor; about thirty years old.—*He was a black man, and handsome for a Scot.*

A TRIPOS,

OR SPEECH DELIVERED AT A COMMENCEMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,

HELD THERE, JULY 11, 1688,

BY MR. JOHN JONES,

THEN A.B., AFTERWARDS D.D.

ACT I.

Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.

Your *probabo, probabo,* is as dull as a Trinity-Sunday sermon.

Dii boni, quas novas aves hic video! Tot habemus barbaros ignoramos et foppos: tot doctores indoctos, rummos academicos, cives aldermanicos, rusticos personas, and so many pretty, pretty little rogues, that should I speak Latin, I should banter ten parts of the company. Wherefore, for the sake of the ladies, bullies, the Rums, and fellow-commoners, I'll order it (as I know you all would have it) that the English be ten to one against the Roman.

Lenite clamorem, till I show these gentlemen the civilities of the house.

Non temere decet quidem ut salutemus libenter. Salvete igitur quotquot reverenda vel ridicula, docta vel rummosa capita; sed im-

primis salvus sit Doctor Acton, (ut inquit Erasmus) Athleticè: superannuati omnes salvi sint pancraticè: et, si qui adsint cornuti, quod verisimile est, valeant tauricè; deinde si quis adsit medicus immedicabilis, qui skulkat subter id manticæ, quod in tergo est, docto in cujus capite Æsculapius viget, sed in ossibus dominatus astronomiæ et effæto corpore totus inhæret Galenus et Hippocrates, si possibile sit, inquam, valeat ille; sed præ cæteris clericum istum clericorum salvere jubeo, who preaches in an oven, and is of the same name and heraldry with an eminent blind cobbler, who, when the kingdom was all out of the stitches, vamped himself a colonel: if his gravity be here, I salute him for seven several reasons.

First, Because he drinks and goes to the bog-house for fourteen reasons; but cannot give one for selling his organs to a mass-house.

Secondly, Because (according to his own phrase) he preaches by the London standard, which never lessened, as I know of, but thrice, and then Stillingfleet and Tillotson themselves were not one jot better or worse, unless we say with the poet,

Sed malè dum recitas, incipit esse tuus.

Thirdly, Because, when he came from England, he wore as much silk for a doublet as made his sister (joy be with her, as he said) a manteau and petticoat. Quere, Whether then Mr. Parson wore the breastplate of righteousness? It is plain he did, and that his intentions were honorable, for the next Sunday following he preached, —Give Cæsar his due. It is ill-nature, then, in Bunbury's wife's husband to revile him for this; and, to speak in the phrase of a pretty little senior fellow, There's no Jew but would be more gentle.

Fourthly, Because he consecrates as much water at once as makes Christians for a month.

Fifthly, Because he invited to his sister's funeral none but (as he was pleased to call them) the cream of the parish, *viz.*, those that kept coaches. Now himself upon himself; his conclusion in such a case will be thus, That all the curds and cream in the parish tour it in coaches, while the poor skim-milk and bonny-clobber trudge a-foot. I wonder Mr. Leeson, with his cream of theology, is not his parishioner. There is a mess for the freshmen. But,

Sixthly, Because he lives by the canon, and yet corrects the Rubrick.

Seventhly, and lastly, Because he made himself a large and pon

derous night-cap, after the exact model of his church; and this he did for two reasons:—

1st. To show that no noddle in the diocese could bear such a weight as his. 2ndly, To cure a distemper which, to the grief of his congregation, has troubled his brains these many years. Sed ad rem.

Salvus sit ille inter socios juniores cum pede brevi et naso rhinocerotis, who by his own sermon of angles and triangles has thrice shown his smattering in the mathematics. Valeat etiam Doctor ille Civilis, sed Polygamister, edentulus sed Polyglottus; qui adeo plenus est literis, ut in ipsa facie omnes linguarum characteres graphicè scribuntur: frustra igitur, reverende doctor, susurrant invidi, te jam senio confectum orientales linguas non callere, cum revera index tui animi sit vultus. Sed etiam atque etiam salvus sit purpuratus nos grandiloquus, cui dedit ore rotundo Musa loqui:—

> Quem quoad faciem et linguam vocamus Ulyssem;
> Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses—
> No Tartar is more fair, no Athenian better hung,
> Sol varnish'd o'er his face, and Mercury his tongue.—

Quoad altitudinem salutemus Ajacem, quod gracilitatem Tithonem, quoad caput versatile Priamum paralyticum, quod pedes Achillem, quoad crura denique, Colossum.

> Sponte suâ properant, labor est inhibere volentes.

Anglicè,

> With awkward gown tuck'd up, he scow'rs along,
> And at each stride measures a parasang.

Inter cæteros, peculiari dignus est salutatione bellus quidam homunculus; I do not mean Mr. Brady's pretty little man, but the neat, spruce, dapper, finical, nice spark, who'd rather sing and dance in his chamber than bowl without an umbrella: who constantly carries as many patch-boxes in his pocket as would beautify our beadle, as many several sorts of snuff as would furnish major-general Maccarty and colonel Dempsy for a year, and as much essence as would perfume sir Stampe's chamber; as many comfits as would sweeten Mr. Travers's hacksters, together with as many jewels as would make sir Jephson a gentleman, or buy Mr. Delauny a coat of arms. Besides, he has such a veneration for the fair sex, that he would not presume to visit a lady in a shirt he had worn a day, but by way of apology sent her this billet-doux:—

I'gad, madam, I beg your pardon ten thousand times for not

paying my devoir to your ladyship to-day: of which transcendent happiness nothing under the planets could have deprived me but the damned disappointment of my sempstress; by whose neglect I have at present but seven day-shirts, by which means I am unprovided with linen, and so rendered utterly incapable of attending your ladyship now; but as soon as my dress is agreeable, I fly with the wings of duty and obedience to implore your ladyship's mercy for my unfortunate absence, and will ever snatch at all opportunities of manifesting myself,

Madam, your ladyship's most humble and devoted slave,
to the stars or centre,
TOMMY WEAVER.

O curas hominum, O quantum est in rebus inane.

Ipsissimum hunc homuncionem hoc in epigrammate notat Martialis:

Cotile, bellus homo es, &c.

Anglicè,

There's scarce a well-dress'd coxcomb but will own
Tommy's the prettiest spark about the town;
This all the tribe of fringe and feather say,
Because he nicely moves by algebra;
And does with method tie his cravat-string,
Takes snuff with art, and shows his sparkling ring;
Can set his fore-top, manage well his wig,
Can act a proverb, and can dance a jig;
Does sing French songs; can rhyme, and furnish chat
To inquisitive Miss, from Letter or Gazette:
Knows the affair of cockpit and the race,
And who were conquerors at either place;
If Crop or Trotter took the prize away,
And who a fortune gain'd the other day.
He swings fring'd gloves, sees plays, writes billets-doux,
Fill'd up with beauty, love, oaths, lies, and vows;
Does scent his eyebrows, perfum'd cómfits eat,
And smells like phœnix's nest, or civet-cat;
Does shave with pumice-stone, compose his face,
And rolls his stockings by a looking-glass.
Accomplish'd thus, Tommy you'll grant, I hope,
A pretty spark at least, if not a fop.

Finitâ salutatione (more Erasmiano) paucis vobiscum confabulandum est. Sed uti solet graculus ille Madison, mihi cordi est totum occupare sermonem; I'll take all the chat to myself.

In familiaritatem me nuper exceperunt virtuosi (hominum genus in minimis non minimum laborans), et mihi quædam naturæ non

vulgaria nota fecere; quæ humanitatis ergo, et publicæ salutis gratiâ, in lucem jam profero.

First, Mr. Allen's infallible cure for the maw-worms:

℞. Poti fortis ab hatcho quartum unum; rowlorum, sive brownorum sive alborum, ad minimum tres; his addatur butyri culinaris quantum valet duos denarios, cum bunsho radishorum vel watergrassi; deinde stomachi equini quantum sufficit. Hæc omnia horâ octavâ antemeridianâ quotidie devorentur, et certè vix ad prandium usque latrabit stomachus.

Secondly, Dr. Molyneux,[1] his rare discovery of part of the meat's sudden digestion and corruption in the mouth, thus:—

℞. Pinquis caponis leggum unum et wingum, tosti shouldromotontis et carnis bovinæ unà slizum unum vel alterum; anseris juvenilis cum sauso goosberiano modicum quid; panis domestici lunsheum moderatum; vini rubri et poti minoris pocula bina vel tria; et, quod instar omnium est, fœtidissimi spiritus quantum sufficit: compressu oris fiat bolus, et proculdubio inter hiatus dentium et super gingivas tam statim fœtida fiat concoctio; quod primus omnium mortalium, si modo credibile sit, ingenuus notavit ille medicus.

Thirdly, the college butler's admirable invention of selling a mixture of ale and mum for ninepence per quart; and his water bewitched, *viz.*, small beer and water, for a penny a bottle; likewise his elixir bonæ famæ, or cure for his first fault. The experiment of the liquids is wrought by the help of a trap-door at midnight.

The elixir is made thus:—

℞. Vini rubri flaskum duplex, Canarii, sive vini Hispanici, amphoram unam, vel alteram; academici et grubinorum tolemanni quantum sufficit: deferantur ad cameram Junioris Decani, quo participante ingurgitentur omnia post nocturnum catalogum.

If this will not work the effect alone, I refer you to his wonderful sympathetic prescription, which is thus:—

℞. The tongue of Mother Jenkinson, *alias* Madam University, which will soothe the affections of the head of the society. This being done, let the patient dine thrice a-week on a national dish; and if this fail, 'tis an odd thing, nam probatum est.

Moreover, I recommend to you,

Dean Manby's and archdeacon Baynard's ointment for a warping conscience.

[1] Dr. Thomas Molyneux, the younger brother of William Molyneux, the correspondent of Mr. Locke, commenced M. D. July, 1687.

Mr. Oliver Talent's[1] prescription for the worms in the noddle.

Sir Conolly's new Treatise of Armory, entitled Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius.

Madam Dicky Barry's ingenious machine for putting on finical bands.

Mr. Scrogg's composition of puns.

Mr. Griffith's approved-of opium matutinum, for soaking

Mr. Downes's excellent potio coffiana, for expelling soporiferous humors.

Priscianus vulneratus, aliàs, methodus credendi Articulos, by the Rev. Dr. King.

Doctor Nappier's[2] Elegy on a broken Bellarmine of Ale, entitled, Amphora non meruit tam pretiosa mori.

An excellent engine for working embroidery, by my very good lord Charlemont.

Likewise his lordship's Praxis Arithmetica, showing that 24 and 24 make 48; this, as simple as it seems to be, cost the honorable lord some pains, and his lady some blushes.

An infallible unguent for the spleen in the toe, by the Rev. Dr. Foy.

And, lastly, Mr. Smith's Art of Compliance, proving humility to be the practice of the age, and showing how the college butler may be the dear companion of the junior dean. For all which I refer you to the respective authors, except the last, which Mr. Smith proves syllogistically thus: —

Moris est humilitas, ergo
Junior Decanus et Promus Senior
possint esse magni.

Probo antecedens.

Si generosus marmorizat cum puero,
Anglicè, Plays marbles with his boy.

Tunc moris est humilitas.

Sed generosus marmorizat cum puero. Ergo, &c.

Probo minorem instantiam.

Magister Sayers marmorizat cum puero,
Sed magister Sayers est generosus. Ergo, &c.

Probo aliter.

Si doctissimus, altissimus, necnon longè notissimus Doctor in

[1] Oliver Tallant, admitted 20th May, 1677.
[2] Gerard Nappier, admitted 18th July, 1677.

Universitate scrubbat suas tabulas et brushat suas cathedras, tunc moris est humilitas.

Sed talis doctor scrubbat suas tabulas, &c. Ergo, &c.

Hoc etiam probari potest instantiâ.

But the tall gentleman in the robes would not have it known. Cum itaque magister (te Decanum alloquor) argumentis hisce validis vindicetur tua humilitas quid obstat quo minus inter te et Danielum mutua foveatur familiaritas.

Eia, bibe, dormi, post mortem nulla voluptas.
Namque inter Tanaim nihil est socerumque Viselli.
Crack it away, then, and empty his pitchers:
A lord in Fingall plays tennis with ditchers.

Heu, heu, quanti hic desiderantur socci et handkerchiefi, tantum est inter vos clamoris, sudoris; tantum est hogorum, ut piget usque morari. Pergat igitur (ut inquit Dr. Acton) suo modo Dominus Barry. Sed heus tu, Magister Will-be, sive graduate medioxime, Serenissimæ Elizabethæ dormiant cineres. Not a word of Protestant Bess.

ACT II.

Oppon. Dom. Barry.—In tempore veni, quod omnium rerum est primum.

Nam vereor, Domine, you are brought as low as Witherton in Chevy Chase, or Mr. Lloyd in the chapel. Ridicula capita! ineptoe risu res ineptior nulla est.

Absint joci (as sir Jephson said, when he had none), res seria jam, imo de funeribus, agitur. Mulierecula enim misella humanissima, nobis vicina, et Magistri Hewetson soror unica, non ita pridem moriebatur; nec amicorum immemor ingrata dicessit: sed quicquid vel corpusculi sui vel rei humano foret usui, hoc supremo testamento, amicis suis in formam subsequentem benigna legavit.

The Last Will and Testament of Mrs. Mary Hewetson.

She bequeathed her brains to a learned grave gentleman, who has shaked his own out of his noddle, whose name I was forbid to tel you, but I'll do as good as will, I'll find somebody here that—— Amoveate quæso, amoveate paulisper. Oh! salve, Magister Burridge;[1] I remember Tommy Cox told me yours were addle, and

[1] Ezekiel Burridge, who is mentioned in the beginning of the second act, was elected scholar in June, 1683, commenced A. B. February, 1683-4, and A. M. July, 1687. He is mentioned by Ware, in his account of the Writers of eland, and by King, in his State of the Protestants.—Dr. Barrett.

therefore I present them to you, if her brother lays no claim to them.

Her tongue (which even after death is the cause of controversy) some affirm she left to Mrs. Horncastle:[1] but the true opinion is, she bequeathed it to Mrs. Jenkinson, whose speaking organ (as I told you before) is employed in Mrs. Donell's elixir bonæ famæ.

Her teeth she left to Mrs. Horncastle, who has such an unruly member of her own, that it needs at least a double guard.

She bequeathed her hair to Mr. Leeson, to make him a wig.

Her colored silk petticoat to furnish Mr. Delauny with a pair of breeches; and her looking-glass and night-rail to my lady Neddy Hall. Her toothpick to Dr. Loftus, and patch-box to Mrs. Lucy Coghill,[2] which so disguised her at the Confirmation in St. Werburgh's church, that the zealous archdeacon did not know sir John's daughter; sed zelo verè Fitzgeraldina exclamavit, "My lord, my lord, her face is against the canon: I knew not who she is, and I won't present her."

Sed, reverende vir, monstrat tibi poeta, quo pacto agnosceres virginem.

Cui numerosa linunt stellantem splenia frontem,
Ignoras, quæ sit? Splenia tolle, leges.

But to return; she left her courageous heart to pretty Mr. Weaver.

Her beauty (now you all expect I'll say, to sir Bayly and Fitzsimons; no truly, but) to as worthy a gentleman, the reverend the provost: and her conscience to the clerk of the kitchen, of whom (by way of digression)[3] take this character:—

A College Steward

is an animal mixture, a medley or hodge-podge of butcher and cook, of scullion and scholar. He lives[4] negatively by the privation of others, and mortifies more flesh than all the divines in the kingdom. Did he live among the ancients, he would be taken for a wrestling-

[1] A person of this name is mentioned in King's State of the Protestants.

[2] Daughter of sir John Coghill, and sister to Dr. Marmaduke Coghill.

[3] These digressions interspersed, may remind us of the digressions in the Tale of a Tub.

[4] The office of college steward was formerly exercised by a scholar of the house, who was called clerk of the kitchen. It is probable that he might derive some advantages from the punishment that consisted in depriving delinquents of commons. These advantages are here alluded to.

[illegible] with [illegible] for the [illegible]. [illegible] and finds her in soap and [illegible]. [illegible] follow him like the old pie-woman [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] for the college [illegible] [illegible] woman [illegible] by her [illegible] to sell [illegible]. The [illegible] dogs [illegible] upon him and follow [illegible]. [illegible] they fancy he carries a [illegible] about him. He spends half his salary a-year in [illegible] and [illegible]. The steams of the kitchen has [illegible] and [illegible] his whole mass of blood. What [illegible] of the Cappadocian is verified in him [illegible] —

> [illegible]
> [illegible] Cappadocis.

[illegible]

> A [illegible] rat [illegible] the night for food,
> [illegible] Mr. [illegible] and suck'd the blood:
> Then [illegible] and drooping the pensive vermin sat,
> Gorged with [illegible] gore, and [illegible] fat.

If he goes to market fasting, he taints all the meat he cheapens; therefore the butchers in their own defence treat him to a breakfast. Every Sunday morning he so stuffs himself, that if you come nigh him you'll know what is for dinner. Every belch[1] is a bill of fare; his bedfellow dreams of grubbins all night. One that lay with him by accident fancied himself at the mouth of an oven, full of tainted mutton pies. Mr. Butler, junior,[2] who, to stifle his hogoes, lies in his socks, would match him for a bedfellow, provided that they lay heads and points. The pestilence of the head would be requited by the plague of the heels. Were he in orders, it would be dangerous for him to baptize; he would make more ghosts than Christians, and, with good words, send the sucklings packing to the other world. Were he doctor in the civil law, his brother would rather not commence than kiss him: he would be as terrible as the old gentleman with the rainbow about his eyes. He never says grace before meat, and very good reason; his victuals, like the Scotchman's snuff, will not bide a blessing: the holy words would transub-

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[1] This reminds us of the author of the Tale of a Tub, who enlarges so much upon the *eructations* of the Æolists.

[2] Probably Brinsley Butler, at that time a student in the college.

stantiate them into maggots. The greatest sin he has to struggle with is the flesh, and (which is wonderful) the oftener he gains the victory, the wickeder he becomes. He thwarts the Rubrick, and makes more Good Fridays than Sundays in the year. When we keep Lent,[1] he keeps Carnival; and well he may, when other men fast for his sins. He takes upon him to be deputy-bursar, and is called Mr. Steward; but by the same figure that the hangman is called the king's officer. In the kitchen he rules the roast, is absolute lord over the cleavemen, half master of the scullions, and partly tutor, partly companion, to the cooks; but always sworn brother in iniquity to the clerks of the buttery, which brings me to consider them together in one word, and so have done. When these two meet (like malevolent planets in conjunction) 'tis ominous, and denotes a dearth in commons and sizings. Nay, sometimes it fortells a general punishment. The making of either of these is the spoiling of a scholar; as a gentleman bound 'prentice forfeits his heraldry, or the knighthood of an alderman spoils a cit. They live plentifully with traffic between themselves, and yet every day eat and drink their bargains. To conclude, they cast up their sins once a-month, but do not repent, because their iniquities are confirmed by the senior fellows.

But to return to the will:—

She bequeathed her breasts to Mrs. Mary C——ll, of whom hear the poet:

> Mammas atque tatas habet Afra: sed ipsa tatarum
> Dici et mammarum maxima mamma potest.

Her paint she left to one of those ladies; and her nose she knew not whether to leave to Mr. Loftus or Mr. Lloyd, but at last ordered it for the former; and out of her great charity, gave permission to the latter (I mean Mr. Lloyd) to furnish himself after the Hudibrasian manner with a supplemental snout out of her posteriors.

Lastly, she bequeathed all her money for the founding and endowment of a new college, and therefore ordered that there be a fair tract of ground purchased out of Jack Cusack's estate, on a convenient part whereof there be erected a stately pile of building, after the model of Mr. Allen's mansion-house. That sir Butler's famous library be bought for the college use, together with Stillingfleet's and Tillotson's Sermons for the assistance of young divines.

[1] That is, when we, by way of punishment, are put out of commons, he derives some advantage to himself by it.

master, with his skin oiled for the palæstra. Hence it comes to pass that his greasy shirt pays his laundress, and finds her in soap and candles. You may follow him (like the old pie-woman) by his smell. Strangers passing by his door take it for the college chandler's: an ignorant woman went there, directed by her nose, to sell her kitchen-stuff. The butchers' dogs fawn upon him and follow him for his hogoes. Without doubt, they fancy he carries a slaughter-house about him. He spends half his salary a-year in wash-balls, fuller's-earth, and socks. The scent of the kitchen has infected his breath, and poisoned his whole mass of blood. What the hyperbolical poet said of the Cappadocian is verified in him without a trope —

> Vipera Cappadocem malesana momordit, at ipsa
> Gustato periit sanguine Cappadocis.

Anglicè,

> A famish'd rat, progging one night for food,
> Bit Mr. Hogoe's toe, and suck'd the blood:
> Then dull and drooping the pensive vermin sat,
> Gorged with infectious gore, and pois'ning fat.

If he goes to market fasting, he taints all the meat he cheapens; therefore the butchers in their own defence treat him to a breakfast. Every Sunday morning he so stuffs himself, that if you come nigh him you'll know what is for dinner. Every belch[1] is a bill of fare; his bedfellow dreams of grubbins all night. One that lay with him by accident fancied himself at the mouth of an oven, full of tainted mutton-pies. Mr. Butler, junior,[2] who, to stifle his hogoes, lies in his socks, would match him for a bedfellow, provided that they lay heads and points. The pestilence of the head would be requited by the plague of the heels. Were he in orders, it would be dangerous for him to baptize; he would make more ghosts than Christians, and, with good words, send the sucklings packing to the other world. Were he doctor in the civil law, his brother would rather not commence than kiss him: he would be as terrible as the old gentleman with the rainbow about his eyes. He never says grace before meat, and very good reason; his victuals, like the Scotchman's snuff, will not bide a blessing: the holy words would transub-

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stantiate them into maggots. The greatest sin he has to struggle with is the flesh, and (which is wonderful) the oftener he gains the victory, the wickeder he becomes. He thwarts the Rubrick, and makes more Good Fridays than Sundays in the year. When we keep Lent,[1] he keeps Carnival; and well he may, when other men fast for his sins. He takes upon him to be deputy-bursar, and is called Mr. Steward; but by the same figure that the hangman is called the king's officer. In the kitchen he rules the roast, is absolute lord over the cleavemen, half master of the scullions, and partly tutor, partly companion, to the cooks; but always sworn brother in iniquity to the clerks of the buttery, which brings me to consider them together in one word, and so have done. When these two meet (like malevolent planets in conjunction) 'tis ominous, and denotes a dearth in commons and sizings. Nay, sometimes it fortells a general punishment. The making of either of these is the spoiling of a scholar; as a gentleman bound 'prentice forfeits his heraldry, or the knighthood of an alderman spoils a cit. They live plentifully with traffic between themselves, and yet every day cat and drink their bargains. To conclude, they cast up their sins once a-month, but do not repent, because their iniquities are confirmed by the senior fellows.

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[1] That is, when we, by way of punishment, are put out of commons, he derives some advantage to himself by it.

That Mr. Doyle, for his excellent morals and profound learning, be provost; and Mr. Boreman, for the same reasons, be vice-provost. That Nickumbottom be university orator; sir Stampe, singing-master and magician; and that ingenious bachelor of arts, who read out all Gassendus's Astronomy in a week, but the a's and b's, if sir Moore pleases, be mathematic professor; and Dr. Mercer be bursar. Several officers are yet wanting, as divinity professor, preachers, physicians, lecturers, surgeons, historians, chemists, civilians, register, linguist, and many others, all which are to be supplied by that colossus of learning, Mr. Foley.

Hic vero dubium oritur; num Dr. Mercer, cum sponsa sua (satis eleganti) inhabitare possit academiam; si negatur, tunc actum est de bursario, qui adeo integer vitæ, scelerisque purus: si affirmatur, dii boni, quam clamosum necnon rixosum habituri sumus collegium! nam fama refert esse inter illos conjugium conjurium, quod Martiali parum credibile videtur, ut ex his versiculis constat:—

Cum sitis similes, paresque vita,
Uxor pessima, pessimus maritus,
Miror, non bene convenire vobis.

It was first ordered that Mr. Lloyd should be the university poet; ferunt autem, Magister, te quondam pessimum egisse poetastrum, ideoque

——— mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur.

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi.—

Nam tu, Cosconi, disticha longa facis.

Hanc igitur provinciam habeat dean Glandee, vel Mr. Hewetson.

Ordered, moreover, that all the fellows dine and sup constantly in the hall, uti apud nos moris est. Hortemur etiam, ut præpositus parcius absit, and to be strictly observed that all the students in the hall, especially at meat, speak Latin, as we do.

It was lately ordered that, for the honor and dignity of the university, there should be introduced a society of freemasons, consisting of gentlemen, mechanics, porters, parsons, ragmen, hucksters, bailiffs, divines, tinkers, knights, thatchers, cobblers, poets, justices, drawers, beggars, aldermen, paviors, sculls, freshmen, bachelors, scavengers, masters, sow-gelders, doctors, ditchers, pimps, lords, butchers, and tailors, who shall bind themselves by an oath never to discover their mighty no-secret; and to relieve whatsoever

olling distressed brethren they meet with, after the example of the fraternity of freemasons in and about Trinity College, by whom a collection was lately made for, and the purse of charity well stuffed for, a reduced brother, who received their charity as follows in this list of benefactors:—

From Sawney Richardson, a bottle of ale and two rolls.

From Mr. Hassit, a pair of old shoes.

From a kind-hearted butcher at Lazy Hill, a calf's countenance.

From the right honorable lord Charlemont, a cast hat.

From Long Lawrence, an inch of tobacco.

From Mr. Ryder, a groat.

From Dr. Gwithers, an old glyster-pipe.

From Mr. Marsh and sir Tenison, a bundle of godly ballads.

From Mr. Smith, an old pair of quilted stockings.

From a tapster at the sign of the Hog in Armor, a comfit.

From sir Goodlet, a piece of an old smiglesius for a natural use, cunningly procured by the means of sir Goodlet.

From sir Warren, for being freemasonized the new way, 5*s*.

From Mr. Edward Hall, a pair of cast night-gloves.

Lastly, from Mr. Hancock, a slice of Cheshire cheese; which the hungry brother eat up with such a gusto, and liked so well, that he stole away the rest in his breeches.

Tam liberâ potitus contributione, frater scoundrellus sarcinulas suas discessurus colligit, et vultu hilari, ori solito, quadrangulum transit; dumque præ nimio gaudio porrectiore incedit fronte, altioresque tendit gressus, quisnam inter homines obviam dedit illi, nisi frater fraterrimus Cooper; qui ut fidelem novit hominem, festinatius accurrit, humaniter corripit dextram, utque moris est, spississimo conspuit basio: deinde Bibliothecam versus, comiter ambulant, ut inter cætera admirabilia Ridlæum visitent: quem dum hospes curiosis lynceis oculis perscrutatur, et diligentius rimatur, quantum homuncionis judices, carnifex, et medici, reliquerunt; proh dolor, inter partes an nobiliores, an posteriores nescio privatum fraternitatis notavit signum (Anglicè, the freemasons' mark). Quo viso, Dii boni, quanto clamore totam infecit domum. Ter et sæpius pulsavit pectus, exsangues dilaniavit genas, et eheu nimium dilaceratas dilaceravit vestes. Tandem vero paulo modestius insaniens, hujusmodi versiculis ridiculum effudit dolorem.

EULOGIUM RIDLÆANUM. AN ELEGY UPON RIDLEY.

Unhappy brother, what can be
In wretchedness compared to thee?
Thou grief and shame of our society!
Had we in due time understood
That thou wert of the brotherhood,
By fraud or force thou had'st got loose
From shameful tree and dismal noose:
And now perhaps with life been blest,
As comely a brother as the best,
Not thus exposed a monumental jest;
When lady longs for college beer,
Or little dame or country squire
Walk out an afternoon, to look
On thee, and devil-raising book;
Who kindly rather chose to die,
Than blemish our fraternity;
The first of us e'er hang'd for modesty.
And now, alack and welladay,
Thy parchment hide is stuff'd with hay.
Nay, worse; the Æsculapians,
Thy mighty misery to enhance,
Have cruelly cut thee out of countenance;
And, to show witty spite, at once
Preserved thy skin and lost thy bones.
Thus here in wooden hatch you stand,
With scornful musket at your hand:
The mice' and rats' mock sentinel,
A poor ridiculous spectacle
To gibing Joan, to Kate and Nan,
Thou worse than skeleton of man.—
So does he measure out his grief,
For loss of brother and of thief.
Nor less concern'd does Cooper stand;
But sobbing with his clout in hand
And destitute of consolation,
Kept time with all his tribulation.
Their grumbling woe runs through and through them,
If all were known 'twould quite undo them.
The sighs which up and downward go
Their unfeigned sorrow show;
For the devil's in't, if they pretend
Who vent their grief at either end.

Hoc mumere elaborato, non diutius lacrymis indulgent, sed dolore politè suppresso, taciti discedunt. Protinus lodgum convocat fratresque omnes certiores faciunt, quantum sibi infamiæ, tum miseriæ infelicissimo accedit fraterculo; graviter luget t

culus et societas; et suspiriis ex imo pectore petitis, statim provisum est in posterum, nominem qui crucem meretur, vel qui suspendendus est, in societatem freemasonorum admitti: quo authoritate statuto, et albo lodgi prolato, singuli, tam generosi quam scoundrelli, solidissimis basiis promiscuè dicunt valedictionem.

ACT III.

Enter a waddling Doctor, and his man JAMES.

Doctor. James, have you read out the chapter, and can you tell how many days' work was the Creation?

James. Marry, here's so many hard words, I can't remember.

Doctor. Well, but this is not the business now: you must get things in readiness against to-morrow.

James. Master, what's the matter with to-morrow more than another day?

Doctor. (*Aside.*) Oh, the ignorance of those people who are not mathematicians!—I tell you a supernatural thing will happen.

James. (*Aside.*) Oh, oh! this is the eclipse[1] now, I warrant.—Nay, master, as you say it, it is as sure as a gun.—Then what mun I do, say you?

Doctor. Go to the steward and provide double commons; and be sure you call at the chandler's, for to-morrow I dine by candlelight.

James. Oh, the wonderful wonderfulness of you schollards! And what mun I bring drink in?

Doctor. A material question:—in the tankard, and do that in the morning.

James. Marry, but I had better buy a pitcher, so I had; and then I need not go so often as I do. This tankard, I wish it were hanged, so I do.

Doctor. What ails you at it? Why do you grumble?

James. Grumble, quoth-a? I am sure it wears me more shoe-leather than a little; and I cannot say my prayers in a morning for it, so I can't.

Doctor. If I thought it did you any injury, or contributed to the doing you any harm, or were an irregular vessel, I would part with it; I would entertain it no more than I did my bed: go, then, and bring a pitcher. [*Exeunt severally.*

[1] In the "Art of Verifying Dates," mention is made of an eclipse of the sun on the 5th November, 1686, and of another eclipse on 30th April, 1688. One of them is probably alluded to here.

Enter SAINTY ASHE,[1] *and* SAMUEL FOLEY, *Senior Fellows.*

Sainty. Where do you keep your eclipse[2] to-morrow?

Sam. In my chamber. I do not care for groping my way to my dinner.

Sainty. What, will it be total? No glimmering to be allowed to eat our meat by?

Sam. So it seems. I have taken a great deal of pains to calculate it, and can now demonstrate it.

Sainty. If you please, I would be very glad to see your calculation.

Sam. Thus then: — Invenitur ex tabulis plenilunium medium, additâ, dimidia, lunatione; et tunc, ex postaphæresi et motu lunæ horario, inveniantur digiti ecliptici et parallexis altitudinis.

Sainty. 'Tis wonderful well; from whence I conclude, we are all like to be in the dark.

Sam. Ay, doubtless; or I'll burn my books. I would not want this little smattering in astronomy for a great deal, I protest.

Sainty. I confess there's some advantage in it.

Sam. Advantage! I could not live without it. I cut my hair by the stars; and will tell the physiognomy and sex of my child before my wife's brought to bed.

Sainty. But do the planets never wander? are you not sometimes mistaken?

Sam. Oh, never; at least in things of this kind: it is as easy to calculate an eclipse as to curl; and if you doubt in any point, I'll——

Sainty. No, no, I'm satisfied: 'twill be as clear as the sun.

[*Exeunt.*

The Scene, DROGHEDA.

Enter MR. DOYLE *and his Damsel* NELLY: *after them the Tapster, with a porringer of burnt brandy and a mutton-pie.*

Doyle. Come, Nelly, sit down, and give me a kiss.

Nelly. Faugh, sir, stand off. I protest you smell so strong of brandy and tobacco, a body can't endure you.

Doyle. Nay, leave this peevish humor, and sit down: if you knew who I'm to be, you'd be as kind to me as to the smith's boy.

Nelly. Pr'ythee, let go my apron, and do not pull me so.

[1] The rev. *St.* George Ashe, Swift's tutor.

[2] In the Philosophical Transactions we have an account of an eclipse observed at Dublin in 1684, by Ashe and Molyneux.

Doyle But you won't hear me! — I tell you, woman, as simple as I stand here, I'm to be a fellow of Dublin College.

Nelly. You a fellow! Never the sooner for a hasty word. Pray keep your filthy hand away, or I'll cry out, so I will. Come, come, sir, don't think you are with Peggy what-do-you-call-her.

Doyle. But I'll tell you, Nelly,——

Nelly. Tell me no tellings; keep down your fingers and do not you tear my petticoats. I'm afraid 'twas for what you did in the blankets the dean[1] made you stand in the white sheet.

Doyle. Here, drawer, t'other porringer of brandy, and so to pay. That, and this quarter cob, will put you into a little better humor. Come, let us —— now let us ——

Nelly. In verity, Mr. Doyle, you have the cunningest way with you of pleasing a woman. — You see how loth I am to refuse a gentleman that's just on the point of preferment: but hold, there's somebody coming.

Enter the Drawer.

Drawer. This makes two and twopence now, besides the nineteen and sevenpence before; and my mistress bid me tell you she can trust no longer.

Doyle. Why so, you scoundrel?

Drawer. Because you put her off with mandrakes from the king.

Doyle. Bid your mistress go hang herself; and look for her money, you whore's kitling. (*Throws the mutton pie at him.*)

(*Exit Drawer, maundering.*

Nelly. Why so sleepy, Mr. Doyle?

Doyle. Oh, this scowering and lying most plagues me. Here, Nelly, here's to you. Aw, aw, I am damn'd sleepy, e'gad, damn'd sleepy. (*Drops asleep.*

Nelly. Lie there, for a drunken sot. The collegians are like to have a sweet tool of thee for a fellow. But let me see what we have got in his pockets. Out upon the scoundrel! nothing but a pair of beads, two inches of tobacco and one of pipe.

(*The scene closes.*

And here we leave him, and as he sleeps, take a view of his breeches, which I would describe, but they have so many ends, I know not where to begin. He that would presume to mend them would run the risk of a tinker botching a kettle; for, hydra-like,

[1] Tobias Pullein, the great patron of Doyle, until the enormities of the latter caused him to withdraw his protection.

out of one hole would come three or four. You may compare them to Jason's ship, they have not one jot of their primitive stuff left; or to Dr. Mercer's yarn stockings that were darned into worsted. The lining had served a long apprenticeship for itself, and therefore away it crept to set up for itself at the paper-mill. They were most worn at the codpiece and least at the pockets. The crow that borrowed feathers from her neighbors is the living emblem of these. Should every tailor's boy take his own cabbage, Mr. Doyle would be an heathen philosopher. Doll Kitchen coming into his kennel before he rose thought he had purloined her mop. By their shreds of all nations you would have thought they belonged to one of the freemasons that built Babel; but by the multiplicity of white fleas you would swear they had been campaigning with the Vacancy. 'Tis almost incredible so many cattle should thrive on so bare a pasture. Every night he dares venture them off, he's in danger of losing them. Once when he lay without them they crept from the garret to the street-door, and had bid him adieu for ever, but his landlady seized them by an *habeas corpus*, and brought them to him with a pair of tongs. I believe the ladies for once are tired of the breeches; and therefore, as dean Glandee says, "This one word of comfort and so have done." One morning, crawling their progress, they were devoured by a monkey, and the next day poor pug died of Pym's disease.

Quid obstat, Dii boni, quominus Dr. Bladen fiat Episcopus? Why should not Nick Knight be dean of St. Patrick's? En hominem, qui sodalitium ambit! (ut inquit Mr. Griffith) qui licet socius sit, nollem tamen ut socius esset meus. Et jam in mentem venit mihi, unde est quod nondum reddit socius ille erraticus; ni fallor, causam assignat Barclæus poeta hunc in modum:

Urbs spatiosa, potens opibus, tectisque superba,
O et præsidium, deliciæque meæ.
Quicquid mortalis fingit solertia curæ,
Vel natura suo parturit alma sinu;
Hæc tu sola dabis, &c.

Anglicè.[1]

Let formal priests look grave and dull at home,
To whom the worth of a licentious town
Nor the gay blessings of a court are known.
Thither my wiser inclinations tend,
Where I a chirping bottle with a friend

[1] This piece of poetry seems levelled at John Griffith, a senior fellow, then absent by a king's letter. — Dr. Barrett.

May drink without control, nor stand in fear
Of every saucy ill-bred censurer;
Where I may strut along the mall, look big
In point cravat, and toss a flaxen wig,
Dress in a gaudy waistcoat, and may wear
A sword, cock'd hat, gold fringe, and whatsoe'r
The libertine town affords, to charm the fair.

Miror quod his de causis Magister Patrickson non huc usque commoratus est Londini: sed

Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
Tantum habet et *gaudii*.

Salve, Magister, gratulor tibi reduci; sunt qui affirmant te pedestri itinere Londinum versus ambulasse, quod mihi equidem vix credibile videtur; perfacetus etenim Miles[1] se tibi socium præbuit, et jucundus comes est pro vehiculo (a good companion is as good as a coach).

Enter SIR MICHAEL CREAGH,[2] *and another Alderman.*

Alderman. I have been man and boy in this town, let me see, some six-and-fifty years, and never knew the little penny so hard to be got as now.

Sir Michael. Never despair, old boy. We have a brave young prince,[3] and the world's our own.

Ald. Nay, I have not remembered salt butter so scarce a commodity, I know not the day when.

Sir M. Hang sorrow! Boy, fill me a glass of wine; more, more yet, fill it higher still. So here, father Graybeard, here is a health to the family of the Creaghs.

Ald. I pledge you if it be sack. But now I think on't, sir Michael, who was your father?

Sir M. My father was a worthy gentleman, inferior to none of his rank, upon my honor.

Ald. Adsheartlikens, you may be mistaken in that, I assure you.

[1] I suppose the person here alluded to may have been Miles Sumner, who originally received his education in Trinity College; after leaving it he had a command in the army of the parliament during the civil wars. He was made, by the then ruling powers, a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1652. He died shortly before the delivering of this piece. See more of him in the Harleian Miscellany. — DR. BARRETT.

[2] Sir Michael Creagh was lord mayor of Dublin in 1688, and represented that city in the parliament of 1689. He was paymaster-general of king James's army. — DR. BARRETT.

[3] The son of James II., born 10th June, 1688. — DR. BARRETT.

Sir M. Mistaken? No, sir; he was a travelling merchant; one that saw more towns than you have done chimneys.

Ald. But, under favor, sir Michael, I have heard scollards say he was a losopher?

Sir M. Ay, that may be too: he always took delight to carry books about with him.

Ald. But take me along with you: you reprehend me not; they say he carried books on his back.

Sir M. I say, I say, he was a north-country merchant, as I told you before. Come, drink your wine, and let us begone. (*Exeunt.*

Now you'll ask to what end I brought all these on the stage: to which I answer, I brought them in by head and shoulders, and out by head and shoulders, for nothing at all, as Mr. Bayes did his beasts.

Plurimis denuo salutatis et tot hominum ordinibus comiter exceptis, videor forsan reprehensione dignus, quod Machaonas omnes (Anglicè, the Simplers) negligenter prætermisi. Cur autem tristia horum fata et lacrymabilis nova metamorphosis non vos diutius latent, cum certiores facti eritis ingenuos hosce Æsculapii filios in plantas transmigrasse; injuriâ tamen non sum arguendus, quod schemate mortuos non excepti, the sad causes of whose death are at large described in this

HEROIC POEM.

A worthy sage dwelt at All-Hallows,
That did defy all jails and gallows:
His punctual honesty was such,
Some authors write, he had too much:
And lo! Actonio was his name,
Actonio loudly sung by Fame:
A wight inferior to none
For ponderosity of bum,[1]
And that took more pains to go
Than coarse Jephonio would to plough;
A mortal enemy to punning,
Nor mightily inclined to running.
He still with care did guard his heart
From all the wounds of Cupid's dart,
And yet was plump and soft confess'd,
All but his petrified breast.

[1] In a satire written in 1682, upon the members of the college, Action is thus described:

Next him sat Acton's belly, big as tun.

That still, alas, did stubborn prove
To all the charming powers of love:
In town or court, no beauteous dame
E'er fann'd his passion to a flame;
For though he enjoy'd luxurious peace,
Melting his hours in holy ease,
He ne'er was vex'd by that unruly member,
But lived as chaste as cold December:
Though Cupids in his eyes did play,
Yet in his heart Diana lay.
Lively and sanguine was his face,
Though phlegmatic the other place;
Color as good as ever struck,
But other things belied his look.
When drowsy Aurora rubb'd her eyes,
And came down stealing from the skies
While that Sol's nags at mangers tarry,
Before the clerks say, Ave-Mary,
Actonio with his learned friends,
From soaking downy bed descends,
And, with the charioteer's assistance,
Heaving himself with all puissance,
He waddles into coach marine,
And jogs his way, a-simpleing.
And now they reach the enchanted shore,
Where Circe, in the days of yore,
By powerful herbs disposed of doom,
And magic spells did charm the moon;
Whilst tired here with the toils of day,
Our hero picking scions lay;
Rolling securely on the grass,
Too nigh a fatal precipice,
Adown,[1] adown he drops,
'Twixt cruel unrelenting rocks:
Three times he made effort to rise,
But thrice and thrice would not suffice;
His weighty crupper kept him down,
To seas and rocks to make his moan.

Dumque[2] hic vicini maris auget murmura, dum liquido dolore tristissimum plorat fatum, et philosophorum adagiis se miserum solari conatur, Æsculapius filii sui querelis mitem præbens aurem, et paternâ commotus misericordia, heroem nostrum in umbilicum Veneris transformavit.

[1] In "The Lady's Dressing-room," we have an instance of Swift using this uncommon word, *adown*.

[2] These lines strongly resemble the style of John Barclay. At the beginning of the ARGENIS we find the words, "sermonem occupavit," as in this Tripos, in Act I. we find "totum occupare sermonem."

Socii nequicquam plorant amissum:
Non illos Cereris, non illos cura quietis
Abstrahere inde potest.

Sed iteratis clamoribus surdum feriunt littus: ægra terque quaterque pulsant pectora: altâ voce deorum proclamant tyrannidem; nec diutius insano luctui indulgent, sed pedibus telluri affixis, pellibusque in cortices mutatis,

——nulli color qui fuit ante, manet.

Singulis novæ subeunt formæ; et mirâ quadam metamorphosi in plantas proinde, ut hic sequitur, transmutantur:

Magister Downes in cupressum; Magister Smith in pinguidinem (Anglicè fat-wort); Magister Scroggs in hyacinthum; Mr. Lloyd in quercum; Magister Ashe into a red-headed poppy; sir Fitzsimons, who always dropped after (as our town of Berwick-upon-Tweed) into a thistle, which still retains its primitive roughness; Magister Sayers in Narcissum, de quo olim Buchananus sic:—

Nescio an inspexti Narcissi, Posthume, fontem:
Hoc scio, deliras, Posthume, amore tui.
Ille tamen meritò: nam quod malesanus amavit,
Ante quidem id multis causa furoris erat.
At tua non paulo est major vesania, qui te,
Sed sine rivali, Posthume, solus amas.

Sed dicat mihi quis, quod in totâ hâc corona, vel potius crowde et presso, nondum vidi dominum Terrill: ni fallor, if he be not here, he's at home with his wife, who, to gain entirely his affections, sent him this stratagemical epistle.

The quondam widow, sir Terrll's mistress, hearing he had laid siege to the bookbinder's sister, and therefore fearing he should give her the willow, partly to be revenged of her rival, partly to secure him to herself, writes to him this epistle:—

Sir,—I am informed you design to *bind* yourself to the stationer's sister; if so, take it from a friend, she's a gentlewoman in *folio*, and consequently will be very tedious to a young student. I was concerned to hear the crafty citizen intended to put into your hands the lumber of his shop; and therefore entreat you, if you have any kindness for yourself, to have nothing to do with that musty piece, whose *worm-eaten cover* may inform you she has been cheapened above these twenty years; and the reason she did not go off is, she was found so old and thumbed that she was not fit to be *perused*, and of so little value that none thought her worthy the

press. Besides, sir, she has lived some time in a learned house, where, it may be presumed, for good reasons, that some of the young scholars, for their curiosity, might ruffle her *leaves.*—If what I've said cannot dissuade you, do but turn her over carefully, and 'tis very probable you'll find she has been abused, at least in the *sheets,* if not in the setting forth of a *new edition* blotted in the *impression.*

Sir, your humble servant, JANE BANKS.

And now, belike I have made a fair afternoon's work on't. I have not left myself one friend of the mammon of unrighteousness. If I go to the kitchen, the steward will be my enemy as long as he breathes; if to the cellar, the butler will dash my ale with water; and the clerk of the buttery will score up my offences five-fold. If I betake myself to the library, Ridley's ghost will haunt me for scandalizing him with the name of free-mason. If I fly to the divines for succor, dean Manby and archdeacon Baynard will pervert me; Dr. King will break my head because I am a Priscian; and Dr. Foy is so full of spleen he'll worry me. Mrs. Horncastle and sir Maddison will talk with me. Mother Jenkinson won't furnish me with cale and bacon on Christmas-day, and Dr. Loftus will bite me. The virtuosi will set their brains a-work for gim-cracks to pull my eyes out. The freemasons will banish me their lodge, and bar me the happiness of kissing Long Lawrence. And the astronomers won't allow me one good star, nor inform me when the sun will be totally eclipsed, that I may provide myself with candles. Mr. Loftus and Mr. Lloyd will nose me; Mr. Allen will eat me without salt; Dr. Acton too I fear will *fall* on me. Nay, the very provost will shake his head at me, and scour away from me. — But that which makes my calamity most insupportable and me weary of your company is, that in all my tribulation you do nothing but laugh[1] at me, and therefore I take my leave.

[1] From this passage it appears that the author of this performance had no malicious intentions towards the persons whom he censured, but only wished to indulge a little pleasantry, which he conceived the usual practice on such occasions warranted.

A LETTER TO A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT IN IRELAND,

ON CHOOSING A NEW SPEAKER THERE IN THE YEAR 1708.

[The Whig ministers were determined to abolish the sacramental test, and Swift finally succeeded in frustrating their plan. This letter has immediate reference to the controversy.]

SIR,—You may easily believe I am not at all surprised at what you tell me, since it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I sent you last week, and made you my reproaches upon at a venture. It looks exceedingly strange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your house, the two following circumstances are of great advantage; first, to have an ill cause, and secondly, to be a minority. For both these circumstances are extremely apt to invite men to make them assiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proselytes, and often successful; which is not to be wondered at when favor and interest are on the side of their opinion. Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cause are negligent and supine. They think it sufficient to declare themselves upon opinion in favor of their party; but sailing against the tide of favor and preferment they are easily scattered and driven back. In short, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to spirit them: for the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conscience, or prospect of serving the public, will not go very far under the present dispositions of mankind. This was amply verified last session of parliament upon occasion of the money-bill, the merits of which I shall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the first news of its transmission hither in the form in which it afterwards appeared, the members, upon discourse with their friends, seemed unanimous against it; I mean those of both parties, except a few who were looked upon as persons ready to go any lengths prescribed them by the court. Yet, with only a weak canvassing among a very few hands, the bill passed after a full debate by a very great majority. Yet I believe you will hardly attempt persuading me or anybody else that one man in ten of those who

changed their language were moved by reasons any way affecting the merits of the cause, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good manners. Nay, I have been assured from good hands, that there was still a number sufficient to make a majority against the bill if they had not apprehended the other side to be secure; and therefore thought it imprudence by declaring themselves to disoblige the government to no purpose.

Reflecting upon this and forty other passages in the several houses of commons since the revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a chief governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not succeed with a very competent share of address, and with such assistance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I said at first, that I am not at all surprised at what you tell me. For, if there had been the least spark of public spirit left, those who wished well to their country and its constitution in church and state should, upon the first news of the late speaker's promotion, (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal sooner,) have immediately gone together and consulted about the fittest person to succeed him. But by all I can comprehend, you have been so far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reason you give is the worst in the world: That none offered themselves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It seems however the other party was more resolved, or at least not so modest: for you say your vote is engaged against your opinion, and several gentlemen in my neighborhood tell me the same story of themselves. This I confess is of an unusual strain, and a good many steps below any condescensions a court will I hope ever require from you. I shall not trouble myself to inquire who is the person for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that side than one. You tell me nothing of either; and I never thought it worth the question to anybody else. But in so weighty an affair, and against your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I desire you will give me leave to reason with you a little upon the subject; lest your compliance or inadvertency should put you upon what you may have cause to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well the great business of the high-flying Whigs at this juncture is to endeavor a repeal of the best clause. You know likewise that the moderate men, both of high and low church,

profess to be wholly averse from this design, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that shelters from the north. Now I will put the case: "If the person to whom you have promised your vote be one of whom you have the least apprehension that he will promote or assent to the repealing of that clause, whether it be decent or proper he should be the mouth of an assembly whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion! Can a body whose mouth and heart must go so contrariwise ever act with sincerity or hardly with consistency? Such a man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the sense of the house, which in so many points of the greatest moment will be directly contrary to his. It is full as absurd as to prefer a man to a bishopric who denies revealed religion. But it may possibly be a great deal worse. What if the person you design to vote into that important post should not only be a declared enemy of the sacramental test, but should prove to be a solicitor and encourager, or even a penner, of addresses to complain of it? Do you think it so indifferent a thing that a promise of course, the effect of compliance, importunity, shame of refusing, or any the like motive, shall oblige you past the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as some have already had the weakness, that it is of little importance to either party to have a speaker of their side, his business being only to take the sense of the house and report it; that you often at committees put an able speaker into the chair on purpose to prevent him from stopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this, I believe I should hardly choose, even among my footmen, such a one to deliver a message whose interest and opinion led him to wish it might miscarry. But I remember to have heard colonel Birch of Herefordshire say, "That he was a very sorry speaker whose single vote was not better than fifty common ones." I am sure it is reckoned in England the first great test of the prevalency of either party in the house. Sir Thomas Lyttleton thought that a house of commons with a stinking breath (supposing the speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect everything within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the smallest part of an able speaker's business what he performs in the house, at least if he be in with the court, when it is hard to say how many converts may be made in a circle of dinners or private cabals. And you and I easily call to mind a gentleman in that station in England who, by his own arts and personal credit,

was able to draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing side in a nice juncture of affairs, and make a parliament expire in one party who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party causes; but surely the best of us can with very ill grace make that an objection, who has not been so nice in matters of much less importance. Yet I have heard some persons of both sides gravely deliver themselves in this manner: "Why should we make the choosing of a speaker a party cause? Let us fix upon one who is well versed in the practices and methods of parliament." And I believe there are too many who would talk at the same rate, if the question were not only about abolishing the sacramental test, but the sacrament itself.

But suppose the principles of the most artful speaker would have no influence either to obtain or obstruct any point in parliament; who can answer what effects such a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how such a matter serves to raise the spirits and hopes of the dissenters, and their high-flying advocates: what lengths they run, what conclusions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? that is encouragement enough to practise the city, against the opinion of a majority, into an address to the queen for repealing the sacramental test; or issue out their orders to the next fanatic parson to furbish up his old sermons, and preach and print new ones directly against episcopacy. I would lay a good wager that, if the choice of a new speaker succeeds exactly to their liking, we shall see it soon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, sermon, or address, to the same or perhaps more dangerous purposes.

Supposing the speaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honor, and a step to a better; since it is in your own gift, will you not choose to bestow it upon some person whose principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be sure of a worthy man hereafter in a high station, on the bench or at the bar?

I confess, if it were a thing possible to be compassed, it would seem most reasonable to fill the chair with some person who would be entirely devoted to neither party; but since there are so few of that character, and those either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot see how a majority will answer it to their reputation to be so ill provided of able persons that they must have recourse to their ad-

cester. The whole force she brought over for this expedition consisted but of 140 knights; for she trusted altogether in her cause and her friends. With this slender attendance she went to Arundel and was there received into the castle by the widow of the late king; while earl Robert, accompanied only by twenty men, marched boldly to his own city of Gloucester, in order to raise forces for the empress, where the townsmen turned out the king's garrison as soon as they heard of his approach.

King Stephen was not surprised at the news of the empress's arrival, being a thing he had always counted upon, and was long preparing himself against. He was glad to hear how ill she was provided, and resolved to use the opportunity of her brother's absence; for hasting down to Arundel with a sufficient strength he laid siege to the castle, in hopes by securing her person to put a speedy end to the war.

But there wanted not some very near about the king who, favoring the party of Maude, had credit enough to prevail with him not to venture time and reputation against an impregnable fortress, but rather by withdrawing his forces permit her to retire to some less fortified place, where she might more easily fall into his hands. This advice the king took against his own opinion; the empress fled out of Arundel by night, and after frequent shifting her stages through several towns, which had already declared in her favor, fixed herself at last at Lincoln, where having all things provided necessary for her defence she resolved to continue, and expect either a general revolt of the English to her side or the decision of war between the king and her brother.

But Stephen, who had pursued the empress from place to place,
1141. hearing she had shut herself up in Lincoln, resolved to give her no rest; and to help on his design it fell out that the citizens, in hatred to the earl of Chester, who commanded there for the empress, sent a private invitation to the king, with promise to deliver the town and their governor into his hands. The king came accordingly, and possessed himself of the town, but Maude and the earl made their escape a few days before. However, many great persons of Maude's party remained prisoners to the king, and among the rest the earl of Chester's wife, who was daughter to the earl of Gloucester. These two earls, resolving to attempt the relief of their friends, marched with all their forces near Lincoln, where they found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. The

fifteen country justices, most of them of the lowest size for estate, quality, or understanding. However, this puts me in mind of a passage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be anywhere recorded: That a complaint was made to the king and council of Sweden, of a prodigious swarm of Scots, who, under the condition of pedlars, infested that kingdom to such a degree as, if not suddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the state, by joining with any discontented party. Meanwhile the Scots, by their agents, placed a good sum of money to engage the officers of the prime minister in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the council, "He was assured they were but a few inconsiderable people, that lived honestly and poorly and were not of any consequence." Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: whereupon an order was made to take their number, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thousand. The affair was again brought before the council, and great reproaches made to the first minister for his ill computation; who, presently taking the other handle, said, "He had reason to believe the number yet greater than what was returned;" and then gravely offered to the king's consideration, "Whether it was safe to render desperate so great a body of able men, who had little to lose, and whom any hard treatment would only serve to unite into a power capable of disturbing, if not destroying, the peace of the kingdom." And so they were suffered to continue.

A PROPOSAL

FOR THE UNIVERSAL USE OF IRISH MANUFACTURE, IN CLOTHING AND FURNITURE OF HOUSES;

UTTERLY REJECTING AND RENOUNCING EVERYTHING WEARABLE THAT COMES FROM ENGLAND.

It is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greatest discouragements from England, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading. Agriculture, which has been the principal care of all wise nations, and for

the encouragement whereof there are so many statute-laws in England, we countenance so well, that the landlords are everywhere, by penal clauses, absolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing; not satisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the English: one effect of which is already seen in the prodigious dearness of corn, and the importation of it from London, as the cheapest market. And because people are the riches of a country, and that our neighbors have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them, therefore the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vast tracts of the best land for the feeding of sheep.

I could fill a volume as large as the history of the Wise Men of Gotham with a catalogue only of some wonderful laws and customs we have observed within thirty years past. It is true, indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France has been our only support for several years, furnishing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents and go to market. But our merchants assure me this trade has received a great damp by the present fluctuating condition of the coin in France; and that most of their wine is paid for in specie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence.

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our flocks, it may be worth inquiring what we shall do with our wool, in case Barnstaple[1] should be overstocked, and our French commerce should fail?

I could wish the parliament had thought fit to have suspended their regulation of church matters and enlargements of the prerogative until a more convenient time, because they did not appear very pressing, at least to the persons principally concerned; and, instead of these great refinements in politics and divinity, had amused themselves and their committees a little with the state of the nation. For example: What if the house of commons had thought fit to make a resolution, *nemine contradicente*, against wearing any cloth or stuff in their families which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it so far as utterly to exclude all silks, velvets, calicoes, and the whole lexicon of female fopperies; and declared that whoever acted otherwise should be deemed and reputed an enemy to the nation? What if they had sent up such a resolution to be agreed

[1] A seaport in Devonshire, at that time the principal market in England for wool.

to by the house of lords, and by their own practice and encouragement spread the execution of it in their several countries? What if we should agree to make burying in woollen a fashion, as our neighbors have made it a law? What if the ladies would be content with Irish stuffs for the furniture of their houses, for gowns and petticoats for themselves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm resolution be taken, by male and female, never to appear with one single shred that comes from England, and let all the people say AMEN.

I hope and believe nothing could please his majesty better than to hear that his loyal subjects of both sexes in this kingdom celebrated his birthday (now approaching) universally clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to save them from the brink of ruin? If men's opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handsome in stuffs as in brocades; and since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in choosing and matching patterns and colors. I heard the late archbishop of Tuam mention a pleasant observation of somebody's, that Ireland would never be happy till a law were made for burning everything that came from England, except their people and their coals. I must confess that, as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope in a little time we shall have no occasion for them.

Non tanti mitra est, non tanti judicis ostrum ———

but I should rejoice to see a staylace from England be thought scandalous, and become a topic for censure at visits and tea-tables.

If the unthinking shopkeepers in this town had not been utterly destitute of common sense, they would have made some proposal to the parliament with a petition to the purpose I have mentioned; promising to improve the cloths and stuffs of the nation into all possible degrees of fineness and colors, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their custom, by exacting and imposing upon the nobility and gentry, either as to the prices or the goodness. For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the rascally mercers and woollen-drapers would in four-and-twenty hours raise their cloths and silks to above a double price, and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with petitions to the court that they were ready to starve and their fineries lay upon their hands.

I could wish our shopkeepers would immediately think on t

proposal, addressing it to all persons of quality and others; but first be sure to get somebody who can write sense to put it into form.

I think it needless to exhort the clergy to follow this good example; because in a little time those among them who are so unfortunate as to have had their birth and education in this country will think themselves abundantly happy when they can afford Irish crape and an Athlone hat; and as to the others, I shall not presume to direct them. I have indeed seen the present archbishop of Dublin [Dr. William King] clad from head to foot in our own manufacture, and yet, under the rose be it spoken, his grace deserves as good a gown as if he had not been born among us.

I have not courage enough to offer one syllable on this subject to their honors of the army; neither have I sufficiently considered the great importance of scarlet and gold lace.

The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpose.—The goddess had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin, very famous for spinning and weaving. They both met upon a trial of skill; and Pallas, finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knocked her rival down, and turned her into a spider, enjoining her to spin and weave for ever out of her own bowels, and in a very narrow compass.

I confess that, from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess, on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence; which however is fully executed upon us by England with further additions of rigor and severity; for the greatest part of our bowels and vitals is extracted without allowing us the liberty of spinning and weaving them.

The scripture tells us that "oppression makes a wise man mad;" therefore, consequently speaking, the reason why some men are not mad is because they are not wise. However, it were to be wished that oppression would in time teach a little wisdom to fools.

I was much delighted with a person who has a great estate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me how grievously poor England suffers by impositions from Ireland:—that we convey our own wool to France, in spite of all the harpies at the custom-house; that Mr. Shuttleworth and others, on the Cheshire coasts, are such fools to sell us their bark at a good price for tanning our own hides into leather; with other enormities of the like weight and kind. To which I will venture to add more:—that the mayoralty of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which

might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate salary, whereby poor England loses at least one thousand pounds a-year upon the balance: that the governing of this kingdom costs the lord-lieutenant 3600*l.* a-year — so much net loss to poor England: that the people of Ireland presume to dig for coals on their own grounds; and the farmers in the county of Wicklow send their turf to the very market of Dublin, to the great discouragement of the coal-trade of Mostyn [Flintshire] and Whitehaven [Cumberland]: that the revenues of the post-office here, so righteously belonging to the English treasury, as arising chiefly from our own commerce with each other, should be remitted to London clogged with that grievous burden of exchange; and the pensions paid out of the Irish revenues to English favorites should lie under the same disadvantage, to the great loss of the grantees. When a divine is sent over to a bishopric here, with the hopes of 2500*l.* a-year, and upon his arrival he finds, alas! a dreadful discount of 10 or 12 per cent.; a judge, or a commissioner of the revenue, has the same cause of complaint. Lastly, the ballad upon Cotter is vehemently suspected to be Irish manufacture, and yet is allowed to be sung in our open streets, under the very nose of the government.

These are a few among the many hardships we put upon that poor kingdom of England, for which, I am confident, every honest man wishes a remedy. And I hear there is a project on foot for transporting our best wheaten straw, by sea and land carriage, to Dunstable, and obliging us by a law to take off yearly so many ton of straw hats for the use of our women; which will be a great encouragement to the manufacture of that industrious town.

I should be glad to learn among the divines whether a law to bind men without their own consent be obligatory *in foro conscientiæ;* because I find scripture, Sanderson, and Suarez, are wholly silent on the matter. The oracle of reason, the great law of nature, and general opinion of civilians, wherever they treat of limited governments, are indeed decisive enough.

It is wonderful to observe the bias among our people in favor of things, persons, and wares of all kinds, that come from England. The printer tells his hawkers that he has got an excellent new song, just brought from London. I have somewhat of a tendency that way myself; and upon hearing a coxcomb from thence displaying himself, with great volubility, upon the park, the playhouse, the opera, the gaming ordinaries, it was apt to beget in me a kind

of veneration for his parts and accomplishments. It is not many years since I remember a person, who, by his style and literature, seems to have been the corrector of a hedge-press in some blind alley about Little Britain, proceed gradually to be an author, at least a translator[1] of a lower rate, although somewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now flourishes in Grub-street, and upon the strength of this foundation come over here, erect himself up into an orator and politician, and lead a kingdom after him. This, I am told, was the very motive that prevailed on the author [lord Grimston] of a play, called "Love in a hollow Tree," to do us the honor of a visit; presuming, with very good reason, that he was a writer of a superior class. I know another, who, for thirty years past, has been the common standard of stupidity in England, where he was never heard a minute in any assembly or by any party, with common Christian treatment; yet, upon his arrival here, could put on a face of importance and authority, talk more than six, without either gracefulness, propriety, or meaning, and at the same time be admired and followed as the pattern of eloquence and wisdom.

Nothing has humbled me so much, or shown a greater disposition to a contemptuous treatment of Ireland in some chief governors, than that high style of several speeches from the throne, delivered as usual, after the royal assent, in some periods of the two last reigns. Such exaggerations of the prodigious condescensions in the prince to pass those good laws would have but an odd sound at Westminster; neither do I apprehend how any good law can pass wherein the king's interest is not as much concerned as that of the people. I remember, after a speech on the like occasion delivered by my lord Wharton [lord-lieutenant] (I think it was his last), he desired Mr. Addison to ask my opinion on it. My answer was, "That his excellency had very honestly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph, wherein he asserted, by plain consequence, a dispensing power in the queen." His lordship owned it was true, but swore "the words were put into his mouth by direct orders from court." Whence it is clear that some ministers in those times were apt, from their high elevation, to look down upon this kingdom as if it had been one of their colonies of outcasts in America. And I observed a little of the same turn of spirit in some great men from whom I expected better; although, to do them justice, it proved no kind of difficulty to make them

[1] Supposed to be Cæsar's Commentaries, dedicated to the duke of Marlborough by colonel Bladen.

correct their idea, whereof the whole nation quickly found the benefit.—But that is forgotten. How the style has since run I am wholly a stranger, having never seen a speech since the last of the queen.

I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords; who, by unmeasurable screwing and racking their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable people to a worse condition than the peasants in France or the vassals in Germany and Poland; so that the whole species of what we call substantial farmers will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleasant to observe these gentlemen laboring with all their might for preventing the bishops from letting their revenues at a moderate half-value, (whereby the whole order would in an age have been reduced to manifest beggary,) at the very instant when they were everywhere canting[1] their own land upon short leases and sacrificing their oldest tenants for a penny an acre advance. I know not how it comes to pass (and yet, perhaps, I know well enough) that slaves have a natural disposition to be tyrants; and that, when my betters give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my footman, although, perhaps, he may be an honest and diligent fellow. I have heard great divines affirm that nothing is so likely to call down a universal judgment from heaven upon a nation as universal oppression; and whether this be not already verified in part, their worships, the landlords, are now at full leisure to consider. Whoever travels this country, and observes the face of nature, or the faces and habits and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity is professed.

I cannot forbear saying one word upon a thing they call a bank, which I fear is projecting in this town.[2] I never saw the proposals, nor understand any one particular of their scheme. What I wish for at present is only a sufficient provision of hemp, and caps and bells, to distribute according to the several degrees of honesty and prudence in some persons. I hear only of a monstrous sum already named; and if others do not soon hear of it too, and hear with a vengeance, then I am a gentleman of less sagacity than myself, and very few beside myself, take me to be. And the jest will be still

[1] Canting their land is letting it to the highest bidder. Cant signfies the same as auction.

[2] This project for a bank in Ireland was afterwards brought into parliament and rejected.

the better if it be true, as judicious persons have assured us, that one-half of this money will be real and the other half altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewise much mended if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldsmiths to melt down our heavy silver.

AN ESSAY ON ENGLISH BUBBLES;

BY THOMAS HOPE, ESQ.

THE three following pieces refer to a project in circulation in 1720, for the establishment of a national bank in Dublin, and the Essay upon English Bubbles is to be considered as introductory to the others.

To the right reverend, right honorable, and right worshipful, and to the reverend, honorable, and worshipful, &c., Company of Stockjobbers, whether honest or dishonest, pious or impious, wise or otherwise, male or female, young or old, one with another, who have suffered depredation by the late bubbles,—Greeting:

HAVING received the following scheme from Dublin, I give you the earliest notice how you may retrieve DECUS ET TUTAMEN,[1] which you have sacrificed by permits in bubbles. This project is founded on a parliamentary security; besides, the devil is in it if it can fail, since a dignitary of the Church [dean of St. Patrick's] is at the head of it. Therefore you who have subscribed to the stocking insurance, and are out at the heels, may soon appear tight about the leg; you who encourage the hemp manufacture may leave the halter to rogues, and prevent the odium of *felo de se*. Medicinal virtues are to be had without the expense and hazard of a dispensary. You may sleep without dreaming of bottles at your tail, and a looking-glass shall not affright you; and since the great bubble proved as brittle as its ware, and broke, together with it, the hopes of its proprietors, they may make themselves whole by subscribing to our new fund.

Here indeed may be made three very grave objections by in-

[1] The motto round a crown-piece, which was the usual price of permits.

credulous, interested priests, ambitious citizens, and scrupulous statesmen. 1. The stocking manufactory gentlemen do not know how swearing can bring them to any probability of covering their legs anew, unless it be by the means of a pair of stocks. 2. That the hemp-snared men apprehend that such an encouragement for oaths can tend to no other advancement, promotion, and exaltation of their persons than that of the gallows; the late old ordinary Paul,[1] having grown gray in the habit of making this accurate observation in every month's Sessions Paper, "That swearing had as great a hand in the suspension of every living soul under his cure, as Sabbath-breaking itself." And 3d, That the glass-bubble-men cannot, for their lives, with the best pair of spectacles (which is the only thing left neat and whole out of all their ware) see how they shall make anything out of this his oath-project, supposing he should even confirm by one its goodness — an oath being, as they say, as brittle as glass, and only made to be broken.

But those incredulous priests shall not go without an answer that will, I am sure, induce them to place a great confidence in the benefit arising from christians who damn themselves every hour of the day; for, while they speak of the vainness and fickleness of oaths as an objection against our project, they little consider that this fickleness and vainness is the common practice among all the people of this sublunary world; and that, consequently, instead of being an objection against the project, is a concluding argument of the constancy and solidity of their sure gain by it; a never-failing argument, as he tells us, among the brethren of his cloth.

The ambitious citizens who, from being plunged deep in the wealthy whirlpool of the South Sea, are in hopes of rising to such seats of fortune and dignity as would best suit with their mounting and aspiring hopes, may imagine that this new fund in the sister nation may prove a rival to theirs, and by drawing off a multitude of subscribers will, if it makes a flood in Ireland, cause an ebb in England. But it may be answered, That though our author avers "that this fund will vie with the South Sea," yet it will not clash with it. On the contrary the subscribers to this must with the increase of the South Sea (so far from being its rival), because the multitude of people raised by it who were plain speakers as they were plain dealers before, must learn to swear in order to become

[1] Paul Lorraine, many years ordinary of Newgate. He died October 7, 1719.

their clothes, and to be gentlemen *à la mode;* while those who are ruined, I mean Jobed by it, will dismiss the patience of their old pattern, swear at their condition and curse their Maker in their distress: and so the increase of that English fund will be demonstratively an ample augmentation of the Irish one, so far will it be from being rivalled by it; so that each of them may subscribe to a fund they have their own security for augmenting.

The scrupulous statesmen (for we know that statesmen are usually very scrupulous) may object against having this project secured by votes in parliament, by reason, as they may deem it in their great wisdom, of its being an impious project, and that therefore so illustrious an assembly as the Irish parliament ought by no n ac- cording to the opinion of a christian statesman, to be concerned supporting any impious thing in the world. The way that some may take to prove it impious is because it will tend highly to the interest of swearing. But this I take to be plain downright sophistry and playing upon words: if this be called the Swearing project, or the Oath-Act, the increase of swearing will be very much for the benefit and interest of swearing, *i. e.*, to the subscribers in the fund to be raised by this fruitful Swearing-act, if it should be so called, but not to the swearers themselves who are to pay for it; so that it will be, according to this distinction, piously indeed an act for a benefit to mankind from swearing, not impiously a benefit in swearing; so that I think that argument entirely answered and defeated. Far be it from the dean to have entered into so unchristian a project as this had been so considered. But then these politicians (being generally, as the world knows, mighty tender of conscience) may raise these new doubts, fears, and scruples, *viz.*— That it will, however, cause the subscribers to wish in their minds for many oaths to fly about, which is a heinous crime, and to lay stratagems to try the patience of men of all sorts, to put them upon the swearing train, in order to bring grist to their own mill, which is a crime still more enormous; and that therefore, for fear of these evil consequences, the passing of such an act is not consistent with the really extraordinary and tender conscience of a true modern politician. But in answer to this I think I can plead the strongest plea in nature, and that is called precedent, I think, which I take thus from the South Sea: one man, by the very nature of that subscription, must naturally pray for the temporal damnation of another

man in his fortune in order for gaining his own salvation in it, yea, even though he knows the other man's temporal damnation would be the cause of his eternal, by his swearing and despairing. Neither do I think this in casuistry any sin, because the swearing-undone man is a free agent, and can choose whether he will swear or no, anybody's wishes whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And in politics I am sure it is even a Machiavelian holy maxim, "That some men should be ruined for the good of others." Thus I think I have answered all the objections that can be brought against this project's coming to perfection, and proved it to be convenient to the state, of interest to the protestant church, and consonant with christianity, nay, with the very scruples of modern squeamish statesmen.

To conclude: the laudable author of this project squares the measures of it so much according to the scripture rule, that it may reasonably be presumed all good christians in England will come as fast into the subscriptions for his encouragement as they have already done throughout the kingdom of Ireland; for what greater proof could this author give of his christianity than for bringing about this Swearing-act, charitably to part with his coat, and sit starving in a very thin waistcoat in his garret, to do the corporeal virtues of feeding and clothing the poor, and raising them from the cottage to the palace, by punishing the vices of the rich? What more could have been done even in the primitive times?

THOMAS HOPE.

From my house in St. Faith's Parish,
London, August 10, 1720.

P. S. — For the benefit of the author, application may be made to me at the Tilt-yard Coffee-house, Whitehall.

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE BANK,

PLACED ACCORDING TO THEIR ORDER AND QUALITY, WITH NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions for the bank, had circulated lists of the subscribers, marking those who were qualified to be governors and directors, and those who were entitled to vote.

A TRUE and exact account of the nobility, gentry and traders of the kingdom of Ireland, who upon mature deliberation are of opinion that the establishing a bank upon real security would be highly for the advantage of the trade of the said kingdom; and for increasing the current species of money in the same. Extracted from the list of the subscribers to the Bank of Ireland, published by order of the commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions.

Nobility.

Archbishops, . . .	0	Barons, ...	1
Marquises, ...	0	Bishops, ...	2
Earls, ...	0	French Barons, . .	1
Viscounts, ...	3		

N. B. — The temporal lords of Ireland are 125, the bishops, 22. In all 147, exclusive of the aforesaid French count.

Gentry: — Baronets, 1. Knights, 1.

N. B. — Total of baronets and knights in Ireland uncertain, in common computation supposed to be more than two.

Members of the house of commons — 41; one whereof reckoned before amongst the two knights.

N. B. — Number of commoners, in all 300.

Esquires not members of Parliament — 37.

N. B. — There are at least 20 of the said 37 esquires whose names are little known, and whose qualifications as esquires are referred to the king-at-arms; and the said king is desired to send to the publisher hereof a true account of the whole number of such real or reputed esquires as are to be found in this kingdom.

Clergy.

Deans	1	Rectors	3
Arch-Deacons	2	Curates	2

N. B. — Of this number one French dean, one French curate, and one bookseller.

Officers not members of parliament — 16.

N. B. — Of the above number 10 French; but uncertain whether on whole or half-pay, broken, or of the militia.

Women

Ladies, 1

Widows, 3, whereof one qualified to be dep.-governor.

Maidens, 4.

N. B. — It being uncertain in what class to place the eight female subscribers, whether in that of nobility, gentry, &c., it is thought proper to insert them here betwixt the officers and traders.

Traders.

Aldermen of { Dublin	1	a Frenchman.	
Cork	1		
Limerick	1	Drogheda	0
Waterford	0	&c.	0

Merchants, 29, *viz.*, 10 French, of London 1, of Cork 1, of Belfast 1.

N. B. — The place of abode of three of the said merchants, *viz.*, of London, Cork, Belfast, being mentioned, the publisher desires to know where the rest may be wrote to, and whether they deal in wholesale or retail, *viz.*

Master dealers, &c., 59, cashiers 1, bankers 4, chemist 1, player 1, Popish vintner 1, Bricklayer 1, chandler 1, doctors of physic 4, chirurgeons 2, pewterer 1, attorneys 4 (besides one esquire), barbers or markees, uncertain. As to the rest of the members, the publisher of this paper, though he has used his utmost diligence, has not been able to get a satisfactory account, either as to their country, trade, or profession.

N. B. — The total of men, women, and children in Ireland, besides Frenchmen, is 2,000,000. Total of the land of Ireland, acres 16,800,000. (Vide Reasons for a bank, &c.)

Quære, How many of the said acres are in possession of 1 French baron, 1 French dean, 1 French curate, 1 French alderman, 10 French merchants, 8 Messieurs Frances, 1 esquire projector, 1 es-

quire attorney, 6 officers of the army, 8 women, 1 London merchant, 1 Cork merchant, 1 Belfast merchant, 18 merchants whose places of abode are not mentioned, 1 cashier, 4 bankers, 1 gentleman projector, 1 player, 1 chemist, 1 Popish vintner, 1 bricklayer, 1 chandler, 4 doctors of physic, 2 chirurgeons, 1 pewterer, 4 gentlemen attorneys, besides 28 gentlemen dealers, yet unknown, ut supra?

A LETTER FROM A LADY IN TOWN TO HER FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY, CONCERNING THE BANK;

OR THE LIST OF THE SUBSCRIBERS FURTHER EXPLAINED.

Dublin, December 1, 1721.

DEAR MADAM,

I CAME to town three days before the bank-books were opened, and resolving to lose no time, I sent for your friend, and told him of your resolutions to subscribe 2000*l.*, that I had directions from you to apply to him, and a commission to transact for you.

At first he looked very grave and reserved, saying that he doubted I was come too late, for that so many persons of interest and distinction of both sexes had applied, he was afraid that the books would be full before they were opened; however, he said, he would use all his interest, and rather than you should be disappointed he would assign one half of his own subscription to you; at the same time letting me understand, that it was in effect a gift of so much money, with some innuendos as if he expected a premium.

He then ran out in high raptures upon the bank, and upon the great advantages it would be both to the subscribers and to the kingdom; he extolled the conduct of the managers, who had procured this bank from the government without any consideration, for which former projectors had offered no less than 50,000*l.* He affirmed that the subscribers could make no more than 25 per cent. for their whole subscriptions, of which only one-twentieth part was to be deposited; and then desired me to compute the value of the present he had made.

I asked him whether he were sure that this bank would succeed. He told me there was not the least doubt of it; that the necessity of affairs required it, whereof the managers were so confident, that they had actually brought over the iron chests to secure the money; that the nobility, gentry, and traders of the kingdom were, upon

mature deliberation, unanimously of opinion that a bank was necessary, &c.; that he had particularly discoursed with three eminent persons of great honor, experience, and sagacity, distinguished for the love of their country and their profound knowledge in the general interests of kingdoms, and far above any paltry self-interests, the first of which, with great strength of argument, asserted, That we must have a bank, and will have a bank; the second, That the South-Sea had occasioned such a dearth of money in the kingdom that paper money was as necessary now as brass money was in the time of king James, and would make us better able to pay our taxes and our pensions; and the third, with greater volubility of tongue and uncommon eloquence, affirmed that if people would not confide and believe in such a set of directors and governors, as were intended to be chosen, neither would they believe in Moses or the prophets.

He then began to enlarge upon the great advantages this bank would be to the public; that it would improve trade, navigation, manufactories, and the cultivation of our land; enable us to govern foreign markets, and make other nations factors for us who were now only factors for them. He then proceeded to a jargon, which I did not comprehend, of imports, exports, building ships, erecting warehouses, draining bogs, opening rivers, finding coals, building towers, raising land, sinking interest, &c. And when he was out of breath presented me with a paper called Reasons for a Bank, written, as he affirmed, with force of reason, conciseness and perspicuity of style, elegancy in phrase, propriety in diction, and with masterly strokes in political calculations; and believing he had now fully convinced me, he advised me, by all means, that the money I was to deposit should be guineas, presuming the crowds would be so great that the clerks would despatch me sooner.

We parted. I prepared my gold and the bond, waited impatiently all the next day when the books were opened, and being informed that vast crowds of coaches were attending in Dirty Lane, and receiving no message from our friend, concluded that the books were filled as he had alleged, but still expected to come in upon half his subscription; and accordingly I received notice to prepare against next morning.

During this time I accidentally heard that some of the nobility and gentry were violently bent against this project, and among the rest a certain lord to whom I have the honor to be related and well

known. I waited on him, and gave him the whole history of my proceedings in this affair, desiring his advice and opinion. I had no sooner ended my story, than he fell into an immoderate fit of laughter, and the first words he was able to speak distinctly were, that he laughed with greater pleasure to himself, and as he hoped less pain to me, because I had neither paid in my money nor given bonds. He begged of me to be in no pain about the cluster of coaches in Dirty Lane, for he suspected that the greatest part of gentlemen's coaches which made that appearance were either lent or hired to make a figure, and he presumed I would be of the same opinion when I saw a list of the subscribers; and I do affirm (says he) that to my certain knowledge, the managers and their under-strappers are running about the town all this time persuading, pressing, and perhaps bribing, men, women, and children, to fill their books.

He told me he had seen the books that very day; that there was not half the capital subscribed, and it was a doubt and matter of great speculation whether all the subscribers had paid in the twentieth part, and given all the bonds and judgments for the remainder. He confessed there were some persons of honor, estates, and good distinction amongst the subscribers, but these were in some alliance with the managers and chief promoters of the bank; and generally speaking the rest consisted of pressed men and French volunteers.

He allowed the (since chosen) intended governor to be a person of great integrity and honorable intentions, and gave the greatest credit to the projectors; but was sorry he was drawn in upon any considerations, or by any persuasions, into a project to which the nation was so utterly averse.

I was exceedingly surprised, and entreated him to let me know for what reasons so great a majority could oppose this scheme? His answer was, that he could assign a great number. But the principal which prevailed with him were those that follow: —

First, Because he could not conceive that any sufficient security had been offered or could be given by the bank for the properties of the subscribers, and transferrers and their heirs.

Secondly, That no security could possibly be given that the presumptive power, which must be lodged in this bank if it succeeds, may not be exerted to the destruction of the liberties of the people, and then the next evil to that of being dragooned is that of being dragoonable.

Thirdly, Because it is evident if this bank shall take place, and acquire that degree of wealth and power which may reasonably be apprehended, all that wealth and power must be naturally applied to its own preservation, that is to the arbitrary will and power of those to whom it owes its very being and subsistence.

Fourthly, It is highly probable that this is presumed, and actually is now a protestant bank; it may drain the greatest part of the species of money from the protestants, and leave them in lieu thereof only paper, which can be of no effect in times of confusion, either for their defence or subsistence; and consequently the ready money which must be allowed the sinews of war, being in the hands of the Irish papists, may render them more formidable upon such a juncture to the English protestant interest of Ireland than they have ever been since the reformation.

Besides these reasons his lordship further added that he could not well understand how a country wholly cramped in every branch of its trade, of large extent, ill peopled, and abounding in commodities which they had neither liberty to export nor encouragement to manufacture, could be benefited by a bank which, by all he had read or heard, or observed in his travels, was only useful in free countries where the territory was small, and the trade general and unlimited; and consequently where the profit consisted in the buying and selling of goods imported from other nations, and wholly accrued to the public; whereas the bank proposed amongst us was to be the monopoly of a few. He added that Mr. Maxwell, in his letter to Mr. Rowley, had in several particulars given up the cause; but especially in one, where he allowed that before the convulsion occasioned by the South Sea, from the natural advantages of peace, and the very small share of trade allowed us, the interest of money fell of itself to 6 and 5½ per cent., which came very near to the only advantage the bank proposed; and his lordship saw no reason why he might not now hope for the same effect from time, and our natural advantages, when we have recovered this loss, as well as we did the ruins of a long war, upon the revolution, without venturing upon new experiments, under which France, Holland, and England have sunk, and which our poor crazy constitution is ill able to support and less able to retrieve. He said plainly that he looked upon Mr. Maxwell as a gentleman whose intentions were better than his abilities; that from poring upon Davenant, Petty, Child, and other reasoners from political arithmetic, he hath drawn conclusions by

no means calculated for the circumstances and condition of Ireland.

As a great part of what he said was above my capacity, so I could never have repeated it, if he had not been at the trouble, at my request, to have given it me in writing, together with Mr. Rowley's letter, where he told me the subject was treated in so handsome a manner that he was sure it would both please and convince me.

After these general arguments he got up and shut the door, and in a very low voice told me in confidence the history of this project from its first commencement, comparing it to the machine of a watch, with its various wheels and movements, while the main-spring was out of sight, yet plainly discovered where the hands pointed and directed. I dare not trust to your eyes what he could hardly trust to his own ears; but I was so thoroughly convinced from what he whispered, that I instantly wrote a note to your friend and told him you had altered your opinion, and would not subscribe to the bank, desiring he would give himself no further trouble.

After this I presumed to ask his lordship two questions; first, Whether the report were true that the lord-lieutenant had interested himself in favor of the bank? He assured me it was notoriously false and groundless; for his grace had behaved himself with the utmost candor and indifferency, which appeared throughout the whole transaction betwixt his grace and the negotiators, leaving it to the wisdom of the nation to determine what might be profitable for us, whereof I hope the whole kingdom, without distinction of party, will ever retain a grateful remembrance.

My second question was, How came it to pass that the commissioners and managers of the bank opened the books and proceeded to take subscriptions after the king in his speech, in tenderness to his people, had left it to the consideration of parliament, and after it appeared that a great majority of both houses, with the voice of the nation without doors, had declared against it. He answered with a smile that, for his own part, he could conceive no possible reason for this proceeding, but that the managers were resolved, at all hazards, to recover the expenses they had been at in negotiating the affair of the bank in England; that by this bold attempt, they seemed wholly to misrepresent and misapply the gracious intentions of his majesty, as if after he had loudly proclaimed in his speech from the throne, that the people of Ireland should have a bank if

they pleased, he did at the same time whisper the managers that they should have a bank whether we pleased or no.

I took leave of his lordship, and in a few days found a great deal of what he told me to be true. For a list of the subscribers being published by order of the governors and directors, there came out a printed paper, with notes and queries, wherein the subscribers were ranked in their proper classes, which placed them in so ridiculous a light, [see preceding tract,] that they all began to be ashamed of one another. I took pains to examine that paper very carefully by the original list, and found it in every article to be a notorious truth, but not the whole truth, for the author hath omitted,

One French corn-cutter,	One anabaptist clothier,
One French drawer,	One barrack-master,
One deal merchant,	One butcher,
One French apothecary,	One agent's clerk,

Besides several South Seaers and Mississippians.

When I saw this list, and observed the situation of the subscribing ladies betwixt the soldiers and traders, I was highly delighted that you were not one of the number. I was intimately acquainted with one of them, and going to pay her a visit was, with some difficulty, admitted. She told me that she had kept her chamber some days since the publishing of that scandalous list; that she had been rallied to death by all her acquaintance; that she had endeavored to get her money back, or at least her bond and judgment, but could prevail for neither; that she resolved to petition the lord chancellor for relief, and confessed freely to me that a proposal was made her of a very advantageous match, which was brought almost to a conclusion, but was broken off when the gentleman came to know that her fortune was in the bank, alleging that he could not depend upon it, because that her bond and judgment was lodged in the bank, and that any part, or the whole thereof, was liable to the demands of the directors.

THE SWEARER'S BANK;

OR,

PARLIAMENTARY SECURITY FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW BANK IN IRELAND, WHEREIN THE MEDICAL USE OF OATS IS CONSIDERED.

"Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur."

"To believe everything that is said by a certain set of men, and to doubt of nothing they relate, though ever so improbable," is a maxim that has contributed as much, for the time, to the support of Irish banks as it ever did to the Popish religion; and they are not wholly beholden to the latter for their foundation, but they have the happiness to have the same patron saint; for Ignorance, the reputed mother of the devotion of one, seems to bear the same affectionate relation to the credit of the other.

To subscribe to banks without knowing the scheme or design of them, is not unlike to some gentlemen's signing addresses without knowing the contents of them: to engage in a bank that has neither act of parliament, charter, nor lands to support it, is like sending a ship to sea without a bottom; to expect a coach and six by the former, would be as ridiculous as to hope a return by the latter.

It was well known some time ago that our banks would be included in the bubble-bill; and it was believed those chimeras would necessarily vanish with the first easterly wind that should inform the town of the royal assent.

It was very mortifying to several gentlemen who dreamed of nothing but easy chariots, on the arrival of the fatal packet, to slip out of them into their walking shoes. But should those banks, as it is vainly imagined, be so fortunate as to obtain a charter, and purchase lands; yet, on any run on them in a time of invasion, there would be so many starving proprietors, reviving their old pretensions to land and a bellyful, that the subscribers would be unwilling upon any call to part with their money, not knowing what might happen; so that in a rebellion, where the success was doubtful, the bank would infallibly break.

Since so many gentlemen of this town have had the courage, without any security, to appear in the same paper with a million or

two; it is hoped, when they are made sensible of their safety, that they will be prevailed to trust themselves in a neat skin of parchment, with a single one.

To encourage them, the undertaker proposes the erecting of a bank on parliamentary security, and such security as no revolution or change of times can affect.

To take away all jealousy of any private view of the undertaker, he assures the world that he is now in a garret, in a very thin waistcoat, studying the public good; having given an undeniable pledge of his love to his country, by pawning his coat in order to defray the expense of the press.

It is very well known that, by an act of parliament, to prevent profane swearing, the person so offending, on oath made before a magistrate, forfeits a shilling, which may be levied with little difficulty.

It is almost unnecessary to mention that this is become a pet-vice among us; and though age renders us unfit for other vices, yet this, where it takes hold, never leaves us but with our speech.

So vast a revenue might be raised by the execution of this act, that I have often wondered, in a scarcity of funds, that methods have not been taken to make it serviceable to the public.

I dare venture to say, if this act was well executed in England, the revenue of it, applied to the navy, would make the English fleet a terror to all Europe.

It is computed by geographers that there are 2,000,000 in this kingdom (of Ireland), of which number there may be said to be 1,000,000 of swearing souls.

It is thought there may be 5000 gentlemen; every gentleman, taking one with another, may afford to swear an oath every day, which will yearly produce 1,825,000 oaths; which number of shillings makes the yearly sum of 91,250*l.*

The farmers of this kingdom, who are computed to be 10,000, are able to spend yearly 500,000 oaths, which gives 25,000*l.*; and it is conjectured that, from the bulk of the people, 20,000*l.* or 25,000*l.* may be yearly collected.

These computations are very modest, since it is evident that there is a much greater consumption of oaths in this kingdom, and consequently a much greater sum might be yearly raised.

That it may be collected with ease and regularity, it is proposed to settle informers in great towns in proportion to the number of

inhabitants. and to have riding-officers in the country; and since nothing brings a greater contempt on any profession than poverty, it is determined to settle very handsome salaries on the gentlemen that are employed by the bank, that they may, by a generosity of living, reconcile men to an office that has lain under so much i dal of late as to be undertaken by none but curates, clerks of meeting-houses, and broken tradesmen.

It is resolved that none shall be preferred to those employments but persons that are notorious for being constant churchmen, and frequent communicants; whose piety will be a sufficient security for their honest and industrious execution of their office.

It is very probable that 20,000*l.* will be necessary to defray all expenses of servants, salaries, &c. However, there will be i clear yearly sum of 100,000*l.*, which may very justly claim a million subscription.

It is determined to lay out the remaining unapplied profits, which will be very considerable, toward the erecting and maintaining of charity schools. A design so beneficial to the public, and especially to the protestant interest of this kingdom, has met with so much encouragement from several great patriots in England, that they have engaged to procure an act to secure the sole benefit of informing on this swearing act to the agents and servants of this new bank. Several of my friends pretend to demonstrate that this bank will in time vie with the South Sea Company: they insist, that the army dispend as many oaths yearly as will produce 100,000*l.* nett.

There are computed to be 100 pretty fellows in this town that swear 50 oaths a-head daily; some of them would think it hard to be stinted to a hundred: this very branch would produce a vast sum yearly.

The FAIRS of this kingdom will bring in a vast revenue; the oaths of a little Connaught one, as well as they could be numbered by two persons, amounted to three thousand. It is true that it would be impossible to turn all of them into ready money; for a shilling is so great a duty on swearing, that if it was carefully exacted, the common people might as well pretend to drink wine as to swear; and an oath would be as rare among them as a clean shirt.

A servant that I employed to accompany the militia their last muster day, had scored down, in the compass of eight hours, three hundred oaths; but, as the putting of the act in execution on those days would only fill the stocks with porters, and pawn-shops with muskets and swords; and as it would be matter of great joy to

papists and disaffected persons to see our militia swear themselves out of their guns and swords; it is resolved that no advantage shall be taken of any militiaman's swearing while he is under arms; nor shall any advantage be taken of any man's swearing in the four courts, provided he is at hearing in the exchequer, or has just paid off an attorney's bill.

The medicinal use of oaths is what the undertaker would by no means discourage, especially where it is necessary to help the lungs to throw off any distilling humor. On certificate of a course of swearing prescribed by any physician, a permit will be given to the patient by the proper officer of the bank, paying no more than sixpence. It is expected that a scheme of so much advantage to the public will meet with more encouragement than their chimerical banks; and the undertaker hopes, that as he has spent a considerable fortune in bringing this scheme to bear, he may have the satisfaction to see it take place for the public good, though he should have the fate of most projectors, to be undone.

It is resolved, that no compositions shall be made, nor licenses granted, for swearing, under a notion of applying the money to pious uses; a practice so scandalous, as is fit only for the see of Rome, where the money arising from whoring licenses is applied *ad propagandam fidem:* and to the shame of Smock-alley and of all protestant whores (especially those who live under the light of the gospel-ministry), be it spoken, a whore in Rome never lies down but she hopes it will be the means of converting some poor heathen or heretic.

The swearing revenues of the town of Cork will be given for ever by the bank to the support of poor clergymen's widows: and those of Ringsend will be allowed to the maintenance of sailors' bastards.

The undertaker designs in a few days to appoint time and place for taking subscriptions; the subscribers must come prepared to pay down one-fourth on subscribing.

P. S.—The Jews of Rotterdam have offered to farm the revenues of Dublin at 20,000*l.* per annum. Several eminent quakers are also willing to take them at that rent; but the undertaker has rejected their proposals, being resolved to deal with none but christians.

Application may be made to him about them, any day, at Patt's coffee-house, where attendance will be given.

A LETTER TO THE KING AT ARMS,

FROM A REPUTED ESQUIRE, ONE OF THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE BANK.

The title esquire was anciently only applied to the younger sons of nobility, baronets, and the eldest sons of judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, of knights, and to such as had employment in the service of the crown.

SIR, November 18, 1721.

IN a late printed paper, containing some notes and queries upon that list of the subscribers' names which was published by order of the commissioners for receiving subscriptions, I find some hints and innuendoes that would seem to insinuate as if I and some others were only reputed esquires; and our case is referred to you, in your kingly capacity. I desire you will please to let me know the lowest price of a royal esquire's coat of arms, and if we can agree, I will give my bond to pay you out of the first interest I receive for my subscription; because things are a little low with me at present, by throwing my whole fortune into the bank, having subscribed for 500*l.* sterling.

I hope you will not question my pretensions to this title when I let you know that my godfather was a justice of peace, and I myself have been often a keeper of it. My father was a leader and commander of horse, in which post he rode before the greatest lords of the land [a postilion]; and, in long marches, he alone presided over the baggage, advancing directly before it. My mother kept open house in Dublin, where several hundreds were supported with meat and drink bought at her own charge, or with her personal credit, until some envious brewers and butchers forced her to retire.[1]

As to myself, I have been for several years a foot-officer; and it was my charge to guard the carriages, behind which I was commanded to stick close, that they might not be attacked in the rear. I have had the honor to be a favorite of several fine ladies; who, each of them, at different times, gave me such colored knots and public marks of distinction, that every one knew which of them

[1] His mother kept an eating-house.

it was to whom I paid my addresses. They would not go into their coach without me, or willingly drink unless I gave them the glass with my own hand. They allowed me to call them my mistresses, and owned that title publicly. I have been told, that the true ancient employment of a squire was to carry a knight's shield, painted with his colors and coat of arms. This is what I have witnesses to produce that I have often done; not indeed in a shield, like my predecessors, but that which is full as good, I have carried the colors of a knight upon my coat [as a footman]. I have likewise borne the king's arms in my hand, as a mark of authority [as a constable]; and hung them painted before my dwelling-house, as a mark of my calling [as an innkeeper]; so that I may truly say, his majesty's arms have been my supporters. I have been a strict and constant follower of men of quality. I have diligently pursued the steps of several squires, and am able to behave myself as well as the best of them whenever there shall be occasion.

I desire it may be no disadvantage to me that, by the new act of parliament going to pass for preserving the game, I am not yet qualified to keep a greyhound. If this should be the test of squirehood, it will go hard with a great number of my fraternity, as well as myself, who must all be unsquired, because a greyhound will not be allowed to keep us company; and it is well known I have been a companion to his betters. What has a greyhound to do with a squireship? might I not be a real squire, although there was no such thing as a greyhound in the world? Pray tell me, sir, are greyhounds to be from henceforth the supporters of every squire's coat of arms? Although I cannot keep a greyhound, may not a greyhound help to keep me? May not I have an order from the governors of the bank to keep a greyhound, with a *non obstante* to the act of parliament, as well as they have created a bank against the votes of the two houses? But, however, this difficulty will soon be overcome. I am promised 125*l.* a-year for subscribing 500*l.*; and of this 500*l.* I am to pay in only 25*l.* ready money: the governors will trust me for the rest, and pay themselves out of the interest by 25*l.* per cent. So that I intend to receive only 40*l.* a-year to qualify me for keeping my family and a greyhound, and let the remaining 85*l.* go on till it makes 500*l.*, then 1000*l.*, then 10,000*l.*, then 100,000*l.*, then a million, and so forwards. This, I think, is much better (betwixt you and me) than keeping fairs, and

buying and selling bullocks; by which I find, from experience, that little is to be gotten in these hard times.

I am, sir, your friend and servant to command,

A. B., Esquire.

P. S.—I hope you will favorably represent my case to the publisher of the paper above-mentioned.

Direct your letter for A. B., esq., at * * *, in * * * and pray get some parliament-man to frank it, for it will cost a great postage to this place.

THE LAST SPEECH AND DYING WORDS OF EBENEZER ELLISTON.[1]

EXECUTED THE SECOND OF MAY, 1722.

PUBLISHED AT HIS DESIRE FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

I am now going to suffer the just punishment for my crimes, prescribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the constant custom that those who come to this place should have speeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing as they are carried to execution; and truly they are such speeches that, although our fraternity be an ignorant, illiterate people, they would make a man ashamed to have such immense and false English charged upon him even when he is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our sincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same treatment with my predecessors.

However, having had an education one or two degrees better than those of my rank and profession, I have been considering ever since my commitment what it might be proper for me to deli upon this occasion.

[1] A malefactor executed for street robbery. His parents, according to Faulkner, were rigid dissenters, had given him a good education, put him apprentice to a silk-weaver, and settled him in that profession, which he gradually exchanged for [illegible] fine gentleman, a gamester, and a housebreaker.

And First — I cannot say from the bottom of my heart that I am truly sorry for the offence I have given to God and the world; but I am very much so for the bad success of my villanies in bringing me to this untimely end; for it is plainly evident that after having some time ago obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade; my evil habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of employment. And therefore, although in compliance with my friends, I resolved to go to the gallows after the usual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand and my eyes lifted up; yet I shall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have observed in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can say further, from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity, after they had been hanged and wonderfully came to life and made their escapes, as it sometimes happened, proved afterwards the wickedest rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence at both times they went to the gallows to smite their breasts and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly. — From the knowledge I have of my own wicked dispositions, and those of my comrades, I give it as my opinion that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public than the mercy of the government in ever pardoning or transporting us, unless when we betray one another, as we never fail to do if we are sure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good: by the same rule, That it is better to have one fox in a farm than three or four. But we generally make a shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater rogues than before and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by experience, that some hope we have of finding mercy when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly. — Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of those odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full. These wretches put us upon all mischief to feed their lusts and extravagancies: they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men; their advice is always not to spare if we are pursued: they get drunk with us, and are common to us, and yet if they can get anything by it are sure to be our betrayers.

Now as I am a dying man I have done something which may be of good use to the public. I have left with an honest man (and,

indeed, the only honest man I was ever acquainted with) the names of all my wicked brethren, the present places of their abode, with a short account of the chief crimes they have committed, in many of which I have been their accomplice, and heard the r fr their own mouths: I have likewise set down the names of tl we call our setters, of the wicked houses we frequent, and of those r receive and buy our stolen goods. I have solemnly charged t honest man and have received his promise upon oath, that whenever he hears of any rogue to be tried for robbing or housebreaking, he will look into his list, and if he finds the name there of the thief concerned, to send the whole paper to the government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and I hope they will take it.

In the paper above mentioned, which I left with my friend, I have also set down the names of several gentlemen who have been robbed in Dublin streets for three years past; I have told the circumstances of those robberies, and shown plainly that nothing but the want of common courage was the cause of their misfortune. I have therefore desired my friend that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the streets, he will get that relation printed and published, with the first letters of those gentlemen's names, who by their own want of bravery are like to be the cause of all the mischief of that kind which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world without a short description of that kind of life which I have led for some years past; and it is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally so corrupted from our childhood as to have no sense of goodness, yet something heavy always hangs about us, I know not what it is, that we are never easy till we are half-drunk among our whores and companions, nor sleep sound unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the day, a wise man would easily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have such a suspicious, fearful, and constrained countenance, often turning back and slinking through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother thief by his looks, though I never saw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is, however, common to us all when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and soon squander it away on our vices in those houses that receive us, for the master and the mistress, and

the very tapster, go snacks, and besides make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, snuff-boxes, and the like, we have customers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have seen a tankard worth 15*l.* sold to a fellow in —— street for 20*s.*, and a gold watch for 30*s.* I have set down his name and that of several others in the paper already mentioned. We have setters watching in corners and by dead walls to give us notice when a gentleman goes by, especially if he be anything in drink. I believe in my conscience that if an account were made of 1000*l.* in stolen goods, considering the low rates we sell them at, the bribes we must give for concealment, the extortions of ale-house reckonings, and other necessary charges, there would not remain 50*l.* clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this we must find clothes for our whores, besides treating them from morning to night, who in requital reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform against us, if we will not go out and look for more. If anything in this world be like hell, as I have heard it described by our clergy, the truest picture of it must be in the back room of one of our alehouses at midnight, where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty and are beginning to grow drunk; from which time until they are past their senses, is such a continued horrible noise of cursing and blasphemy, lewdness, scurrility, and brutish behavior, such roaring and confusion, such a clatter of mugs and pots at each other's heads, that bedlam in comparison is a sober and orderly place. At last they all tumble from their stools and benches, and sleep away the rest of the night, and generally the landlord or his wife, or some other whore who has a stronger head than the rest, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is that we can never be easy till we are drunk, and our drunkenness constantly exposes us to be more easily betrayed and taken.

This is a short picture of the life I have led, which is more miserable than that of the poorest laborer who works for 4*d.* a day; and yet custom is so strong, that I am confident if I could make my escape at the foot of the gallows, I should be following the same course this very evening. So that upon the whole we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind, whose interest it is to root us out like wolves and other mischievous vermin, against which no fair play is required.

If I have done service to men in what I have said, I shall hope I have done service to God. and that will be better than a silly speech made for me full of whining and canting, which I utterly despise and have never been used to; yet such a one I expect to have my ears tormented with as I am passing along the streets.

Good people fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me. I hope you shall see me die like a man the death of a dog. E. E.

RIGHT OF PRECEDENCE

BETWEEN PHYSICIANS AND CIVILIANS INQUIRED INTO.

"Tu major, tibi me est æquum parare, Menalca."—VIRG.
"Fidis offendar medicis? irascar amicis?"—HOR.

I HAVE waited hitherto with no little impatience to see some good effect of that debate, which I thought was happily started at a late meeting of our university [Trinity College, Dublin] upon the subject of precedence between professors of law and physic. And though I cannot join in opinion with the worthy gentleman who first moved in it, I must needs say the motion was seasonable and well became him; for beside that he intended an honor to a faculty he was promoted above, and was so self-denying as to waive all debates of that nature as long as he was a party concerned in the motion, he did what in him lay to put an end, by authority, to a point in controversy which had long divided the gentlemen of those two faculties; and I am very much mistaken if the same person does not hereafter prove as much a friend to piety and learning in his other designs as he has been already in this, to the peace and agreement of learned men.

But to my great disappointment little more has been said upon the subject since the first debate than what has been argued in private, more for the entertainment of single gentlemen than the use and information of mankind. I have heard that the matter is brought to a compromise, and professors in both faculties have agreed to yield precedence to one another, according to their standing and the date of their commencement.

But this to me appears no satisfactory way of deciding a point of such importance. And to speak freely, it is but drawing a skin over a wound, and giving it a face of soundness, when there lies filth and purulence within, which will another time break out with more pain and greater danger.

The time is approaching when it will be proper once more to bring this affair upon the carpet; and I am humbly of opinion that the point is of such consequence, that it ought not to subside as it has done of late. It should neither rest upon that slight baffle it received at its first appearance in public, nor be hushed up in silence, under the pretence of any private accommodation, which the parties concerned have since come to, for the sake of civility and good manners in company.

I am one of those who love peace upon a good foundation, and do for that reason no less admire truth, upon which alone a lasting peace can be founded. And as I am qualified to introduce this matter at the next meeting of our university, and fully determined to do so, I thought it reasonable to give this friendly notice to all parties, that they study the point and make themselves masters of it, and give it so thorough a canvassing in what manner they think fit, as to leave no room for exception and wrangling when the question comes to be solemnly debated in that assembly.

But before I come to the merits of the cause itself, you must give me leave to make one observation in the way concerning the importance of precedence in general, which may prove of singular use to mankind, who are for the most part unapprized of it.

As I remember, there fell a very harsh expression from a certain gentleman (with whom it is not usual to be unguarded) who appeared an advocate for physicians, when the motion was first made to thrust them from their place. He was pleased to call it a womanish debate if I took him right; but as much a friend as I am to his person and cause I will not follow him in that opinion, and will further say, the expression was mean, and beneath the dignity of his character. There is an unkind reflection couched in it upon a sex by which much of the decencies of life and little morals are supported; and it does not agree with that taste of gallantry which he is thought to have, and is very consistent with his profession, and is even ungrateful in a man of that faculty which is more in favor with the ladies than any other except divinity.

But not to insist upon this I cannot think, as that expression

implies, that the matter is at all beneath the consideration of the greatest and most learned of men. On the contrary, I think the question was well moved, and since it has been moved every one should endeavor to find on which side of the argument the advantage lies: and I wonder that in this interval of parliament and business (the usual vacation of this kingdom) something has not been offered before this time for the quieting men's minds. It is a difference among his majesty's subjects, which it becomes every healing spirit to compose, and is a duty both of religion and loyalty.

I would ask is precedence or distinction of place of no moment among men? Are women only concerned in it? Does society owe nothing of conveniency to it? Is it indifferent whether a man sits at a lady's elbow or her pert chaplain's? near a soup at the head of the table, or beef at the bottom? Is there no advantage in the first plate, or the earliest compliment of the glass, or the respect of waiters, or in ruling the books at a quarter sessions, and being honored with the cushion in the face of one's country? Is it of no consequence to be in the eye of the government? and does not precedence contribute to that at a Tholsel [Guildhall] entertainment? What are academical degrees so dearly purchased for but place, and can a professor answer it to his trust or interest to disparage precedence? For what other reason in nature but precedence did a great man of my acquaintance lately become a double grand compounder for his degree? and another undeceive mankind, or rather deceive women, and suffer himself to be pronounced a venerable man in spite of his youthful looks? Shall not the solemn doctor —— his chariot take place of plain Mr. —— in his? and have the he of him in preferment according to the start he has in precedence?

Give me leave to say, that the notion of the insignificancy of place has been of infinite prejudice to many worthy men, and of as great advantage to others, who have juster thoughts of it. While dignity sinks with its own weight, the scum of mankind will naturally rise above it.

I have a pious concern upon me for all the important mistakes of mankind, and this among the rest; as to which, I have observed strong prejudice runs counter to the nature of things and the principles of truth and reason. Sure I am, nature directs every per and thing to maintain its situation, or rather not so much to keep its own place as to aspire and displace others. And the reason is plain, because that is a tendency to the uppermost point and an

approach to perfection; and therefore contrary to common opinions, I have ever thought there is piety in pride and ambition, and that it is virtue to be emulous and aspiring. And when I hear, as in my time I have many, conceited declamations against pride, I suspect it is with the design of a monopoly, and to engross it; as I have known an ingenious schoolboy spit in his mess of porridge, not to abuse the good creature, but to secure it all to himself. What is that dominion so early given to mankind, but superiority of power and place? and then to act up to it is not womanish but manly. And if that was a precept I will take upon me to say there is not one point of duty so universally and exactly observed.

And society has so great a consideration of place, that we find wise provisions made for the regulating of it and for settling the due pre-eminence of all degrees of men, and an office of heraldry for that purpose, which may be found in almost every house of quality. I could go further than this, but for this reason, that it is out of my way, and none of my business, to determine the force of great examples, and make conclusions upon Scripture; and perhaps my friend's best apology is, that the Bible is out of the road of his profession and study; but I will say thus much, that as I have observed divines to be so far scriptural in their carriage, as to take "the right hand of fellowship" on all occasions, and carry their disputes about place as high as any other sort of men; so their practice (such is my deference) is to me the best gloss upon duty, and my conviction, and should be his. And this plainly determines the point against him, and shows the importance of precedence; and then it will follow in logic that, if taking place be matter of moment, to dispute about place is not womanish nor trivial.

And this allowed I am inclined to believe, that upon this religious principle all our late promotions of nobility have proceeded, and that so many gentlemen have procured themselves titles, not, as some have injuriously thought, that they might take place of their betters, but out of a sense of duty: and while some (alas! too many) ignorantly despise them for their worthless ambition, I regard them with another eye, and honor them for their piety, and courage, and conscience, and even condescension in being made great, and do from my heart pity such as cannot be greater, without being less. Indeed the roll of our nobility is at present very voluminous, but no matter for that. If there were more of them,

such is the ductility of my respect, I could, with a smaller quantity of esteem, do honor to them all. I make the same account of nobility of all dates as I do of books; I value the old as usually more exact, and genuine, and useful, though commonly unlettered, and often loose in the bindings; and I value the new, because —— but the notion is obvious, and I leave my reader to pursue it. I was led into this comparison from the *curiosa felicitas* of those whose way it is to paste their arms and titles of honor on the reverse of the title-pages, which shows the affinity of the two. My love to the nobility has made me sometimes seriously lament the great damp which must have fallen on honor and laudable ambition had the peerage bill succeeded in England; but I had this consolation that, had the sluice been shut there, the flood of honor had risen the higher here, and overflowed this my native kingdom.

I could here according to custom produce, in favor of this uncommon position, many bright authorities; and have now before me above a score of quotations, gathered with infinite labor from St. Chrysostom, by his index; but to the discouragement of my learning the Greek types are not ready, and will not be set till the 20th of next month, when the following editions of this work shall be enriched with learned languages in great variety. The author of a late state sermon should have waited as I do, rather than suffer his learning to look asquint as it does, and make so frightful a figure from the press. I am master of the stochastic art; and by virtue of that I divine that those Greek words in that discourse have crept from the margin into the text otherwise than the author intended; and indeed some of those Greek maggots are so uneasy in, and ashamed of their place, that they seem to be upon the crawl backward.

I hope what has been offered will clear this case of conscience, and is sufficient to show any man of candor, and who loves and searches after truth as I do, the importance of place and precedency among men; that the peace and order and honor of society is owing to it, and as women have been remarkably strenuous in asserting these rights, I do hereby take upon me to return them the thanks of mankind (asking pardon for the professor's misbehavior), and do wish them perseverance and success in all their laudable attempts of that nature. Let them enjoy the wall and the right hand of us from this day forward, not in consideration of their

weakness, or out of our courtesy, but in their own right as patriots, and stout defenders of the privileges of their own and our sex.

But to proceed. It were perhaps a proper method in this, as in other debates concerning precedency, to appeal to the herald's office, and be determined by usual and stated rules there, how place in this case is to be given or taken; but a certain lord has assured me upon his honor that nothing concerning the present question is there taken notice of; and whatever orders may be delivered in heraldry about personal precedence, there is nothing said as to faculties, except only this, that doctors in divinity, and those not specialists, as we used to call them, *i. e.*, such as have received that degree by the special indulgence and undeserved favor and grace of the university, shall have a place immediately above esquires that are not of noble families.

Upon which observation, if it be true, as I fear it is, I have reason to apprehend some disturbance in the country, among the ladies there, therefore I do present my most humble service to madam ——, wife to a very reverend divine, D. D., *speciali gratia*, who has for many years past to my knowledge, in mistake of her husband's right, taken place at table of a certain justice of the peace's lady, and do advise her, that, in order to maintain her precedency, she would once more send her spouse up to a commencement, and engage him to perform his acts, and be re-admitted, and take up his large cautionary bonds for her own and her children's advantage.

And I would further observe, for the use of men who love place without a title to it, either by law or heraldry, as some have a strange oiliness of spirits, which carries them upward, and mounts them to the top of all company (company being often like bottled liquors, where the light and windy parts hurry to the head, and fix in froth), I would observe, I say, that there is a secret way of taking place without sensible precedence, and consequently without offence. This is a useful secret, and I will publish it here, from my own practice, for the benefit of my countrymen, and the universal improvement of mankind.

It is this. I generally fix a sort of first meridian in my thoughts before I sit down, and instead of observing privately, as the way is, whom in company I may sit above, in point of birth, age, fortune, or station, I consider only the situation of the table by the points in the compass, and the nearer I can get to the east (which

is a point of honor for many reasons, for "*porrecta majestas ad ortum solis,*") I am so much the higher, and my good fortune is to sit sometimes, or for the most part, due east, sometimes N. by E., seldom with greater variation; and then I do myself honor, and am blessed with invisible precedence, mystical to others, and the joke is, that by this means I take place (for place is but fancy) of many that sit above me; and whilst most people in company look upon me as a modest man, I know myself to be a very assuming fellow, and do often look down with contempt on some at the upper end of the table. By this craft I at once gratify my humor (which is pride) and preserve my character; and this I take to be the art of life. And sticking to this rule I generally possess a middle place in company, even in the vulgar account, and am at meat as wise men would be in the world,

> Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.[1]
>
> HOR. 2 Ep. ii. 204.

And to this purpose my way is to carry a little pocket compass in my left fob, and from that I take my measures imperceptibly, as from a watch, in the usual way of comparing time before dinner, or if I chance to forget that, I consider the situation of the parish church, and this is my never-failing regulator.

I know some people take another way for this, and place themselves nearest the dish they like best, and their ambition is gratified where their appetite is so. Eating well is commonly and with justice called good living, and their rule is that of Horace,

> Ut, quocunque loco fueris, vixisse libenter
> Te dicas.[2] 1 Ep. xi. 24.

And it must be allowed as a standard their honor lies in their stomach, as indeed I have always thought that, contrary to vulgar notions, the seat, not of honor only, but of most great qualities of the mind, as well as of the disorders of the body.

Give me leave to explain myself. I think I can reduce to this one principle all the properties of the mind, and by the way, as I take our grand devourer of fire to have the best stomach of any man living,[3] I conclude him the greatest person our age or any

[1] "Behind the first, yet still before the last."—DUNCOMBE.

[2] Seize on the present joy, and thus possess,
Where'er you live, an inward happiness."—FRANCIS.

[3] A man called the fire-eater, who exhibited himself as a show about this period.

other has produced, not excepting Cato's daughter,[1] nor shall Time, although *edax rerum*, ever digest the memory of one who has a better appetite than even Time itself. But to go on: does not the stomach make men ambitious, covetous, amorous, obsequious, and time-serving? What made a certain judge keep his place on the bench when his brethren left it, but his sense of honor, *i. e.*, his keen appetite? Does not the stomach alone carry all debates in both houses, and support parties, and make court-parasites lose their dinners sometimes, that they and theirs may dine the better all their lives after? Do not we use to say a man of honor stomachs an indignity? Is not English feeding the foundation of English bravery? and good claret, of *fierté* and French sprightliness?

In short, courage, honor, wit, and sense, and all arts and sciences, take their rise here; and this an ancient has observed, "*magister artis ingeniique largitor venter*," which, if it be true, I will take upon me to declare our vulgar saying, "that men have guts in their brains," is a vulgar error, and should be rectified, and that rather their brains are in their guts; and when we see some men less courageous, witty, or learned than others, we should pity their bad stomachs or indigestion, rather than their incapacity or indisposition of brain. I am so sensible of this, that I have of many years disused, as an absurdity, that saying to a simple fellow, "God help your head;" but I wish him with more propriety a good stomach or a better dinner.

I could here chemico-mechanically resolve men's parts into their feeding, and show what sort of humors and genius must necessarily proceed from particular sorts of meats, and explain a great deal of the heathen mythology by it; but this I reserve for a treatise by itself. Yet this I will say, that a writer's stomach, appetite, and victuals may be judged from his method, style, and subject, as certainly as if you were his mess-fellow, and sat at table with him. Hence we call a subject dry, a writer insipid, notions crude and indigested, a pamphlet empty or hungry, a style *jejune*, and many such-like expressions, plainly alluding to the diet of an author; and I make no manner of doubt but Tully grounded that saying of "*helluo librorum*," upon the same observation.

Now I say it is evident if this be true that every man at meat is most honored when he is most humored, or when he sits nearest to that which pleases his palate best; and consequently that is the

[1] Who is said to have killed herself by swallowing live coals.

first place to him upon that principle, and such men must be allowed to have the truest taste of honor of all others. I have observed these sort of people have generally a great propensity to roast beef; and it will be granted that to sit even at the foot of the table next a sirloin, which is a dish of dignity, and of old hereditary knighthood, is in strictness of heraldry more honorable than a place next the biggest plain country squire at the upper end, — and I have often chosen it.

But to return from this useful digression. The noble personage aforementioned, who honored me with his sentiments upon this abstruse point, must be allowed to have as good a local memory as any lord in the kingdom; and has never been known once to mistake, or forget, or recede from that place of distinction which is due to him. He could settle the forms of a royal interment, and adjust the ceremonies of a coronation if occasion were; and I must add, but that he has more honor than to be officious, he could have determined that late controverted point of an English bishop's place among ours, and had saved the house, had he been called upon, the trouble and delays of referring to the English precedents.

I say his lordship, who is expert in heraldry, and as communicative of that useful knowledge as becomes noble spirits, has assured me there is no notice taken in that science of any distinction of place for learned faculties; and for mechanical ones, such as appear on collar days, or riding the franchises, they are below the thoughts of a man of quality. He pretends not to know what by-laws, or private compacts of precedency there may be between goldsmiths and grocers, vintners and shoemakers.

I have now before me a table of precedence, given me by the same noble hand, reaching down from a prince of the blood to a country squire, and regarding every branch of their families in the minutest manner,—which I reserve for my own use, and am envious enough to deny it to the world; and the rather, that it is to be found in Mackenzie and Gwillim, and may be had for 2*s*. 6*d*. in the office.

The case being so, there can be no other way, as I conceive, of deciding a question of precedency between the two faculties of law and physic, but by inquiring into their antiquity and dignity: and whichsoever of them shall appear to be most ancient, and most useful to the world, I presume the world will, in justice, think fit to have the greatest honor for, and give the precedence to.

I take it for granted that priority of time, *cæteris paribus*, gives a preference of place, and this naturally, or by common consent — for that I take to be the meaning of nature in most cases, *viz.*, what is found reasonable in itself, and has been always agreed to by mankind, and is confirmed by constant and uninterrupted practice; and this I desire some young preachers to take good notice of, and get by rote. I likewise by the way take upon me, now I think of it, to advise a certain deacon of my acquaintance to read Doctor Cumberland all through, and twice before he presumes to plead "the law of nature" in the pulpit; to learn mathematics before he pretends to demonstrate there; to peruse Aristotle, Tacitus, and the State Tracts, before he meddles with politics; and be able to act Eteocles, before he attempts Greek quotations in his sermons. What if Jocasta or Antigone should hear a mispronunciation from the pulpit; or any other of those young Greeks who so lately did an honor to Euripides, transported their audience into Thebes, and inspired the old bachelors on the foremost bench with that παιδοποιὸν ἡδονήν, which they so handsomely represented!

I say time gives a natural right of precedence by common consent; and hence age is honored above youth, and by it The very heathens thought it indecency, and a trespass in point of manners, "si juvenis seni non assurrexerit," if a young man did not rise up, and give way to an older; and the canonists, I hope, will be ingenious enough to own, though in this argument against their brethren the civilians, that it was a rule of the primitive church, that a deacon should not sit in the presence of a presbyter. In a word, wisdom and experience, which are divine qualities, are the properties of age, and make it honorable; and youth, in the want of them, contemptible.

But I do not say this to mortify or discourage young men. I would not, by any means, have them despise themselves, for that is the ready way to be despised by others; and the consequences of contempt are fatal. For my part, I take self-conceit and opinionativeness to be of all others the most useful and profitable quality of the mind; it has to my knowledge made bishops, and judges, and smart writers, and pretty fellows, and pleasant companions, and good preachers.

It is a sure way of being agreeable to the ladies, who ever judge of men as they observe men do of themselves. If all men were to have the same opinion of themselves that others have of them,

there would not be, out of mere shame, above two sermons next Sunday in this large city, nor five lawyers to go through with the business of next term. Self-conceit supports the dignity of church and state: and I pronounce him an enemy to the public who is so to that.

Much less do I intend any trouble to young clergymen of the court or city by the foregoing remark; as if, because deacons of old used to stand before presbyters, that now it were fit to rise when they come in, or give the civility of the hat or wall to any rusty rum in the street. I know the inconvenience of that mistaken piece of old breeding to both parties, and think it prudently laid aside. It is respect to an old parson not to oblige him to uncover in the cold, and unsocket his head with both hands, and so daggle his gown out of ceremony; it is the same respect to a spruce bob, to let it lie quiet and undisturbed in its hat-case. I know no reason why powder and oil should submit to grease and greyness; that a white wig should lower to hoary hair; or a brushed beaver strike to a Carolina hat with stays.

I cannot forbear here to applaud the present refinement of ecclesiastics in their habits, and say they are more primitive and regular in their dress than those of any age before them. A clergyman ought to be κοσμιος, *i. e.*, not, as we read, of good behavior, but well dressed: as indeed nothing contributes more to polite behavior than good clothes. This is a various reading. And here I observe for the use of young stagers in divinity, that nothing will bring them into greater repute for deep learning, than to enterprise in criticism, and adventure betimes to change the common reading of any text in the Bible. This single word is, in my opinion, enough to vindicate their silks and velvets against all the fanatics in Christendom, and our own canons to back them.

It is an old observation that piety is mostly supported by the female sex; so that whatever is agreeable to them is for the advantage of religion, and consequently the clergy should dress in respect to the ladies, *i. e.*, for the good of the church. And indeed I have known some of the younger sort, that could not preach with a ruffled band or a wig out of curl; and a certain lady of my acquaintance, very religious, and who had a good taste of men, always made a judgment from the air and dress of the preacher, and never relished any doctrine that came not recommended with a scarf and a diamond ring. I am not one that, "ambitiosa recidet ornamenta," would

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his latest. I will own he has taught me, and I believe some other gentlemen who had lost their Latin, the true grammatical construction of Virgil, and deserves not our acknowledgments only, but those of Eton and Westminster. I am sensible construction is as necessary to the relish and use of an author, as chewing is to taste and digestion. However, I must take upon me to admonish him of one great mistake; and I know that the modesty of the man, and the good nature familiar to him, and which shines as much in his conversation as wit and true poetry do in his works, will bear it from a friend: he has more than once, as I remember, put jasmine for sweet-marjoram, the true version; but as this and a few more are his only variations from the letter of the original, it may well be excused,—my fear is that school-boys may come to suffer by his mistake. I dare venture to affirm, in favor of that good pot-herb, that sweet-marjoram is not improper either in broth or heroics.

Though I think what has been urged is sufficient to weigh in favor of the faculty I have here espoused, yet, upon occasion, I would allow all this to go for nothing, and place the controversy upon another footing, and argue from the natural dignity of medicine itself, and the universal use and benefit of it to mankind; for it is well known that physic has been always necessary to the world and what mankind cannot be without. It has been requisite in all ages and places; which is more than can be asserted in behalf of law, either civil or canon. I do not believe they know anything of these in China or the Mogul's country; but we know they do of physic, which prevails in the East, which supplies us with a great part of our *materia medica;* and no Englishman ought in gratitude to forget that the greatest genius and honor of England was cured of a fit of the gout by a salutary moss from the East.[1]

But this is not all: The force of physic goes further than the body, and is of use in relieving the mind under most of its disorders: and this I dare venture to affirm, having frequently made the experiment upon my own person with never-failing success; and this I did by the direction of my worthy parish minister, who is indeed an excellent divine, and withal an able physician; and a good physician only to be the better divine. That good man has often quieted my conscience with an emetic, has dissipated trouble-

[1] See Sir William Temple's essay "On the cure of Gout by Moxa," an Indian moss so called.

strip the young clergy, and retrench their decencies of dress; so far from it, that I wish them, with all my heart, greater elegance, and finer apparel. Well fare the heart of that sprightly youth, a deacon of this church, who I foresee shall first adventure to hoop his canonical coat, and border his band or shirt with mechlin lace, or a modest fringe.

But to return from this incident to my subject again (from which a vast impetuous force of wit, and learning, and love of my country, has led me devious). The nicest logicians will allow it a fair way of arguing in all cases, to refer to things what is true as to persons; and therefore I conclude, if physic be a faculty more ancient than that of civil law, then it literally goes before it, *i. e.*, takes place of it; and I hope it will not be denied that physic is as old as the occasion of it,—as old indeed, within a few days as mankind; which can by no means be said of the other (in comparison) upstart profession, unless any one will be so hardy to affirm there was a doctors' commons or bishops' court in Paradise. And if any man should insist to know the year and day of the rise of physic, I take him to be ignorant of religion and history, and will disdain an answer; though I could tell him not only what the first distemper was, and that epidemical, *viz.*, a falling sickness, but also who it was that cured it; but I do not think fit to satisfy dulness and ignorance so far.

I have ever blamed St. Jerome in my heart for indiscretion, that when some pragmatical deacons set up for equality with presbyters, he to humble them made presbyters equal in effect to bishops. And I could do something of the same kind in the present dispute; and show those assuming civilians, that they can with so little reason arrogate a place above physicians, or an equality with them, that in my humble opinion some faculties, which they have in contempt, are superior to them in point of time, which I have already proved to be the natural ground of precedency; and it is enough here but to name the excellent faculties of music and poetry, whose antiquity I think no man of sense or modesty will call in question.

But having mentioned poetry I must go aside a little to salute my worthy friend the professor[1] of, or to speak more properly, the reader in, that faculty in Oxford, who has befriended the world so much by his incomparable performances of that kind, especially

[1] Dr. Joseph Trapp was elected poetry professor in 1708, and published his lectures under the title of "Prælectiones Poeticæ."

his latest. I will own he has taught me, and I believe some other gentlemen who had lost their Latin, the true grammatical construction of Virgil, and deserves not our acknowledgments only, but those of Eton and Westminster. I am sensible construction is as necessary to the relish and use of an author, as chewing is to taste and digestion. However, I must take upon me to admonish him of one great mistake; and I know that the modesty of the man, and the good nature familiar to him, and which shines as much in his conversation as wit and true poetry do in his works, will bear it from a friend: he has more than once, as I remember, put jasmine for sweet-marjoram, the true version; but as this and a few more are his only variations from the letter of the original, it may well be excused,—my fear is that school-boys may come to suffer by his mistake. I dare venture to affirm, in favor of that good pot-herb, that sweet-marjoram is not improper either in broth or heroics.

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some thoughts with a cordial or exhilarating drops, has cured me of a love-fit by breathing a vein, and removed anger and revenge by the prescription of a draught, thence called bitter; and in these and other instances has convinced me that physic is of use to the very soul, so far as that depends on the crisis of the body:

> ——Mentem sanare corpus ut ægrum
> Cernimus et flecti Medicinâ posse videmus.—Lucret.

And I am so fully persuaded of this, that I never see a wretch go to execution but I lament that he had not been in the hands of a good physician, who would have corrected those peccant humors of his body which brought him to that untimely death.

Nor can anything like this be pleaded in behalf of one or other of the two laws we are dealing with, or of both together? By the way, I must observe here, that these two laws, civil and canon, are put in couples for their unluckiness, and I think they ought to be muzzled too. And here lies the disadvantage of the present dispute: physic we know is a plain simple thing: now that this single faculty, without one friend on earth to take its part and be a second, should dispute with a pair at once, is as if one poor blood-hound should engage with a couple of mastiffs; or that a man should fight a gentleman and his lackey, or with a single rapier against sword and pistol; it is very foul play, and standers-by should interpose, so hard are the terms of this debate; but there is no help for it: these two fast friends can scarce be parted, and are seldom found asunder; they must rise and fall together. My Lord Bacon used to say, very familiarly, "When I rise, my a— rises with me." I ask pardon for the rudeness of the allusion; but it is certain that the canon-law is but the tail, the fag-end, or footman, of the civil, and, like vermin in rotten wood, rose in the church in the age of its corruption, and when it wanted physic to purge it.

But I am weary of proving so plain a point. To me it is clear beyond contradiction, that the antiquity and dignity of physic do give it the precedence of civil law and its friend. I could here very easily stop the mouth of ecclesiastical civilians, by an example or two of great authority; but I hope they will take the hint, and save me the trouble: and for lay-professors I will only say, he that is not convinced, has little sense not only of religion (perhaps that is their least consideration), but of good manners and loyalty and good fellowship. The blood of the *de Medicis* flows in the best veins of Europe; and I know not how far any slight offered to the

faculty may exasperate the present king of France or the grand duke, to a resentment prejudicial to our wines and the public peace and the present posture of affairs. All that love their country and right good Florence, will perceive by this on which side of the argument they ought to appear.

And now, for the universal peace of mankind, I make the following rule to be observed by all professors in each faculty and their understrappers: I decree that a doctor of physic shall take place of a doctor of laws; a surgeon, of an advocate; an apothecary, of a proctor of office; and a tooth-drawer, of a register in the court. I intended this for a parallel; but here it fails me, and the lines meet.[1]

I shall now only observe further, that as the case seems desperate on the side of civilians in point of reason, so I hear they have another game to play, and are for appealing to authority: as I have known a school-boy fairly beaten at cuffs, run with a bloody nose to complain to his master. I am credibly informed, there is a design on foot to bring in heads of a bill in favor of civilians next session of parliament: but how generous that sort of proceeding is I leave the world to judge. I am but one, and will certainly oppose any such motion in my place; though, from the number of civilians in the house, I have reason to apprehend it will be to little purpose. The college, a true *alma mater*, has dubbed most of us doctors, and has been more wise than Christian in her favors of that kind; for she has not given hoping for nothing again.

But here I enter my protest against all designs that may any way prejudice so great and illustrious a body of men as our college of physicians are; and I shall take care to draw out the substance of this argument, and present it, in short heads, to each member at a proper time: and not without some hopes that reason may weigh with them.

In the mean time I hope a worthy gentleman, a member of our house, will stand up on that occasion, and assert the rights of a faculty which he has entered into and does honor to it: it must be remembered to his credit that being equally skilled in physic and civil law, and perhaps in divinity as well as either, he chose to commence in medicine, having chiefly qualified himself for that noble faculty by repeated travels, and enriched his mind with many curious observations, which the world may, in time, expect incredible benefit from.

[1] A sneer at Sacheverell.

If any man thinks fit to reply to this argument, and rectify any mistakes in it, I desire him to preserve his temper, and debate the matter with the same coolness that I have done, that no blood may be drawn in the controversy, nor any reason given me to complain of "*civilis vulnera dextræ.*" As conviction chiefly engaged me on the side of physicians, so in some measure a sense of gratitude for a faculty to which I owe the comforts of life, and perhaps life itself, having received from it unspeakable ease in the two inveterate distempers of the spleen and the gout.

MAXIMS CONTROLLED IN IRELAND.[1]

THE TRUTH OF MAXIMS IN STATE AND GOVERNMENT EXAMINED, WITH REFERENCE TO IRELAND.

THERE are certain maxims of state, founded upon long observation and experience, drawn from the constant practice of the wisest nations, and from the very principles of government, nor even controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all these maxims do necessarily presuppose a kingdom or commonwealth to have the same natural rights common to the rest of mankind who have entered into civil society; for if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain, before you could institute them into a republic, that an allowance must be made for those material defects wherein they differed from other mortals. Or imagine a legislature forming a system for the government of bedlam, and proceeding upon the maxim that man is a sociable animal, should draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general assemblies; the consequence might probably be that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the house over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors committed by crude and short thinkers, who reason upon general topics without the least allowance for the most important circumstances, which quite alter the nature of the case.

This has been the fate of those small dealers who are every day

[1] See an Essay on the Absurdities in England.

publishing their thoughts, either on paper or in their assemblies, for improving the trade of Ireland, and referring us to the practice and example of England, Holland, France, or other nations.

I shall therefore examine certain maxims of government, which generally pass for uncontrolled in the world, and consider how far they will suit with the present condition of this kingdom.

First, It is affirmed by wise men that the dearness of things necessary for life in a fruitful country is a certain sign of wealth and great commerce, for when such necessaries are dear, it must absolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifestly false in Ireland, for the following reason. Some years ago the species of money here did probably amount to 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.*, and I have good cause to believe that our remittances then did not much exceed the cash brought in to us. But by the prodigious discouragements we have since received in every branch of our trade by the frequent enforcement and rigorous execution of the navigation act, the tyranny of under custom-house officers, the yearly addition of absentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers residing in England, the unexpected sudden demands of great sums from the treasury, and some other drains of perhaps as great consequence, we now see ourselves reduced to a state (since we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies, at least if our enemies were of such a kind as to be capable of any regard towards us except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now passed since the Revolution, when the contention of the British empire was, most unfortunately for us and altogether against the usual course of such mighty changes in government, decided in the least important nation, but with such ravages and ruin executed on both sides, as to leave the kingdom a desert, which in some sort it still continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641 make half such a destruction of houses, plantations, and personal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years' campaigns did in ours, by fighting England's battles.

By slow degrees, as by the gentle treatment we received under two auspicious reigns,[1] we grew able to live without running in debt. Our absentees were but few; we had great indulgence in trade, and a considerable share in employments of church and state; and while the short leases continued, which were let some years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with ease and cheer-

[1] Those of Charles II. and James II.

fulness, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a spirit of opposition that is not easily removed. And although, in these short leases, the rent was gradually to increase after short periods, yet as soon as the terms elapsed, the land was let to the highest bidder, most commonly without the least effectual clause for building or planting. Yet, by many advantages, which this island then possessed and has since utterly lost, the rents of lands still grew higher upon every lease that expired, till they have arrived at the present exorbitance; when the frog, overswelling himself, burst at last.

With the price of land of necessity rose that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in; hence likewise, obviously, the rates of all goods and manufactures among shopkeepers, the wages of servants, and hire of laborers. But although our miseries came on fast, with neither trade nor money left; yet neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent must be paid with, nor any shopkeeper, tradesman, or laborer live at lower expense for food and clothing than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this first head, because the same observations will clear up and strengthen a good deal of what I shall affirm upon the rest.

The second maxim of those who reason upon trade and government is to assert that low interest is a certain sign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of Holland and England. But with relation to Ireland this maxim is likewise entirely false.

There are two reasons for the lowness of interest in any country. First, that which is usually alleged, the great plenty of species; and this is obvious. The second is want of trade, which seldom falls under common observation, although it be equally true; for where trade is altogether discouraged there are few borrowers. In those countries where men can employ a large stock, the young merchant, whose fortune may be 400*l.* or 500*l.*, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reasonable interest. Neither is it easy at this day to find many of those whose business reaches to employ even so inconsiderable a sum, except among the importers of wine, who as they have most part of the present trade in these parts of Ireland in their hands, so they are the most exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent

dealers that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all possible speed to ruin both themselves and the nation.

From this defect of gentlemen's not knowing how to dispose of their ready money, arises the high purchase of land, which in all other countries is reckoned a sign of wealth. For the frugal squires, who live below their incomes, have no other way to dispose of their savings but by mortgage or purchase, by which the rate of land must naturally increase; and if this trade continues long, under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to send their cash to England and place it in the funds; which I myself am determined to do the first considerable sum I shall be master of.

It has likewise been a maxim among politicians, "That the great increase of buildings in the metropolis argues a flourishing state." But this, I confess, has been controlled from the example of London; when, by the long and annual parliamentary session, such a number of senators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw such prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hospitable custom of lords and gentlemen living in their ancient seats among their tenants is almost lost in England, — is laughed out of doors, insomuch that in the middle of summer a legal house of lords and commons might be brought in a few hours to London from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The case in Ireland is yet somewhat worse, for the absentees of great estates, who if they lived at home would have many rich retainers in their neighborhoods, have learned to rack their lands and shorten their leases as much as any residing squire, and the few remaining of those latter having some vain hope of employments for themselves or their children, and discouraged by the beggarliness and thievery of their own miserable farmers and cottagers, or seduced by the vanity of their wives on pretence of their children's education (whereof the fruits are so apparent), together with that most wonderful, and yet more unaccountable, zeal for a seat in their assembly, though at some years' purchase of their whole estates; these and some other motives have drawn such concourse to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the several branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses, while 1500 of the old ones, which is a seventh part of the whole city, are said to be left uninhabited and falling to ruin. Their method is the same with that which was

first introduced by Dr. Barebone at London, who died a bankrupt. The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houses, unite their credit, their stock, and their money, and when their work is finished sell it to the best advantage they can. But as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not answer half their design, they are forced to undersell it at the first story and are all reduced to beggary: insomuch that I know a certain fanatic brewer, who is reported to have some hundreds of houses in this town, is said to have purchased the greatest part of them at half value from ruined undertakers, has intelligence of all new houses where the finishing is at a stand, takes advantage of the builder's distress, and by the advantage of ready money, gets 50 *per cent.* at least for his bargain.

It is another undisputed maxim in government, "That people are the riches of a nation," which is so universally granted that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it into doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that if we had the African custom or privilege of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most insupportable burden and bringing us money in the stead. But in our present situation, at least five children in six who are born lie a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very skilful computer assured me, that above one half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery, two-thirds whereof would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labor, where that fails the poorer native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This has made me often wish for some years past, that instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the public would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals, whether papists or protestants, to America, as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overstocked. I confess myself to be touched with very sensible pleasure when I hear of a mortality in any country parish or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth,—brought up to steal or beg, for want of work,—to whom death would be the best thing to be wished for on account both of themselves and the public.

Among all taxes imposed by the legislature, those upon luxury are universally allowed to be the most equitable and beneficial to

the subject, and the commonest reasoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the subject. Yet here again, by the singular fate of Ireland, this maxim is utterly false, and the putting of it in practice may have such a pernicious consequence as I certainly believe the thoughts of the proposers were not able to reach.

The miseries we suffer by our absentees are of a far more extensive nature than seems to be commonly understood. I must vindicate myself to the reader so far, as to declare solemnly that what I shall say of those lords and squires does not arise from the least regard I have for their understandings, their virtues, or their persons; for although I have not the honor of the least acquaintance with any one among them (my ambition not soaring so high), yet I am too good a witness of the situation they have been in for 30 years past; the veneration paid them by the people, the high esteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favor and distinction they receive from the court; the weight and consequence of their interest, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardships their country might suffer from England, wisely considering that their own fortunes and honors were embarked in the same bottom.

THE

BLUNDERS, DEFICIENCIES, DISTRESSES, AND MISFORTUNES OF QUILCA.[1]

PROPOSED TO CONTAIN TWENTY-ONE VOLUMES IN QUARTO.

BEGUN APRIL 20, 1724, AND TO BE CONTINUED WEEKLY, IF DUE ENCOURAGEMENT BE GIVEN.

BUT one lock and a half in the whole house.

The key of the garden door lost.

The empty bottles all uncleanable.

The vessels for drink very few and leaky.

The new house all going to ruin before it is finished.

One hinge of the street-door broke off, and the people forced to go out and come in at the back-door.

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[1] Quilca, a country seat of Mr. Sheridan, lent to the dean as a summer residence.

The door of the dean's bedchamber full of large chinks.

The beaufet letting in so much wind that it almost blows out the candles.

The dean's bed threatening every night to fall under him.

The little table loose and broken in the joints.

The passages open over-head, by which the cats pass continually into the cellar and eat the victuals, for which one was tried, condemned, and executed by the sword.

The large table in a very tottering condition.

But one chair in the house fit for sitting on, and that in a very ill state of health.

The kitchen perpetually crowded with savages

Not a bit of mutton to be had in the country.

Want of beds, and a mutiny thereupon among the servants until supplied from Kells.

An egregious want of all the most common necessary utensils.

Not a bit of turf this cold weather; and Mrs. Johnson and the dean in person, with all their servants, forced to assist at the Bog, in gathering up the wet bottoms of old clamps.

The grate in the ladies' bedchamber broke, and forced to be removed, by which they were compelled to be without fire, the chimney smoking intolerably; and the dean's great-coat was employed to stop the wind from coming down the chimney, without which expedient they must have been starved to death.

A messenger sent a mile to borrow an old broken tun-dish.

Bottles stopped with bits of wood and tow, instead of corks.

Not one utensil for a fire, except an old pair of tongs, which travels through the house, and is likewise employed to take the meat out of the pot, for want of a flesh-fork.

Every servant an arrant thief as to victuals and drink, and every comer and goer as arrant a thief of everything he or she can lay their hands on.

The spit blunted with poking into bogs for timber, and tears the meat to pieces.

Bellum atque fœminam: or a kitchen war between nurse and a nasty crew of both sexes; she to preserve order and cleanliness, they to destroy both; and they generally are conquerors.

April 28. This morning the great fore-door quite open, dancing backward and forward with all its weight upon the lower hinge,

which must have been broken if the dean had not accidentally come and relieved it.

A great hole in the floor of the ladies' chamber, every hour hazarding a broken leg.

Two damnable iron spikes erect on the dean's bedstead, by which he is in danger of a broken shin at rising and going to bed.

The ladies' and dean's servants growing fast into the manners and thieveries of the natives; the ladies themselves very much corrupted; the dean perpetually storming, and in danger of either losing all his flesh or sinking into barbarity for the sake of peace.

Mrs. Dingley full of cares for herself, and blunders and negligence for her friends. Mrs. Johnson sick and helpless. The dean deaf and fretting; the lady's maid awkward and clumsy; Robert lazy and forgetful; William a pragmatical, ignorant, and conceited puppy; Robin and nurse the two great and only supports of the family.

Bellum lactæum: or the milky battle, fought between the d and the crew of Quilca; the latter insisting on their privilege not milking till eleven in the forenoon, whereas Mrs. Johnson wanted milk at eight for her health. In this battle the dean the victory; but the crew of Quilca begin to rebel again, for it is this day almost ten o'clock, and Mrs. Johnson has not got her milk.

A proverb on the laziness and lodgings of the servants: "worse their sty—the longer they lie."

Two great holes in the wall of the ladies' bedchamber, just at the back of the bed, and one of them directly behind Mrs. Johnson's pillow, either of which would blow out a candle in the calmest day.

A SHORT VIEW
OF
THE STATE OF IRELAND.
1727.

I AM assured, that it has for some time been practised as a method of making men's court when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of the tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom and how their rents are paid, to answer that in their neighborhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day increasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representation, besides being looked on as not well-affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret, why these questions are so cordially asked or so obligingly answered.

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom I have been using all endeavors to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole island; I shall only enumerate, by rules generally known and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessaries and conveniences of life, not only sufficient for the inhabitants but for exportation into other countries.

The second is the industry of the people in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture.

The third is the conveniency of safe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is that the natives should, as much as possible, ex-

port and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries which will permit them, except those who are in war with their own prince or state.

The sixth is by being governed only by laws made with their own consent, for otherwise they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for justice or applications for favor or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby increasing the number of their people, without which any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is the residence of the prince or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is the concourse of foreigners, for education, curiosity, or pleasure, or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is by disposing all offices of honor, profit, or trust, only to the natives, or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country and are supposed to understand and regard the interests of it as their own.

The eleventh is when the rents of land and profits of employment are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another, the former of which will certainly happen where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any moneys, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury either in clothes, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect; but without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine what

share falls to Ireland of these causes, or of the effects and consequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts, and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavoring to acquire in the neighborhood the reputation of being rich, because those who come for gold will go off with pewter and brass rather than return empty, and in the common practice of the world, those who possess most wealth make the least parade, which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in showing their faces on the Exchange.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of the climate, we have no reason to complain; for, although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England, yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodness, and might, with the same encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals, in some of which, however, we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature has bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided that, of all the excellent timber cut down within these 50 or 60 years, it can hardly be said that the nation has received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state; yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce,—besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to, which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of lord chief-justice Whitshed's ghost, with his *Libertas et natale solum* written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease, and thus we are forced to pay 500 per cent. to decide our properties;[1] in all which we have likewise the honor to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land, those few who attempt that or planting, through covetousness, or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges; and, by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their t vels, where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery desolation

Those who have the misfortune to be born here have the l title to any considerable employment, to which they are seld preferred but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England, which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the Isle of Man they coin their own silver; every petty vassal to the emperor, can coin what money he pleases. A in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives.

[1] The Appeal to the house of Peers.

sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries, particularly a sort of silk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may pass for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true (upon which I could easily enlarge), I should be glad to know by what secret method it is that we grow a rich and flourishing people, without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining, without industry, labor, or improvement of land, and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole kingdom annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing; and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the north, a trade casual, corrupted, and at mercy, and some butter from Cork. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason, like the thorn at Glastonbury that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy commissioners who come from England ride round the kingdom; and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land, the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods, the abundance and vicinity of country seats; the commodious farms, houses, and barns; the towns and villages, where everybody is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers; the comfortable diet, and dress, and dwellings of the people; the vast number of ships in our harbors and docks, the ship-wrights in our sea-port towns; the roads crowded with carriers laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress! what glorious reports would they make when they went back to England!

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer, for it is manifest that whatever stranger took such a journey would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Ysland rather than in a country so favored by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and

no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hogsty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator, who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all his wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and clothes, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery, there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money; hence the dearness of necessaries of life, because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land (which they must take or go a-begging) without raising the price of cattle and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of building in this city, because workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increase of bankers, who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours; who, for their private advantage, have sent away all our silver and one third of our gold; so that within three years past the running cash of the nation, which was about 500,000*l.*, is now less than two, and must daily diminish unless we have liberty to coin as well as that important kingdom the Isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought that this paradox of the kingdom's growing rich is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the BANKERS, who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us; and I have often wished that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen bankers every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle! ye are idle! answered Pharaoh to the Israelites w they complained to his majesty that they were forced to make l without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation which I have above enumerated, and into the bargain a good million returned to them every year without labor or hazard or one farthing value received on our side; but how long we shall be able to continue the payment I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that when the hen is starved to death there will be no more golden eggs.

I think it a little inhospitable, and others may call it a subtile piece of malice, that, because there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests upon their return to England shall report that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet I confess I have known an hospital where all the household officers grew rich, while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude; if Ireland be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind, and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers when they deliver such paradoxes, but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom who gives the same verdict must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man-pleaser at the expense of all honor, conscience, and truth.

THE

STORY OF THE INJURED LADY;

WRITTEN BY HERSELF,

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND;

WITH HIS ANSWER.

SIR, — Being ruined by the inconstancy and unkindness of a lover, I hope a true and plain relation of my misfortunes may be of use and warning to credulous maids never to put too much trust in deceitful man.

A gentleman [England] in the neighborhood had two mistresses, another and myself [Scotland and Ireland]; and he pretended honorable love to us both. Our three houses stood pretty near one

another; his was parted from mine by a river [the Irish Sea], and from my rival's by an old broken wall [the Picts' wall]. But before I enter into the particulars of this gentleman's hard usage of me, I will give a very just and impartial character of my rival and myself.

As to her person, she is tall and lean, and very ill shaped; she has bad features and a worse complexion; she has a stinking breath and twenty ill smells about her besides; which are yet more insufferable by her natural sluttishness; for she is always lousy, and never without the itch. As to her other qualities, she has no reputation either for virtue, honesty, truth, or manners; and it is no wonder, considering what her education has been. Scolding and cursing are her common conversation. To sum up all, she is poor and beggarly, and gets a sorry maintenance by pilfering wherever she comes. As for this gentleman, who is now so fond of her, she still bears him an invincible hatred, reviles him to his face, and rails at him in all companies. Her house is frequented by a company of rogues and thieves and pickpockets, whom she encourages to rob his hen-roosts, steal his corn and cattle, and do him all manner of mischief. She has been known to come at the head of these rascals, and beat her lover until he was sore from head to foot, and then force him to pay for the trouble she was at. Once attended with a crew of raganuffins she broke into his house, turned all things topsyturvy, and then set it on fire. At the same time she told so many lies among her servants that it set them all by the ears, and his poor steward [Charles I.] was knocked on the head; for which I think, and so does all the country, that she ought to be answerable. To conclude her character, she is of a different religion, being a presbyterian of the most rank and violent kind, and consequently having an inveterate hatred to the church; yet I am sure I have been always told that in marriage there ought to be a union of minds as well as of persons.

I will now give my own character, and shall do it in few words, and with modesty and truth.

I was reckoned to be as handsome as any in our neighborhood until I became pale and thin with grief and ill usage. I am still fair enough, and have I think no very ill features about me. They that see me now will hardly allow me ever to have had any great share of beauty, for besides being so much altered I go always mobbed, and in an undress, as well out of neglect as indeed

want of clothes to appear in. I might add to all this, that I was born to a good estate, although it now turns to little account under the oppressions I endure, and has been the true cause of all my misfortunes.

Some years ago this gentleman, taking a fancy either to my person or fortune, made his addresses to me, which, being then young and foolish, I too readily admitted; he seemed to use me with so much tenderness, and his conversation was so very engaging, that all my constancy and virtue were too soon overcome; and to dwell no longer upon a theme that causes such bitter reflections I must confess with shame that I was undone by the common arts practised upon all easy credulous virgins, half by force and half by consent, after solemn vows and protestations of marriage. When he had once got possession, he soon began to play the usual part of a too fortunate lover, affecting on all occasions to show his authority and to act like a conqueror. First, he found fault with the government of my family, which I grant was none of the best, consisting of ignorant, illiterate creatures, for at that time I knew but little of the world. In compliance to him therefore I agreed to fall into his ways and methods of living; I consented that his steward should govern my house, and have liberty to employ an under-steward [the lord-lieutenant], who should receive his directions. My lover proceeded further, turned away several old servants and tenants, and supplying me with others from his own house. These grew so domineering and unreasonable, that there was no quiet, and I heard of nothing but perpetual quarrels, which although I could not possibly help, yet my lover laid all the blame and punishment upon me, and upon every falling out still turned away more of my people, and supplied me in their stead with a number of fellows and dependents of his own, whom he had no other way to provide for. Overcome by love and to avoid noise and contention, I yielded to all his usurpations, and finding it in vain to resist, I thought it my best policy to make my court to my new servants, and draw them to my interests; I fed them from my own table with the best I had, put my new tenants on the choice parts of my land, and treated them all so kindly that they began to love me as well as their master. In process of time all my old servants were gone, and I had not a creature about me, nor above one or two tenants but what were of his choosing, yet I had the good luck by gentle usage to bring over the greatest part of them to my side.

When my lover observed this he began to alter his language, and to those who inquired about me he would answer that I was an old dependent upon his family, whom he had placed on some concerns of his own, and he began to use me accordingly, neglecting by degrees all common civility in his behavior. I shall never forget the speech he made me one morning, which he delivered with all the gravity in the world. He put me in mind of the vast obligations I lay under to him in sending me so many of his people for my own good, and to teach me manners: that it had cost him ten times more than I was worth to maintain me; that it had been much better for him if I had been damned, or burnt, or sunk to the bottom of the sea; that it was reasonable I should strain myself as far as I was able to reimburse him some of his charges; that from henceforward he expected his word should be a law to me in all things; that I must maintain a parish watch against thieves and robbers, and give salaries to an overseer, a constable, and others, all of his own choosing, whom he would send from time to time to be spies upon me; that to enable me the better in supporting these expenses, my tenants should be obliged to carry all their goods across the river to his own town-market, and pay toll on both sides, and then sell them at half value. But because we were a nasty sort of people, and that he could not endure to touch anything we had a hand in, and likewise because he wanted work to employ his own folks, therefore we must send all our goods to his market just in their naturals; the milk immediately from the cow, without making it into cheese or butter; the corn in the ear, the grass as it was mowed, the wool as it comes from the sheep's back; and bring the fruit upon the branch, that he might not be obliged to eat it after our filthy hands: that if a tenant carried but a piece of bread and cheese to eat by the way, or an inch of worsted to mend his stockings, he should forfeit his whole parcel: and because a company of rogues usually plied on the river between us, who often robbed my tenants of their goods and boats, he ordered a waterman of his to guard them, whose manner was to be out of the way till the poor wretches were plundered, then to overtake the thieves, and seize all as a lawful prize to his master and himself. It would be endless to repeat a hundred other hardships he has put upon me: but it is a general rule, that whenever he imagines the smallest advantage will redound to one of his fooboys by any new oppression of me and my whole family and estate, he never disputes it a

moment. All this has rendered me so very insignificant and contemptible at home, that some servants to whom I pay the greatest wages, and many tenants who have the most beneficial leases, are gone over to live with him, yet I am bound to continue their wages and pay their rents; by which means one-third part of my whole income is spent on his estate, and above another third by his tolls and markets; and my poor tenants are so sunk and impoverished that, instead of maintaining me suitably to my quality, they can hardly find me clothes to keep me warm, or provide the common necessaries of life for themselves.

Matters being in this posture between me and my lover, I received intelligence that he had been for some time making very pressing overtures of marriage to my rival, until there happened to be some misunderstandings between them; she gave him ill words, and threatened to break off all commerce with him. He, on the other side, having either acquired courage by his triumphs over me, or supposing her as tame a fool as I, thought at first to carry it with a high hand, but hearing at the same time that she had thoughts of making some private proposals to join with me against him, and doubting with very good reason that I would readily accept them, he seemed very much disconcerted. This I thought was a proper occasion to show some great example of generosity and love, and so without further consideration I sent him word that, hearing there was likely to be a quarrel between him and my rival, notwithstanding all that had passed, and without binding him to any conditions in my own favor, I would stand by him against her and all the world while I had a penny in my purse or a petticoat to pawn. This message was subscribed by all my chief tenants, and proved so powerful that my rival immediately grew more tractable upon it. The result of which was, that there is now a treaty of marriage [treaty of union] concluded between them, the wedding-clothes are bought, and nothing remains but to perform the ceremony, which is put off for some days, because they design it to be a public wedding. And to reward my love, constancy, and generosity, he has bestowed on me the office of being semptress to his grooms and footmen, which I am forced to accept or starve. Yet in the midst of this my situation I cannot but have some pity for this deluded man, to cast himself away on an infamous creature, who, whatever she pretends, I can prove would at this very minute rather be a whore to a certain great man that shall be nameless, if she might

When my lover observed this he began to alter his language, and to those who inquired about me he would answer that I was an old dependent upon his family, whom he had placed on some concerns of his own, and he began to use me accordingly, neglecting by degrees all common civility in his behavior. I shall never forget the speech he made me one morning, which he delivered with all the gravity in the world. He put me in mind of the vast obligations I lay under to him in sending me so many of his people for my own good, and to teach me manners; that it had cost him ten times more than I was worth to maintain me; that it had been much better for him if I had been damned, or burnt, or sunk to the bottom of the sea; that it was reasonable I should strain myself as far as I was able to reimburse him some of his charges; that from henceforward he expected his word should be a law to me in all things; that I must maintain a parish watch against thieves and robbers, and give salaries to an overseer, a constable, and others, all of his own choosing, whom he would send from time to time to be spies upon me; that to enable me the better in supporting these expenses, my tenants should be obliged to carry all their goods across the river to his own town-market, and pay toll on both sides, and then sell them at half value. But because we were a nasty sort of people, and that he could not endure to touch anything we had a hand in, and likewise because he wanted work to employ his own folks, therefore we must send all our goods to his market just in their naturals; the milk immediately from the cow, without making it into cheese or butter; the corn in the ear, the grass as it was mowed, the wool as it comes from the sheep's back; and bring the fruit upon the branch, that he might not be obliged to eat it after our filthy hands: that if a tenant carried but a piece of br and cheese to eat by the way, or an inch of worsted to mend his stockings, he should forfeit his whole parcel: and because a company of rogues usually plied on the river between us, who often robbed my tenants of their goods and boats, he ordered a waterman of his to guard them, whose manner was to be out of the way till the poor wretches were plundered, then to overtake the thieves, and seize all as a lawful prize to his master and himself. It would be endless to repeat a hundred other hardships he has put upon me: but it is a general rule, that whenever he imagines the smallest advantage will redound to one of his fooboys by any new oppression of me and my whole family and estate, he never disputes it a

moment. All this has rendered me so very insignificant and contemptible at home, that some servants to whom I pay the greatest wages, and many tenants who have the most beneficial leases, are gone over to live with him, yet I am bound to continue their wages and pay their rents; by which means one-third part of my whole income is spent on his estate, and above another third by his tolls and markets; and my poor tenants are so sunk and impoverished that, instead of maintaining me suitably to my quality, they can hardly find me clothes to keep me warm, or provide the common necessaries of life for themselves.

Matters being in this posture between me and my lover, I received intelligence that he had been for some time making very pressing overtures of marriage to my rival, until there happened to be some misunderstandings between them; she gave him ill words, and threatened to break off all commerce with him. He, on the other side, having either acquired courage by his triumphs over me, or supposing her as tame a fool as I, thought at first to carry it with a high hand, but hearing at the same time that she had thoughts of making some private proposals to join with me against him, and doubting with very good reason that I would readily accept them, he seemed very much disconcerted. This I thought was a proper occasion to show some great example of generosity and love, and so without further consideration I sent him word that, hearing there was likely to be a quarrel between him and my rival, notwithstanding all that had passed, and without binding him to any conditions in my own favor, I would stand by him against her and all the world while I had a penny in my purse or a petticoat to pawn. This message was subscribed by all my chief tenants, and proved so powerful that my rival immediately grew more tractable upon it. The result of which was, that there is now a treaty of marriage [treaty of union] concluded between them, the wedding-clothes are bought, and nothing remains but to perform the ceremony, which is put off for some days, because they design it to be a public wedding. And to reward my love, constancy, and generosity, he has bestowed on me the office of being semptress to his grooms and footmen, which I am forced to accept or starve. Yet in the midst of this my situation I cannot but have some pity for this deluded man, to cast himself away on an infamous creature, who, whatever she pretends, I can prove would at this very minute rather be a whore to a certain great man that shall be nameless, if she might

have her will. For my part I think, and so does all the country too, that the man is possessed; at least none of us are able to imagine what he can possibly see in her, unless she has bewitched him or given him some powder.

I am sure I never sought this alliance, and you can bear me witness that I might have had other matches; nay, if I were lightly disposed, I could still perhaps have offers that some who hold their heads higher would be glad to accept. But alas! I never had any such wicked thought; all I now desire is only to enjoy a little quiet, to be free from the persecutions of this unreasonable man, and that he will let me manage my own little fortune to the best advantage, for which I will undertake to pay him a considerable pension every year, much more considerable than what he now gets by his oppressions; for he must needs find himself a loser at last, when he has drained me and my tenants so dry that we shall not have a penny for him or ourselves. There is one imposition of his I had almost forgot, which I think insufferable, and will appeal to you or any reasonable person whether it be so or not. I told you before that by an old compact we agreed to have the same steward, at which time I consented likewise to regulate my family and estate by the same method with him, which he then showed me written down in form, and I approved of. Now the turn he thinks fit to give this compact of ours is very extraordinary; for he pretends that whatever orders he shall think fit to prescribe for the future in his family he may, if he will, compel mine to observe them without asking my advice or hearing my reasons. So that I must not make a lease without his consent, or give any directions for the well-governing of my family but what he countermands whenever he pleases. This leaves me at such confusion and uncertainty that my servants know not when to obey me, and my tenants, although many of them be very well inclined, seem quite at a loss.

But I am too tedious upon this melancholy subject, which, however, I hope you will forgive, since the happiness of my whole life depends upon it. I desire you will think awhile, and give your best advice what measures I shall take, with prudence, justice, courage, and honor, to protect my liberty and fortune against the hardships and severities I lie under from that unkind, inconstant man.

THE

ANSWER TO THE INJURED LADY.

MADAM,—I have received your ladyship's letter, and carefully considered every part of it, and shall give you my opinion how you ought to proceed for your own security. But first I must beg leave to tell your ladyship that you were guilty of an unpardonable weakness the other day, in making that offer to your lover of standing by him in any quarrel he might have with your rival. You know very well that she began to apprehend he had designs of using her as he had done you; and common prudence might have directed you rather to have entered into some measures with her for joining against him, until he might at least be brought to some reasonable terms; but your invincible hatred to that lady has carried your resentments so high as to be the cause of your ruin; yet if you please to consider, this aversion of yours began a good while before she became your rival, and was taken up by you and your family in a sort of compliment to your lover, who formerly had a great abhorrence of her. It is true, since that time you have suffered very much by her encroachments upon your estate,[1] but she never pretended to govern and direct you; and now you have drawn a new enemy upon yourself; for I think you may count upon all the ill offices she can possibly do you, by her credit with her husband; whereas if, instead of openly declaring against her without any provocation, you had but sat still awhile and said nothing, that gentleman would have lessened his severity to you out of perfect fear. This weakness of yours you call generosity, but I doubt there was more in the matter; in short, madam, I have good reasons to think you were betrayed to it by the pernicious counsel of some about you; for to my certain knowledge several of your tenants and servants, to whom you have been very kind, are as arrant rascals as any in the country. I cannot but observe what a mighty difference there is in one particular between your lady-

[1] Disturbances excited by Scottish colonists.

ship and your rival. Having yielded up your person, you thought nothing else worth defending, and therefore you will not now insist upon those very conditions for which you yielded at first. But your ladyship cannot be ignorant that some years since your rival did the same thing, and upon no conditions at all; nay, this gentleman kept her as a miss, and yet made her pay for her diet and lodging.[1] But it being at a time when he had no steward, and his family out of order, she stole away and has now got the trick very well known among the women of the town, to grant a man the favor over night and the next day have the impudence to deny it to his face. But it is too late to reproach you with any former oversights which cannot now be rectified. I know the matters of fact as you relate them are true and fairly represented. My advice therefore is this: get your tenants together as soon as you conveniently can, and make them agree to the following resolutions:

First, That your family and tenants have no dependence upon the said gentleman, further than by the old agreement, which obliges you to have the same steward and to regulate your household by such methods as you should both agree to.

Secondly, That you will not carry your goods to the market of his town unless you please, nor be hindered from carrying them anywhere else.

Thirdly, That the servants you pay wages to shall live at home, or forfeit their places.

Fourthly, That whatever lease you make to a tenant, it shall not be in his power to break it.

If he will agree to these articles I advise you to contribute as largely as you can to all charges of parish and county.

I can assure you several of that gentleman's ablest tenants and servants are against his severe usage of you, and would be glad of an occasion to convince the rest of their error, if you will not be wanting to yourself.

If the gentleman refuses these just and reasonable offers, pray let me know it, and perhaps I may think of something else that will be more effectual.

I am, madam, your ladyship's, etc.

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[1] The subjugation of Scotland by Cromwell.

OBSERVATIONS

OCCASIONED BY READING A PAPER, ENTITLED, "THE CASE OF THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES OF DUBLIN," ETC.

THE paper called "The Case of the Woollen Manufactures," etc., is very well drawn up. The reasonings of the author are just, the facts true, and the consequences natural. But his censure of those seven vile citizens who import such a quantity of silk stuffs and woollen cloth from England is a hundred times gentler than enemies to their country deserve; because I think no punishment in this world can be great enough for them without immediate repentance and amendment. But after all the writer of that paper has very lightly touched one point of the greatest importance, and very poorly answered the main objection, that the clothiers are defective both in the quality and quantity of their goods.

For my own part, when I consider the several societies of handicraftsmen in all kinds, as well as shopkeepers, in this city, after eighteen years' experience of their dealings, I am at a loss to know in which of these societies the most or least honesty is to be found. For instance, when any trade comes first into my head, upon examination I determine it exceeds all others in fraud. But after I have considered them all round, as far as my knowledge or experience reaches, I am at a loss to determine, and to save trouble I put them all upon a par. This I chiefly apply to those societies of men who get their livelihood by the labor of their hands. For as to shopkeepers, I cannot deny that I have found some few honest men among them, taking the word honest in the largest and most charitable sense. But as to handicraftsmen, although I shall endeavor to believe it possible to find a fair dealer among their clans, yet I confess it has never been once my good fortune to employ one single workman who did not cheat me at all times to the utmost of his power in the materials, the work, and the price. One universal maxim I have constantly observed among them, that they would rather get a shilling by cheating you than twenty in the honest way of dealing, although they were sure to lose your custom, as

well as that of others whom you might probably recommend to them.

This I must own is the natural consequence of poverty and oppression. These wretched people catch at anything to save them a minute longer from drowning Thus Ireland is the poorest of all civilized countries in Europe, with every natural advantage to make it one of the richest.

As to the grand objection which this writer slubbers over in so careless a manner, because indeed it was impossible to find a satisfactory answer, I mean the knavery of our woollen manufacturers in general, I shall relate some facts which I had more opportunities to observe than usually fall in the way of men who are not of the trade. For some years the masters and wardens, with many of their principal workmen and shopkeepers, came often to the deanery to relate their grievances, and to desire my advice as well as my assistance. What reasons might move them to this proceeding, I leave to public conjecture. The truth is, that the woollen manufacture of this kingdom sat always nearest my heart. But the greatest difficulty lay in these perpetual differences between the shopkeepers and the workmen they employed. Ten or a dozen of these latter often came to the deanery with their complaints, which I often repeated to the shopkeepers. As that they brought their prices too low for a poor weaver to get his bread by; and instead of ready money for their labor on Saturdays, they gave them only such a quantity of cloth or stuff at the highest rate, which the poor men were often forced to sell one-third below the rate to supply their urgent necessities. On the other side, the shopkeepers complained of idleness, and want of skill or care or honesty in their workmen; and probably their accusations on both sides were just.

Whenever the weavers in a body came to me for advice I gave it freely, that they should contrive some way to bring their goods into reputation; and give up that abominable principle of endeavoring to thrive by imposing bad ware at high prices on their customers, whereby no shopkeeper can reasonably expect to thrive. For besides the dread of God's anger (which is a motive of small force among them) they may be sure that no buyer of common sense will return to the same shop where he was once or twice defrauded. That gentlemen and ladies when they found nothing but deceit in the sale of Irish cloths and stuffs would act as they ought to do, both in prudence and resentment, in going to those very bad citizens the writer mentions, and purchase English goods.

I went further, and proposed that ten or a dozen of the most substantial woollen-drapers should join in publishing an advertisement, signed with their names, to the following purpose: — That for the better encouragement of all gentlemen, &c., the persons undernamed did bind themselves mutually to sell their several cloths and stuffs (naming each kind) at the lowest rate, right merchantable goods, of such a breadth, which they would warrant to be good according to the several prices; and that if a child of ten years old were sent with money, and directions what cloth or stuff to buy, he should not be wronged in any one article. And that whoever should think himself ill used in any of the said shops, he should have his money again from the seller, or upon his refusal from the rest of the said subscribers, who if they found the buyer discontented with the cloth or stuff should be obliged to refund the money; and if the seller refused to repay them and take his goods again, should publicly advertise that they would answer for none of his goods any more. This would be to establish credit, upon which all trade depends.

I proposed this scheme several times to the corporation of weavers, as well as to the manufacturers, when they came to apply for my advice at the deanery-house. I likewise went to the shops of several woollen-drapers upon the same errand, but always in vain; for they perpetually gave me the deaf ear, and avoided entering into discourse upon that proposal: I suppose, because they thought it was in vain, and that the spirit of fraud had gotten too deep and universal a possession to be driven out by any arguments from interest, reason, or conscience.

A LETTER
TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,[1]
CONCERNING THE WEAVERS.

My Lord, — The corporation of weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have so often attended your grace and called upon me with their schemes and proposals, were with me on Thursday last; when he who spoke for the rest, and in the name of his absent

[1] Dr. William King, the friend and correspondent of our author.

brethren, said, "It was the opinion of the whole body that if somewhat was written at this time by an able hand to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufacturers, it might be of good use to the nation in general, and preserve many hundreds of their trade from starving." To which I answered, "That it was hard for any man of common spirit to turn his thoughts to such speculations without discovering a resentment which people are too delicate to bear." For I will not deny to your grace that I cannot reflect on the singular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without some emotion, and without often examining, as I pass the streets, whether those animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the same species with what I have seen very like them in England as to the outward shape, but differing in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in the forest; which any man of common prudence would immediately discover, by persuading them to define what they meant by law, liberty, property, courage, reason, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our sins, would most justly send us a pestilence, whoever should dare to discover his grief in public for such a visitation, would certainly be censured for disaffection to the government; for I solemnly profess that I do not know one calamity we have undergone these many years which any man whose opinions were not in fashion dared to lament without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, because, although a mother, when she has corrected her child, may sometimes force it to kiss the rod, yet she will never give that power to the footboy or the scullion.

My lord, there are two things for the people of this kingdom to consider; first, their present evil condition; and secondly, what can be done in some degree to remedy it.

I shall not enter into a particular description of our present misery; it has been already done in several papers, and very fully in one entitled, "A short View of the State of Ireland." It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmost rigor, the remission of a million every year to England, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppression of landlords, and discouragement of agriculture.

Now all these evils are without the possibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence against ruinous folly will be always in our power, in spite of the discouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and opposition we labor under; but our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be softened, our absentees never return, our endless foreign payments never be lessened, our own landlords never be less exacting.

All other schemes for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and visionary; consequently drawn from wrong reasoning and from general topics, which, from the same causes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly false in ours; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I shall say at present is likely to produce.

I am weary of so many abortive projects for the advancement of trade; of so many crude proposals in letters sent me from unknown hands; of so many contradictory speculations about raising or sinking the value of gold and silver: I am not in the least sorry to hear of the great numbers going to America, although very much for the causes that drive them from us, since the uncontrolled maxim, "That people are the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumstances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about nor food to support them.

If a private gentleman's income be sunk irretrievably for ever, from a hundred pounds to fifty, and he has no other method to supply the deficiency, I desire to know, my lord, whether such a person has any other course to take than to sink half his expenses in every article of economy, to save himself from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the case of Ireland, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above mentioned, and many more too well known and felt and too numerous or invidious to be related, have been gradually sinking us for above a dozen years past to a degree that we are at least by two thirds in a worse condition than was ever known since the revolution? Therefore instead of dreams and projects for the advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out some expedient whereby we may reduce our expenses to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed so necessary in all private families and in its own nature so easy to be put in practice, may meet with strong opposition by the cowardly slavish indulgence of the men, to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women,

who, strictly adhering to the rules of modern education, seem to employ their whole stock of invention in contriving new arts of profusion faster than the most parsimonious husband can afford: and to compass this work the more effectually, their universal maxim is to despise and detest everything of the growth of their own country, and most to value whatever comes from the very remotest parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that if the virtuosi could once find out a world in the moon, with a passage to it, our women would wear nothing but what directly came from thence.

The prime cost of wine yearly imported to Ireland is valued at 30,000*l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that sum. The lace, silks, calicoes, and all other unnecessary ornaments for women, including English cloths and stuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute grossly) about 400,000*l.*

Now if we should allow the 30,000*l.*, wherein the women have their share, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000*l.* more for overreaching, there would still remain 300,000*l.*, annually spent for unwholesome drugs and unnecessary finery; which prodigious sum would be wholly saved, and many thousands of our miserable shopkeepers and manufacturers comfortably supported.

Let speculative people busy their brains as much as they please, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from sinking for ever than by utterly renouncing all foreign dress and luxury.

It is absolutely so in fact, that every husband of any fortune in the kingdom is nourishing a poisonous devouring serpent in his bosom, with all the mischief but with none of its wisdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country they might still vie with each other in the course of foppery; and still have room left to vie with each other and equally show their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of Irish stuffs. And if they could be contented with their native wholesome slops for breakfast, we should hear no more of the spleen, hysterics, colics, palpitations, and asthmas. They might still be allowed to ruin each other and their husbands at play, because the money lost would circulate among themselves.

My lord, I freely own it a wild imagination that any words will cure the sottishness of men or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the most effectual remedy when there will not be money left for the common course of buying and

selling the very necessaries of life in our markets, unless we absolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and silk, who have so frequently offered proposals both to your grace and to me, are the hottest and coldest generation of men that I have known. About a month ago they attended your grace when I had the honor to be with you, and designed me the same favor. They desired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of Irish stuffs, which might probably spread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom, and perhaps among the lawyers and gentlemen of the university, and among the citizens of those corporations who appear in gowns on solemn occasions. I then mentioned a kind of stuff, not above 8*d.* a yard, which I heard had been contrived by some of the trade and was very convenient. I desired they would prepare some of that or any sort of black stuff on a certain day, when your grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your grace's visitation approaching, you could then have the best opportunity of seeing what could be done in a matter of such consequence, as they seemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But instead of attending as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new proposal, that something should be written by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home-manufactures; and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I asked if they had prepared the stuffs, as they had promised and your grace expected; but they had not made the least step in the matter, nor as it appears thought of it more.

I did some years ago propose to the masters and principal dealers in the home-manufactures of silk and wool that they should meet together; and after mature consideration publish advertisements to the following purpose: —

That, in order to encourage the wearing of Irish manufactures in silk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they the undersigned would enter into bonds, for themselves and for each other, to sell the several sorts of stuff, cloths, and silks, made to the best perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in such a manner that if a child were sent to any of their shops, the buyer might be secure of the value and goodness and measure of the ware; and lest this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of the trade might be

admitted upon such conditions as should be agreed on. And if any person whatsoever should complain that he was ill used in the value and goodness of what he bought, the matter should be examined, the person injured be fully satised by the whole corporation without delay, and the dishonest seller be struck out of the society, unless it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from mistake.

The mortal danger is, that if these dealers could prevail, by the goodness and cheapness of their cloths and stuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of Ireland in favor of their goods, they would relapse into the knavish practice, peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even so low as a common ale-seller, who, as soon as he gets a vogue for his liquor and outsells his neighbors, thinks his credit will put off the worst he can buy, till his customers will come no more. Thus I have known at London in a general mourning the drapers dye black all their damaged goods, and sell them at double rates, then complain, and petition the court that they are ready to starve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I say, those principal weavers who would enter into such a compact as I have mentioned must give sufficient security against all such practices, for if once the women can persuade their husbands that foreign goods, besides the finery, will be as cheap and do more service, our last state will be worse than the first.

I do not here pretend to digest perfectly the method by which these principal shopkeepers shall proceed in such a proposal, but my meaning is clear enough and cannot reasonably be objected against.

We have seen what a destructive loss the kingdom received by the detestable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwithstanding all the care of the governors of that board when we had an offer of commerce with the Spaniards for our linen, to the value as I am told of 30,000*l.* a-year. But while we deal like pedlars we shall practise like pedlars, and sacrifice all honesty to the present urging advantage.

What I have said may serve as an answer to the desire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to anything further, let them apply themselves to the parliament in their next session. Let them prevail on the house of commons to grant one very reasonable request, and I shall think there is still some spirit left in the nation when I read a vote to this purpose, — "Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that this house will

for the future wear no cloths but such as are made of Irish growth or of Irish manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other, and that they will to the utmost endeavor to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants, to follow their example." And if at the same time they could banish tea and coffee and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their scandal over an infusion of sage or other wholesome domestic vegetables, we might possibly be able to subsist, and pay our absentees, pensioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, students, schoolboys, splenetic visitors of Bath, Tunbridge, and Epsom, with all other smaller drains, by sending our crude unwrought goods to England, and receiving from thence and all other countries nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own subsistence.

I have been for a dozen years past wisely prognosticating the present condition of this kingdom, which any human creature of common sense could foretell, with as little sagacity as myself. My meaning is, that a consumptive body must needs die which has spent all its spirits and received no nourishment. Yet I am often tempted to pity when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardness of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill seasons, which better climates than ours are more exposed to, or to scarcity of silver, which to a nation of liberty would only be a slight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ON BARBAROUS DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND.

1728.

Sir, — I have been lately looking over the advertisements in some of your Dublin newspapers, which are sent me to the country, and was much entertained with a large list of denominations of lands to be sold or let. I am confident they must be genuine, for it is impossible that either chance or modern invention could sort the alphabet in such a manner as to make those abominable sounds, whether first invented to invoke or fright away the devil I must leave among the curious.

If I could wonder at anything barbarous, ridiculous, or absurd among us, this should be one of the first. I have often lamented that Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, was not prevailed on by that petty king from Ireland who followed his camp to come over and civilize us with a conquest, as his countrymen did Britain, where several Roman appellations remain to this day, and so would the rest have done if that inundation of Angles, Saxons, and other northern people, had not changed them so much for the worse, although in no comparison with ours. In one of the advertisements just mentioned I encountered near a hundred words together, which I defy any creature in human shape except an Irishman of the savage kind to pronounce; neither would I undertake such a task to be owner of the lands, unless I had liberty to humanize the syllables twenty miles round. The legislature may think what they please, and that they are above copying the Romans in all their conquests of barbarous nations; but I am deceived if anything has more contributed to prevent the Irish from being tamed than this encouragement of their language, which might be easily abolished, and become a dead one in half an age with little expense and less trouble.

How is it possible that a gentleman who lives in those parts where the *town-lands* (as they call them) of his estate produce such odious sounds from the mouth, the throat, and the nose, can be able to repeat the words without dislocating every muscle that is used in speaking, and without applying the same tone to all other words in every language he understands, as it is plainly to be observed not only in those people of the better sort who live in Galway and the western parts, but in most counties of Ireland?

It is true that in the city parts of London the trading people have an affected manner of pronouncing, and so in my time had many ladies and coxcombs at court. It is likewise true that there is an odd provincial cant in most counties in England, sometimes not very pleasing to the ear, and the Scotch cadence as well as expression are offensive enough. But none of these defects derive contempt to the speaker, whereas what we call the *Irish brogue* is no sooner discovered than it makes the deliverer in the last degree ridiculous and despised, and from such a mouth an Englishman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies. Neither does it avail whether the censure be reasonable or not, since the fact is always so. And what is yet worse, it is too well known that the bad consequence of this opinion affects those among us who are

not the least liable to such reproaches, further than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of English parents, and whose education has been chiefly in that kingdom.

I have heard many gentlemen among us talk much of the great convenience to those who live in the country that they should speak Irish. It may possibly be so, but I think they should be such who never intend to visit England upon pain of being ridiculous; for I do not remember to have heard of any one man that spoke Irish who had not the accent upon his tongue easily discernible to an English ear.

But I have wandered a little from my subject, which was only to propose a wish that these execrable denominations were a little better suited to an English mouth, if it were only for the sake of the English lawyers, who in trials upon appeals to the house of lords find so much difficulty in repeating the names, that if the plaintiff or defendant were by they would never be able to discover which were their own lands. But besides this I would desire, not only that the appellations of what they call *town-lands* were changed, but likewise of larger districts, and several towns, and some counties, and particularly the seats of country gentlemen, leaving an *alias* to solve all difficulties in point of law. But I would by no means trust these alterations to the owners themselves, who, as they are generally no great clerks, so they seem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well skilled in prosody. The utmost extent of their genius lies in naming their country habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, a burrow, a castle, a bawn, a ford, and the like ingenious conceits. Yet these are exceeded by others, whereof some have contrived anagrammatical appellations from half their own and their wives' names joined together, others only from the lady, as for instance a person whose wife's name was Elizabeth calls his seat by the name of *Bess-borow*. There is likewise a famous town where the worst iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called *Swandlingbar*, the original of which name I shall explain, lest the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loss to derive it. It was a most witty conceit of four gentlemen who ruined themselves with this iron project. *Sw.* stands for *Swift*, *And.* for *Sanders*, *Ling.* for *Darling*, and *Bar.* for *Barry*. Methinks I see the four loggerheads sitting in consult, like *Smectymnuus*, each gravely contributing a part of his own name to make up one for their place in the iron-work, and could wish

they had been hanged as well as undone for their wit. But I was most pleased with the denomination of a town-land, which I lately saw in an advertisement of Pue's paper: — "This is to give notice that the lands of *Douras, alias* WHIG-*borough*," etc. Now this zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion or loyalty to future ages within five miles round him, for want of other merit, thought fit to make use of this expedient, wherein he seems to mistake his account; for this distinguishing term whig had a most infamous original, denoting a man who favored the fanatic sect, and an enemy to kings, and so continued till this idea was a little softened some years after the Revolution and during a part of her late majesty's reign. After which it was in disgrace until the queen's death, since which time it hath indeed flourished with a witness; but how long will it continue so, in our variable scene, or what kind of mortal it may describe, is a question which this courtly landlord is not able to answer; and therefore he should have set a date on the title of his borough, to let us know what kind of a creature a whig was in that year of our Lord. I would readily assist nomenclators of this costive imagination, and therefore I propose to others of the same size in thinking that, when they are at a loss about christening a country seat, instead of straining their invention, they would call it *Booby-borough*, *Fool-brook*, *Puppy-ford*, *Coxcomb-hall*, *Mount-loggerhead*, *Dunce-hill*; which are innocent appellations, proper to express the talents of the owners. But I cannot reconcile myself to the prudence of this lord of WHIG-*borough*, because I have not yet heard among the presbyterian squires, how much soever their persons and principles are in vogue, that any of them have distinguished their country abode by the name of *Mount-regicide*, *Covenant-hall*, *Fanatic-hill*, *Roundhead-lawn*, *Canting-brook*, or *Mount-rebel*, and the like, because there may probably come a time when those kind of sounds may not be so grateful to the ears of the kingdom. For I do not conceive it would be a mark of discretion, upon supposing a gentleman, in allusion to his name or the merit of his ancestors, to call his house *Tyburn-hall*.

But the scheme I would propose for changing the denominations of land into legible and audible syllables is by employing some gentlemen in the university, who, by the knowledge of the Latin tongue and their judgment in sounds, might imitate the Roman way, by translating those hideous words into their English mean-

ings, and altering the termination where a bare translation will not form a good cadence to the ear, or be easily delivered from the mouth. And when both those means happen to fail then to name the parcels of land from the nature of the soil, or some peculiar circumstance belonging to it, as in England, *Farn-ham, Oat-lands, Black-heath, Corn-bury, Rye-gate, Ash-burn-ham, Barn-elms, Cole-orton, Sand-wich,* and many others.

I am likewise apt to quarrel with some titles of lords among us that have a very ungracious sound, which are apt to communicate mean ideas to those who have not the honor to be acquainted with their persons or their virtues, of whom I have the misfortune to be one. But I cannot pardon those gentlemen who have gotten titles since the judicature of the peers among us has been taken away, to which they all submitted with a resignation that became good christians, as undoubtedly they are. However since that time I look upon a graceful harmonious title to be at least 40 *per cent.* in the value intrinsic of an Irish peerage; and since it is as cheap as the worst for any Irish law hitherto enacted in England to the contrary, I would advise the next set before they pass their patents to call a consultation of scholars and musical gentlemen to adjust this most important and essential circumstance. The Scotch noblemen though born almost under the north pole have much more tunable appellations, except some very few, which I suppose were given them by the Irish along with their language, at the time when that kingdom was conquered and planted from hence, and to this day retain the denominations of places and surnames of families, as all historians agree.

I should likewise not be sorry if the names of some bishops' sees were so much obliged to the alphabet, that upon pronouncing them we might contract some veneration for the order and persons of those reverend peers, which the gross ideas sometimes joined to their titles are very unjustly apt to diminish.

ANSWER TO A PAPER, &c.

The memorial to which this paper is an answer was written by Sir John Browne, the same person alluded to as one of the witnesses examined before the council of England in favor of Wood's project, and stigmatized as a person tried for a rape.

FROM SIR JOHN BROWNE.

REV. SIR, Dawson Street, April 4, 1728.

BY a strange fatality, though you were the only person in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the secret of it; the ignorant poor man who was intrusted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the secret from all others, yet from the nature of the subject concluded that I could have no interest in concealing it from you, who were so universally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the welfare of Ireland. But though the accident gave me some uneasiness at first, yet, when I consider your character, I cannot doubt (however slender the foundation of such a hope may be from any merits of my own) your generosity will oblige you to conceal what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I shall not presume, sir, to detain you with the narrative of the origin and progress of the parliamentary accusations and votes against me, although, would you do me the honor to inquire, I could easily convince you, from my own particular case, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either,—one which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the subject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may say so) in the subject, and describes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I shall beg of you is to suspend your judgment upon it, since all parties allow that, although I had several summons from the committee for Monday, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their summons, yet I was tied down by the committee the preceding Saturday, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences,

notwithstanding anything I could urge to the contrary. This I hope I may say without injury to Mr. Bingham, for sure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magistrate under the immediate direction of the lord chief-justice, who takes examinations against him, examinations that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent also.

It shall suffice therefore to say, I went from Ireland loaded with the severest censures of the house of commons, injured as I thought and oppressed to the greatest degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itself, and all that by an overbearing and overpowering interest.

I sought in England for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me, my countrymen injured me. The nature of man is sociable; I was forced to herd with strangers. A prime minister engaged in the success of a scheme wants no emissaries to spy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately set by those sort of creatures; my sentiments on the state of our money matters were industriously sifted through me, and when that was done, before I knew anything of the matter, I was served with his majesty's summons; in a hurry I ran out of town, and stayed in the country awhile, but on my return again found another summons at my lodgings, and, terrified by the dismal effects of power at home from risking a second shipwreck abroad, I yielded to it and appeared at the cockpit.

It is true my appearance at the cockpit, to those who knew me only by the votes in the house of commons, must have looked like a design of revenge, and I had many and powerful enemies who gave all my actions the worst color. But to take the matter impartially, sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the dismal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehensions of second dangers? Is there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all these fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated summons of the council of England, in which his majesty was present; and if he was there, after a long and strenuous opposition, forced to tell his sentiments, forced, sir, to tell his sentiments, not in the manner represented to the world, but in a manner the most cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppose the inclinations of our parliament?

But alas, the consequence!—You, sir, the defender of Ireland, were soon engaged against me on that account, and that fatal genius of yours in an instant ruined my character. But even ruin-bearing as it was, I blessed it; the cause which you undertook was dear to me, and though fame is the last thing which one would sacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleasure, while you thought it necessary for the public good so to do. But now the end is served, dear sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato, being told that certain persons aspersed his character, and represented him abroad as a very ill man, instead of expostulating with his enemies and returning reproach for reproach, consoled himself, saying, "No matter, my friends, the whole life of Plato shall give his accusers the lie."

Could I set before me a greater example? Under the general displeasure of my country,—under all the censures which the restless malice of my enemies could devise,—and under the keen edge of the drapier's wit,—the only revenge in which I indulged myself was by a steady love for my country, and by manifest acts of affection thereto, to be a silent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, sir, permit me in peace to take his great example, and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppress me. They have already gained their cause by you, but I must say it was not the sword of Ajax, but the armor of Achilles, which he put on, that won the day.

The cause for which you undertook my ruin was the cause of my country. It was a good cause, and you shall ever find me of that side. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! as long as your works subsist, wherever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain It is a hard sentence, and yet, unless the spear of Achilles, the same instrument which gave the wound, administer the remedy, it must be so.

In short, sir, you must be a man of honor; it is not possible that honor should be wanting where all the distinguishing characteristics of it are found. I cannot doubt it, and therefore I will let you fully into a secret which accident has given you a part of, and I am sure you will keep it.

The source of all my misfortunes was the vote of the house of commons, but I have labored however, as I always shall, to serve

my country and make myself agreeable to them. And though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private conversation of my countrymen, which is the surest and best way to know our true interest, yet I flatter myself that my little essays may be useful, at least they may be no bad beginning, and you know it is easy to add to a work once begun. But if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it and render it useless to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's mistake made me determine this private application to you, and I must say that I shall reckon it no small degree of honor if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean time I shall beg the favor of you to keep a secret which no other person but my printer, my bookseller, and the bearer knows.

I am, reverend sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN BROWNE.

ANSWER TO A PAPER

CALLED A MEMORIAL OF THE POOR INHABITANTS, TRADESMEN, AND LABORERS, OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

SIR, Dublin, March 25, 1728.

I RECEIVED a paper from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer, and sent, I suppose, to me among others without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn, and some schemes for making it cheaper which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was indeed the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself; and when their leases were near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the

meadows, and made such havoc that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who upon expiration of the farmers' leases were ready to engross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen, having been before often ill paid, and their land worn out of heart, were too easily tempted when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land and give them security for payment. Thus a vast tract of land where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and laborers in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master grazier, with little trouble, seized to himself the livelihood of a hundred people.

It must be confessed that the farmers were justly punished for their knavery, brutality, and folly. But neither are the squires and landlords to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of beggars, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had.

That farmers should be limited in ploughing is very reasonable, and practised in England, and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases; but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands was a most stupid want of thinking.

Had the farmers been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and further limited for the three or four last years of their leases, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have saved a million of money, and been more populous by above two hundred thousand souls.

For a people denied the benefit of trade to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a wild Indian would be ashamed of; especially when we add that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The grazier's employment is to feed great flocks of sheep or black cattle, or both. With regard to sheep, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity (further than for our own use)

which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured but to one certain country, and only to some few ports in that country; there is, I say, something so sottish that it wants a name in our language to express it by; and the good of it is, that the more sheep we have the fewer human creatures are left to wear the wool or eat the flesh. Ajax was mad when he mistook a flock of sheep for his enemies; but we shall never be sober until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the grazier's business is what we call black-cattle, producing hides, tallow, and beef for exportation: all which are good and useful commodities if rightly managed. But it seems the greatest part of the hides are sent out raw, for want of bark to tan them; and that want will daily grow stronger; for I doubt the new project of tanning without it is at an end. Our beef, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign markets, for the old reasons. But our tallow, for anything I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole kingdom on beef and mutton, and thereby drive out half the people who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of public economy, of which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the Scythians, and their posterity our kinsmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood, and milk, and raw flesh of their cattle, without one grain of corn; but I confess myself so degenerate that I am not easy without bread to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two was to see, in this prodigious plenty of cattle and dearth of human creatures and want of bread, as well as money to buy it, that all kind of flesh-meat should be monstrously dear, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws that there was not some regulations in the price of flesh as well as bread; but I imagine myself to have guessed out the reason; in short, I am apt to think that the whole kingdom is overstocked with cattle, both black and white; and as it is observed that the poor Irish have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing and but half the quantity of milk, so I conceive it much more difficult at present to find a fat bullock or wether than it would be if half of them were fairly knocked on the head; for I am assured that the district in the several markets called

Carrion-row is as reasonable as the poor can desire; only the circumstances of money to purchase it, and of trade or labor to purchase that money, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, sir, to return more particularly to you and your memorial.

A hundred thousand barrels of wheat, you say, should be imported hither; and 10,000*l.* premium to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation? I am no commissioner of the treasury; but am well assured that the whole running cash would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much corn, which, only at 20*s.* a-barrel, will be 100,000*l.*; and 10,000*l.* more for the premium. But you will traffic for your corn with other goods; and where are those goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of absentees, and other occasions in London, besides a huge balance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers' paper? I suppose they will value it at little more than so much a quire. Where are these rich farmers and engrossers of corn, in so bad a year and so little sowing?

You are in pain for 2*s.* premium, and forget the 20*s.* for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your scheme for a tax for raising such a sum is all visionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the miserable state of this nation. Tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wine, and foreign cloths, are the particulars you mention upon which this tax should be raised. I will allow the two first, because they are unwholesome; and the last because I should be glad if they were all burned: but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us awhile forget our misery; or give your tenants leave to plough for barley. But I will tell you a secret which I learned many years ago from the commissioners of the customs in London; they said, when any commodity appeared to be taxed above a moderate rate, the consequence was to lessen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of those gentlemen pleasantly told me that the mistake of parliaments on such occasions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas, in the business of laying impositions, two and two never made more than one; which happens by lessening the import, and the strong temptation of running such goods as paid high duties, at least in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine, yet the number of both who can afford such expenses is so small that the major part must refuse gratifying them-

selves, and the duties will rather be lessened than increased. But, allowing no force in this argument, yet so preternatural a sum as 110,000*l.*, raised all on a sudden (for there is no dallying with hunger), is just in proportion with raising a million and a half in England; which as things now stand would probably bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprising it would be in foreign parts to hear that the poor were starving in a RICH country, &c. Are you in earnest? Is Ireland the rich country you mean? Or are you insulting our poverty? Were you ever out of Ireland? Or were you ever in it till of late? You may probably have a good employment, and are saving all you can to purchase a good estate in England. But by talking so familiarly of 110,000*l.* by a tax upon a few commodities, it is plain you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition: or else you would know and allow that such a sum is not to be raised here without a general excise; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in taxes more than England ever did in the height of war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? Most certainly not the poor, who will not be able to purchase the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but I think your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in potatoes and buttermilk till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better, because the thing at least is possible; and I think if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of justice as well as charity. In the mean time, go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighboring squires to do the same with theirs; or else die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and starving the rest. For as to your scheme of raising 110,000*l.*, it is as vain as that of Rabelais, which was to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send

away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country!

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after all the warning I have in vain given the public at my own peril for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity; what I writ was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion; and it was obvious to every common understanding that such effects must needs follow from such causes;—a fair issue of things begun upon party rage, while some sacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while the spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of whig and tory, of high church and low church; which no more concerned them than the long and famous controversy of strops for razors: while agriculture was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the farmers and laborers and poorer tradesmen forced to beggary or banishment. "Wisdom crieth in the streets: Because I have called on you: I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh."

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stranger, and as of a country which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the best of those advantages which God has given it in soil, climate, and situation.

But having lately sent out a paper entitled A Short View of the State of Ireland; and hearing of an objection, that some people think I have treated the memory of the late lord chief-justice Whitshed with an appearance of severity; since I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myself in that particular, I choose to do it here. Laying it therefore down for a postulatum, which I suppose will be universally granted, that no little creature of so mean a birth and genius had ever the honor to be a greater enemy to his country and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I answer thus; whether there be two different goddesses called Fame, as some authors contend, or only one goddess sounding different trum-

pets, it is certain that people distinguished for their villany have as good a title to a blast from the proper trumpet, as those who are most renowned for their virtues have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most celebrated profligates have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood acted his part in an obscure corner of the world, yet his talents might have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest reason is the best. He was armed with power and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two printers, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God nor the king, nor him nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this! If an ill man be alive and in power we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the world or of his own villanies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is safe. For these excellent casuists know just Latin enough to have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum;* so that if Socrates and Anytus his accuser had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace or fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true; but when men are openly abandoned and lost to all shame, they have no reason to think it hard if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports or otherwise publishes anything which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer; *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* Even the least misrepresentation or aggravation of facts deserves the same censure in some degree; but in this case I am quite deceived if my error has not been on the side of extenuation.

I have now present before me the idea of some persons (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake (and probably of their dreams while they sleep), in the most detestable actions and designs; who delight in mischief, scandal, and obloquy, with the hatred and contempt of all mankind against them, but chiefly of those among their own party and their own family; such whose odious qualities rival each other for perfection: avarice, brutality, faction, pride, malice, treachery, noise, impudence, dulness, ignorance, vanity, and revenge, contending every moment for

superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed, neither is it prudent or safe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will rot, there may be some benefit for their survivors to smell it while it is rotting.

I am, sir, your humble servant, A. B.

TWO LETTERS

ON SUBJECTS RELATIVE TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF IRELAND.

TO MESSRS. TRUEMAN AND LAYFIELD.

GENTLEMEN, — I am inclined to think that I received a letter from you two last summer, directed to Dublin, while I was in the country, whither it was sent me; and I ordered an answer to it to be printed, but it seems it had little effect, and I suppose this will not have much more. But the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed. And gentlemen I am to tell you another thing — that the world is too regardless of what we write for public good: that after we have delivered our thoughts, without any prospect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by subscribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of sending it into the world unless we will be at all or half the expense; and although we are willing enough to bestow our labors we think it unreasonable to be out of pocket, because it probably may not consist with the situation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and in a great measure your manner of declaring them, and I do imagine you intended that the world should not only know your sentiments but my answer, which I shall impartially give.

That great prelate [archbishop King], in whose cover you directed your letter, sent it me in the morning, and I begin my answer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet with.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my answer, because I conceive it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I shall therefore now go on to answer your letter in all manner of sincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myself to be only an imaginary person; for although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never answered it otherwise than in print; neither was I at a loss to know the reasons why so many people of this kingdom were transporting themselves to America. And if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of Pennsylvania, to tempt people to go thither, I do declare that those who were tempted by such a narrative to such a journey were fools, and the author a most impudent knave, at least if it be the same pamphlet I saw when it first came out, which is above 25 years ago, dedicated to William Penn (whom by a mistake you call "sir William Penn"), and styling him by authority of the Scripture "most noble governor." For I was very well acquainted with Penn, and did some years after talk with him upon that pamphlet and the impudence of the author, who spoke so many things in praise of the soil and climate, which Penn himself did absolutely contradict. For he did assure me "That this country wanted the shelter of mountains, which left it open to the northern winds from Hudson's Bay and the Frozen Sea, which destroyed all plantations of trees and was even pernicious to all common vegetables." But indeed New York, Virginia, and other parts less northward, or more defended by mountains, are described as excellent countries; but upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither I am yet to seek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence is easier to be determined. They conceive themselves to live under the tyranny of most cruel exacting landlords, who have no views further than increasing their rent-rolls. Secondly, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you seem not to know the reason. Thirdly, You lament most justly the money spent by absentees in England. Fourthly, You complain that your linen manufacture declines. Fifthly, That your tithe-collectors oppress you. Sixthly, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law and all civil employments whatsoever. Seventhly, You are undone for want of silver and want all other money.

I could easily add some other motives which, to men of spirit, who desire and expect and think they deserve the common privi-

leges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named to drive them out of this kingdom. But as these speculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I shall choose to let them pass unmentioned. Yet I cannot but observe that my very good and virtuous friend, his excellency Burnet[1] (*O fili, nec tali indigne parente!*) has not hitherto been able to persuade his vassals, by his oratory in the style of a commander, to settle a revenue on his viceroyal person. I have been likewise assured that in one of those colonies on the continent, which nature has so far favored as (by the industry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice, the stubborn people, having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might sell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleased, and seem by their practice very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But to return to my subject; I must confess to you both, that if one reason of your people's deserting us be the despair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one syllable to answer, because that would be to hope for what is impossible; and so I have been telling the public these ten years. For there are events which must precede any such blessing; first, a liberty of trade; secondly, a share of preferments in all kinds, equal to the British natives; and thirdly, a return of those absentees who take almost one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the first and second, there is nothing left us but despair; and for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom has no money to send them; for which, in my own particular, I shall not be sorry.

The exaction of landlords has indeed been a grievance of above 20 years' standing. But as to what you object about the severe clauses relating to the improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other side; for the landlords, either by their ignorance or greediness of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter so ill, as we see by experience, that there is not one tenant in 500 who has made any improvement worth mentioning; for which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and desolation; the cabins of the Scotch themselves, in Ulster, being as dirty and miserable as those of the wildest Irish. Whereas good firm penal laws for improvement, with a tolerable easy rent, and a reasonable period of time, would in 20

[1] William Burnet, the eldest son of bishop Burnet, at this time governor of Massachusetts.

years have increased the rents of Ireland at least a third part of the intrinsic value.

I am glad to hear you speak with some decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tithes. But you entirely mistake the fact, for I defy the most wicked and the most powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppress the meanest farmer in the parish; and I defy the same clergyman to prevent himself from being cheated by the same farmer, whenever that farmer shall be disposed to be knavish or peevish. For although the Ulster tithing-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the minister can demand no more than his tenth; and where the corn much exceeds the small tithes, as except in some districts I am told it always does, he is at the mercy of every stubborn farmer, especially of those whose sect as well as interest incline them to opposition. However, I take it that your people bent for America do not show the best side of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint; yet they are so far wise as not to make the payment of tithes a scruple of conscience, which is too gross for any protestant dissenter except a quaker to pretend. But do your people indeed think that if tithes were abolished or delivered into the hands of the landlord, after the blessed manner in the Scotch spiritual economy, the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person who must be lord of the soil and of the tithe together?

I am ready enough to grant that the oppression of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its necessary consequences, the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom spent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the strong delusion in your people by false allurement from America, may be the chief motives of their eagerness after such an expedition. But there is likewise another temptation, which is not of inconsiderable weight; which is their itch of living in a country where their sect is predominant, and where their eyes and consciences will not be offended by the stumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and spiritual titles. But I was surprised to find that those calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been sufficient to drive many families out of their country who had no reason to complain of oppressive landlords. For while I was last year in the northern parts, a person of quality, whose estate was let above 20 years ago, and then at a very reasonable rent, some for leases of lives and some perpetuities, did in a few months pur-

chase eleven of those leases at a very inconsiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned to pay but half value. Whence it is manifest that our present miserable condition and the dismal prospect of worse, with other reasons above assigned, are sufficient to put men upon trying this desperate experiment of changing the scene they are in, although landlords should by a miracle become less inhuman.

There is hardly a scheme proposed for improving the trade of this kingdom which does not manifestly show the stupidity and ignorance of the proposer; and I laugh with contempt at those weak wise heads who proceed upon general maxims or advise us to follow the examples of Holland and England. These empirics talk by rote without understanding the constitution of the kingdom; as if a physician, knowing that exercise contributed much to health, should prescribe to his patient under a severe fit of the gout to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for Ireland are very short and plain, to encourage agriculture and home consumption and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life. And how few necessaries, conveniences, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature or not to be attained by labor and industry! Are those detestable extravagancies of Flanders lace, English cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, Italian or Indian silks, tea, coffee, chocolate, china-ware, and that profusion of wines by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every season, with a hundred unnecessary fopperies better known to others than me — are these, I say, fit for us any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? Is it not the highest indignity to human nature that men should be such poltroons as to suffer the kingdom and themselves to be undone by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonness of their wives, who under their present corruptions seem to be a kind of animal suffered for our sins to be sent into the world for the destruction of families, societies, and kingdoms, and whose whole study seems directed to be as expensive as they possibly can in every useless article of living; who by long practice can reconcile the most pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive, as starlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robustness by mere practice of sloth and luxury; who can play deep several hours after midnight, sleep beyond noon, revel upon Indian poisons, and spend the revenues of a moderate family to adorn a nauseous

unwholesome living carcase? Let those few who are not concerned in any part of this accusation suppose it unsaid; let the rest take it among them. Gracious God, in his mercy, look down upon a nation so shamefully besotted!

If I am possessed of 100*l.* a-year, and by some misfortune it sinks to 50 without a possibility of ever being retrieved, does it remain a question in such an exigency what I am to do? must not I retrench one half in every article of expense? or retire to some cheap, distant part of the country, where necessaries are at half-value?

Is there any mortal who can show me, under the circumstances we stand with our neighbors, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the desolation caused by absentees, under many other circumstances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or subsist by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmost parsimony, in the manner I have already prescribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreasonable, well-meaning people, who are daily pressing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture, which upon many others I have so often done in vain. What will it import that half a score people in a coffee-house may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of those few differ in every sentiment from me? If the farmer be not allowed to sow his corn, if half the little money among us be sent to pay rents to Irish absentees, and the rest for foreign luxuries and dress for the women, what will our charitable dispositions avail when there is nothing left to be given? when contrary to all custom and example all necessaries of life are so exorbitant; when money of all kinds was never known to be so scarce; so that gentlemen of no contemptible estates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to show any bounty to the poor?

ANSWER TO SEVERAL LETTERS SENT FROM UNKNOWN HANDS. 1729.

I AM very well pleased with the good opinion you express of me, and wish it were any way in my power to answer your expectations for the service of my country. I have carefully read your several

schemes and proposals which you think should be offered to the parliament. In answer, I will assure you that in another place I have known very good proposals rejected with contempt by public assemblies merely because they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the same fate, especially if handed to the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members nor have the least interest with one. My printers have been twice prosecuted, to my great expense, on account of discourses I writ for the public service, without the least reflection on parties or persons; and the success I had in those of the drapier was not owing to my abilities but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true both those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge who is now gone *to his own place.* But let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain there are several particulars relating to this kingdom (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wished that the parliament would take under their consideration, such as will no way interfere with England otherwise than to its advantage.

The first I shall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, gentlemen, about the highways, which indeed are almost everywhere scandalously neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and saver of his money, who, being possessed of some adjacent lands, has been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them, and has assured me that his lands are thereby advanced 4*s.* or 5*s.* an acre, by which he gets treble interest. But generally speaking, all over the kingdom the roads are deplorable, and what is more particularly barbarous, there is no sort of provision made for travellers on foot; no, not near the city, except in a very few places and in a most wretched manner; whereas the English are so particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there 100 miles with less inconvenience than one mile here. But since this may be thought too great a reformation, I shall only speak of roads for horses, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one-third smaller than England, yet by some natural disadvantages it would not bear quite the same proportion in value with the same encouragement. However, it has so happened for many years past that it never arrived

to above one-eleventh part in point of riches; and of late by the continual decrease of trade and the increase of absentees, with other circumstances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part, at least if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favorable on our side.

Now supposing day-labor to be cheaper by one-half here than in England, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the desolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one-eighth part so much as those of England, which is a very moderate computation, I do not see why the mending of them would be a greater burden to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, 20 acts of parliament in six or seven years of the late king, for mending long tracts of impassable ways in several counties of England, by erecting turnpikes and receiving passage-money, in a manner that everybody knows. If what I have advanced be true it would be hard to give a reason against the same practice here; since the necessity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of stone and gravel as easy to be found, and the workmanship at least twice as cheap. Besides, the work may be done gradually with allowances for the poverty of the nation by so many perch a-year, but with a special care to encourage skill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to those of the meaner sort; but against those no doubt the wisdom of the nation may and will provide.

Another evil, which in my opinion deserves the public care, is the ill management of the bogs; the neglect whereof is a much greater mischief to this kingdom than most people seem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed by those who are esteemed most skilful in such matters that the red, swelling mossy bog, whereof we have so many large tracts in this island, is not by any means to be fully reduced, but the skirts which are covered with a green coat easily may, being not accretion or annual growth of moss like the other.

Now the landlords are generally so careless as to suffer their tenants to cut their turf in these skirts as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly lost a considerable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greatest part of the mischief; for the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural soil, yet by con-

tinuing large, deep, straight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times as low as the channel or gravel, would become secure summer-pasture; the margins might with great profit and ornament be filled with quickens, birch, and other trees proper for such a soil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon sled-cars with great expense, difficulty, and loss of time, by reason of the many turf-pits scattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it has been, I confess, to me a matter of the greatest vexation as well as wonder to think how any landlord could be so absurd as suffer such havoc to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of forest-trees are I am told extremely defective, which with great submission must have been owing to a defect of skill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the west-south-west wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not planted in groves, except very rarely and where there is much land-shelter. I have not indeed read all the acts, but from inquiry I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And as to the effects of these laws, I have not seen the least in many hundred miles' riding, except about a very few gentlemen's houses, and even those with very little skill or success. In all the rest the hedges generally miscarry, as well as the larger slender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common skill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made than by planting large groves of ash a few feet asunder, which in seven years would make the best kind of hop-poles, and grow in the same or less time to a second crop from their roots.

It would likewise be of great use and beauty in our desert scenes to oblige cottagers to plant ash or elm before their cabins and round their potato-gardens, where cattle either do not or ought not to come to destroy them.

The common objection against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native Irish, might be easily answered by showing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life; but my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or a horse, I have often seen those two animals civilized by rewards at least as much as by punishments.

It would be a noble achievement to abolish the Irish language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only English on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing; yet I am wholly deceived if this might not be effectually done in less than half an age, and at a very trifling expense; for such I look upon a tax to be of only 6000*l.* a-year to accomplish so great a work. This would in a great measure civilize the most barbarous among them, reconcile them to our customs and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be established. This method is plain and simple, and although I am too desponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to such a degree that it is almost impossible for a country gentleman to find a servant of human capacity, or the least tincture of natural honesty, or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in England, continuing to carry thither so many wealthy families, the consequences thereof, together with the utter loss of all trade except what is detrimental, which has forced such great numbers of weavers and others to seek their bread in foreign countries; the unhappy practice of stocking such vast quantities of land with sheep and other cattle, which reduces 20 families to one; these events, I say, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for several years past. I should heartily wish therefore under this miserable dearth of money, that those who are most concerned would think it advisable to save 100,000*l.* a-year, which is now sent out of this kingdom, to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics of all wise nations than that of encouraging agriculture, and therefore to what kind of wisdom a practice so directly contrary among us may be reduced I am by no means a judge. If labor and people make the true riches of a nation, what must be the issue where one part of the people are forced away and the other have nothing to do?

If it should be thought proper by wiser heads that his majesty might be applied to in a national way for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own use, I believe no good subject will

under the least apprehension that such a request could meet with refusal or the least delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil society, under the proper inspection of its prince or legislature, to coin money of all usual metals for its own occasions. Every petty prince in Germany, vassal to the emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have seen in this kingdom several silver pieces with the inscription of CIVITAS, WATERFORD, DROGHEDAGH, and other towns.

A LETTER

ON MR. M'CULLA'S PROJECT ABOUT HALFPENCE, AND A NEW ONE PROPOSED,

IN A LETTER TO DR. DELANY. 1729.

SIR, — You desire to know my opinion concerning Mr. M'Culla's project of circulating notes, stamped on copper, that shall pass for the value of halfpence and pence. I have some knowledge of the man: and about a month ago he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes; but I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time I called at his house, where I discoursed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a stranger to his character. He talked to me in the usual style, with a great profession of zeal for the public good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a first minister of state down to a corncutter. But I stopped him short, as I would have done a better man; because it is too gross a practice to pass at any time, and especially in this age, where we all know one another so well. Yet whoever proposes any scheme which may prove to be a public benefit, I shall not quarrel if it prove likewise very beneficial to himself. It is certain that, next to the want of silver, our greatest distress in point of coin is the want of small change, which may be some poor relief for the defect of the former, since the crown will not please to take that work upon them here as they do in England. One thing in M'Culla's

book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, brass, iron, or any other material (except gold or silver), as well as upon paper. The question is whether I can sue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor seal nor witnesses to prove it? To supply this he has proposed that the materials upon which this note is written shall be in some degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be inquired into. His scheme is this:

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, stamped with a promissory note to pay you 20*d.* for every pound of copper notes whenever you shall return them. Eight-and-forty of these halfpenny-pieces are to weigh a pound; and he sells you that pound, coined and stamped, for 2*s.*: by which he clearly gains a little more than 16 per cent.; that is to say 2*d.* in every 1*s.*

This will certainly arise to a great sum if he should circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of silver, may very probably require: enough indeed to make any Irish tradesman's fortune; which, however, I should not repine at in the least if we could be sure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raise the common objection, why Mr. M'Culla would not give security to pay the whole sum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my lord Dartmouth and colonel Moore were by their patents obliged to do. To which he gave me some answers plausible enough. First, "He conceived his coins were much nearer to the intrinsic value than any of those coined by patents, the bulk and goodness of the metal equalling the best English halfpence made by the crown: "That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and designing people; who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, since he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him, which he could not be able to support: And lastly, that his copper (as is already said) being equal in value and bulk to the English halfpence, he did not apprehend they should ever be returned, unless a combination proceeding from spite and envy might be formed against him."

But there are some points in his proposal which I cannot well answer for; nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himself. The first is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the English halfpence and farthings; and secondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good; and thirdly, when he will think fit to stop his hand and give

us no more; for I should be as sorry to be at the mercy of Mr. M'Culla as of Mr. Wood.

There is another difficulty of the last importance. It is known enough that the crown is supposed to be neither gainer nor loser by coinage of any metal: for they subtract or ought to subtract no more from the intrinsic value than what will just pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the question. By what I could gather from Mr. M'Culla good copper is worth 14*d.* per pound. By this computation, if he sells his copper notes for 2*s.* the pound and will pay 20*d.* back, then the expense of coinage for one pound of copper must be 6*d.* which is 30 per cent. The world should be particularly satisfied on this article before he vends notes: for the discount of 30 per cent. is prodigious, and vastly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For if we add to that proportion the 16 per cent. which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a discount of about 46 per cent. Or to reckon I think a fairer way: Whoever buys a pound of Mr. M'Culla's coin at 2*s.* per pound carries home only the real value of 14*d.*, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loser of 41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per cent. But, however, this high discount of 30 per cent. will be no objection against M'Culla's proposal; because, if the charge of coining will honestly amount to so much, and we suppose his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater sufferer of the two; because the buyer can lose but 4*d.* in a pound and M'Culla must lose 6*d*, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are some points which must be settled to the general satisfaction before we can safely take Mr. M'Culla's copper notes for value received; and how he will give that satisfaction is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The first point is that we shall be always sure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineness to the best English halfpence.

The second point is to know what allowance he makes to himself, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight the matter is easy by his own scheme; for, as I have said before, he proposes 48 to weigh a pound, which he gives you for 2*s.*, and receives it by the pound at 20*d.*: so that, supposing pure copper to be 14*d.* a pound, he makes you pay 30 per cent. for the labor of coining, as I have already observed, beside 16 per cent. when he sells it. But if to this he

adds any alloy to debase the metal, although it be not above 10 per cent., then Mr. M'Culla's promissory notes will, to the intrinsic value of the metal, be above 47 per cent. discount.

For subtracting 10 per cent. off sixty pounds' worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about 5½ per cent. in the whole 100*l.*, which added to

	£41	13	4
	5	10	0
will be per cent.	47	3	4

That we are under great distress for change, and that Mr. M'Culla's copper notes, on supposition of the metal being pure, are less liable to objection than the project of Wood may be granted; but such a discount, where we are not sure even of our 20*d.* a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his scheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had some copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with those of Mr. M'Culla and observed as follows:

First I weighed Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny against an English one of king Charles II., which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's a fourth part, or 25 per cent.

I likewise weighed an Irish Patrick and David halfpenny, which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's 12½ per cent. It had a very fair and deep impression and milled very skilfully round.

I found that even a common harp halfpenny, well preserved, weighed equal to Mr. M'Culla's. And even some of Wood's halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think Wood's copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid these loose thoughts together with little order, to give you and others who may read them an opportunity of digesting them better. I am no enemy to Mr. M'Culla's project; but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of king Charles II., which I weighed against Mr. M'Culla's, was of the fairest kind I had seen. However, it is plain the crown could afford it without being a loser. But it is probable that the officers of the mint were then more honest than they have since thought fit to be: for I confess not to have met those of any other year so weighty, or in appearance of so good metal, among all the copper coins of the three last reigns; yet these, however, did much

outweigh those of Mr. M'Culla, for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them; I have indeed seen accidentally one or two very light, but it must certainly have been done by chance, or rather I suppose them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at present. I am ignorant of the price, farther than by his informing me that it is only 14*d.* a pound; by which I observe he charges the coinage at 30 per cent.; and therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But to say the truth, the dearness or cheapness of the metal does not properly enter into the question. What we desire is, that it should be of the best kind and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver should be reduced from 16 to 8 per cent., and the charge of coinage, if possible, from 30 to 10 or 15 at most.

Mr. M'Culla must also give good security that he will coin only a determinate sum, not exceeding 20,000*l.*, by which, although he should deal with all uprightness imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of king Charles II., he will at 16 per cent. gain 3200*l.*, a very good additional job to a private tradesman's fortune.

I must advise him also to employ better workmen, and make his impressions deeper and plainer, by which a rising rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preserve the letter from wearing out too soon. He has no wardens or masters, or other officers of the mint, to suck up his profit, and therefore can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and skilful workmen.

Whether this project will succeed in Mr. M'Culla's hands (which, if it be honestly executed, I shall be glad to see); one thing I am confident of, that it might be easily brought to perfection by a society of nine or ten honest gentlemen of fortune, who wish well to their country and would be content to be neither gainers nor losers, farther than the bare interest of their money. And Mr. M'Culla, as being the first starter of the scheme, might be considered and rewarded by such a society, whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I should think it an honor and happiness to be one, even with borrowed money upon the best security I could give. And first, I am confident, without any skill but by general reason, that the charge of coining copper would be very much less than 30 per cent. Secondly, I believe 10,000*l.* in halfpence and farthings would

be sufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and most unnecessary distress for the want of silver, and that without such a distress half the sum would suffice. For I compute and reason thus: the city of Dublin, by a gross computation, contains 10,000 families; and I am told by shopkeepers "That if silver were as plenty as usual, 2*s.* in copper would be sufficient in the course of business for each family." But in consideration of the want of silver, I would allow 5*s.* to each family, which would amount to 2500*l.*; and to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced harp-halfpence which are left of lord Dartmouth's and Moor's patents under king Charles II., and the small Patrick and David for farthings. To the rest of the kingdom I would assign the 7500*l.* remaining, reckoning Dublin to answer one-fourth of the kingdom, as London is judged to answer (if I mistake not) one-third of England — I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of small change by the number of souls in the kingdom, besides being perplexed, is I think by no means just. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at least are beggars in all circumstances except that of wandering about for alms; and that circumstance may arrive soon enough, when it will be time to add another 10,000*l.* in copper. But without doubt the families of Ireland who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting small change cannot be above 40,000 or 50,000, which the sum of 10,000*l.*, with the addition of the fairest old halfpence, would tolerably supply: for if we give too great a loose to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleases, the kingdom will be (how shall I express it under our present circumstances?) more than undone.

And hence appears in a very strong light the villany of Wood, who proposed the coinage of 108,000*l.* in copper for the use of Ireland, whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaded with 10*s.* or 12*s.*, although Wood might not transgress the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number, the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill informed are great men on the other side, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half-a-crown!

But to return to the proposal I have made. Suppose ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, should raise 200*l.* a-piece, and from the time the money is deposited, as they shall agree, should begin to charge it with 7 per cent. for their own use; that they should as

soon as possible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper sufficient for coining 2000*l.*, subtracting a fifth part of the interest of 10,000*l.* for the charges of the tools and fitting up a place for a mint, the other four parts of the same interest to be subtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000*l.* each, with a just allowance for other necessary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply stamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can consist to have it rightly coined (wherein I am wholly ignorant), and the bulk as large as that of king Charles II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint security to receive all the coins they issue out of seven or ten years, and return gold and silver without any defalcation.

Let the same club or company when they have issued out the first 2000*l.*, go on the second year, if they find a demand and that their scheme has answered to their own intention, as well as to the satisfaction of the public. And if they find 7 per cent. not sufficient, let them subtract 8, beyond which I would not have them go. And when they have in two years coined 10,000*l.*, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but shut up their mint and dismiss their workmen, unless the real, universal, unsolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom shall signify a desire that they should go on for a certain sum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themselves, one of which should be to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at by the loss of intrinsic value in the coinage of 10,000*l.* in copper under the management of such a society of gentlemen.

First, It is plain that, instead of somewhat more than 16 per cent. as demanded by Mr. M'Culla, this society desires but 8 per cent.

Secondly, Whereas Mr. M'Culla charges the expense of coinage at 30 per cent., I hope and believe this society will be able to perform it at ten.

Whereas it does not appear that Mr. M'Culla can give any security for the goodness of his copper, because not one in ten thousand have the skill to distinguish, the society will be all engaged that theirs shall be of the best standard.

Fourthly, That whereas Mr. M'Culla's halfpence are one-fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of king Charles II., these gentlemen will oblige themselves to the public to give the coin of the same weight and goodness with those halfpence, unless they shall find they cannot afford it, and in that case they shall beforehand inform the public, show their reasons, and signify how large they can make them without being losers, and so give over or pursue their scheme as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large and of as good metal as the best English halfpence that have been coined in the three last reigns, which very much outweigh those of Mr. M'Culla. And this advantage will arise in proportion, by lessening the charge of coinage from 30 per cent. to 10 or 15, or 20 at most. But I confess myself in the dark on that article, only I think it impossible it should amount to any proportion near 30 per cent., otherwise the coiners of those counterfeit halfpence called raps would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in such a society, would be the paying 8 per cent. instead of 16, the being sure of the goodness and just weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any farther coinage than what was absolutely necessary to supply the wants and desires of the kingdom; and all this under the security of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune who would be ready to give the best security and satisfaction, that they had no design to turn the scheme into a job.

As to any mistakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment, and I shall not descend so low as to justify them against any caviller.

The strongest objections against what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear visionary, is the difficulty to find half a score gentlemen, who, out of a public spirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than 1 per cent. above the legal interest, to be overseers of a mint for five years, and perhaps without any justice raise the clamor of the people against them. Besides, it is most certain that many a squire is as fond of a job, and as dexterous to make the best of it as Mr. M'Culla himself or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten such persons in this town, if they had only some visible mark to know them at sight. Yet I just foresee another inconveniency, that knavish men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination, while those

who are honest and best-intentioned may be the instruments of as much mischief to the public, for want of cunning, as the greatest knaves; and more, because of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the serpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the most difficult point. It is not so hard to find an honest man as to make this honest man active, and vigilant, and skilful, which, I doubt, will require a spur of profit greater than my scheme will afford him, unless he will be contented with the honor of serving his country and the reward of a good conscience.

After reviewing what I had written, I see very well that I have not given any allowance for the first charge of preparing all things necessary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200*l.*, besides 20*l.* per annum for five years' rent of a house to work in. I can only say that, this making in all 300*l.*, it will be an addition of no more than 3 per cent. out of 10,000*l.*

But the great advantages of the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen such as I have already described (if such are to be found), are these: —

First, They propose no other gain to themselves than 1 per cent. above the legal interest for the money they advance, which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-house.

Secondly, They bind themselves to make their coins of as good copper as the best English halfpence, and as well coined and of equal weight, and do likewise bind themselves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expense of coinage more than it shall really stand them in.

Thirdly, They will for a limited term of seven or ten years, as shall be thought proper upon mature consideration, pay gold and silver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that shall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins shall have a deep impression, leaving a rising rim on both sides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time, and the edges shall be milled.

I suppose they need not be very apprehensive of counterfeits, which it will be difficult to make so as not to be discovered, for it is plain that those bad halfpence called raps are so easily distinguished even from the most worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great present want of change.

I shall here subjoin some computations relating to Mr. M'Culla's copper notes. They were sent to me by a person well skilled in such calculations, and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr. M'Culla charges good copper at 14*d.* per pound, but I know not whether he means avoirdupois or troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 ounces to a pound	6960	grains.
A pound troy weight	5760	"
Mr. M'Culla's copper is 14*d.* per pound avoirdupois.		
Two of Mr. M'Culla's penny notes, one with another, weigh	524	grains
By which computation, 2*s.* of his notes which he sells for one pound weight, will weigh	6288	"
But one pound avoirdupois weighs, as above	6960	"

This difference makes 10 per cent. to Mr. M'Culla's profit in point of weight.

The old Patrick and David halfpenny weighs	149	grains.
Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny weighs	131	"
The difference is	18	

Which is equal to 10½ per cent.

The English halfpenny of king Charles II. weighs	167	"
Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny weighs	131	"
The difference is	36	

Which difference, allowed a fifth part, is 20 per cent.

ANOTHER COMPUTATION.

Mr. M'Culla allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth 20*d.*; for which he demands 2*s.*

His coinage he computes at 6*d.* per pound weight; therefore laying out only 20*d.*, and gaining 4*d.*, he makes per cent. profit	20
The 6*d.* per pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes per cent.,	30
The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is per cent.	10
By all which (viz. coinage, profit, and want of weight) the public loses per cent.	60

If Mr. M'Culla's coins will not pass, and he refuses to receive them back, the owner cannot sell them at above 12*d.* per pound;

whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 per cent., he will lose 60 per cent.

The scheme of the society, raised as high as it can possibly be, will be only thus: —

For interest of their money per cent.....	8
For coinage, instead of 10, suppose at most per cent.....	20
For 300*l.* laid out for tools, a mint, and house-rent, charge 3 per cent. upon the coinage of 10,000*l.*.....	3
Charges in all upon interest, coinage, &c., per cent.....	31

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned, of the goodness of the metal, the largeness of the coin, the deepness and fairness of the impression, the assurance of the society confining itself to such a sum as they undertake, or as the kingdom shall approve; and lastly, their paying in gold or silver for all their coin returned upon their hands without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and with a little steadiness and activity could, I doubt not, be easily compassed.

I would not in this scheme recommend the method of promissory notes, after Mr. M'Culla's manner; but as I have seen in old Irish coins, the words CIVITAS DVBLIN, on one side, with the year of our Lord and the Irish harp on the reverse.

THE

WONDERFUL WONDER OF WONDERS.

THERE is a certain person lately arrived at this city, of whom it is very proper the world should be informed. His character may perhaps be thought very inconsistent, improbable, and unnatural; however, I intend to draw it with the utmost regard to truth. This I am the better qualified to do because he is a sort of dependant upon our family, and almost of the same age, though I cannot directly say I have ever seen him. He is a native of this country, and has lived long among us; but, what appears wonderful, and hardly credible, was never seen before by any mortal.

It is true, indeed, he always chooses the lowest place in company; and contrives it so, to keep out of sight. It is reported, however,

that in his younger days he was frequently exposed to view, but always against his will, and was sure to smart for it.

As to his family, he came into the world a younger brother, being of six children the fourth in order of birth; of which the eldest is now head of the house; the second and third carry arms, but the two youngest are only footmen: some indeed add, that he has likewise a twin-brother, who lives over-against him, and keeps a victualling-house; he has the reputation to be a close, griping, squeezing fellow; and that when his bags are full, he is often needy; yet, when the fit takes him, as fast as he gets he lets it fly.

When in office, no one discharges himself, or does his business better. He has sometimes strained hard for an honest livelihood, and never got a bit till everybody else had done.

One practice appears very blameable in him: that every morning he privately frequents unclean houses, where any modest person would blush to be seen. And although this be generally known, yet the world, as censorious as it is, has been so kind as to overlook this infirmity in him. To deal impartially, it must be granted that he is too great a lover of himself, and very often consults his own ease at the expense of his best friends; but this is one of his blind sides; and the best of men I fear are not without them.

He has been constituted by the higher powers in the station of receiver-general, in which employment some have censured him for playing fast and loose. He is likewise overseer of the golden mines, which he daily inspects when his health will permit him.

He was long bred under a master of arts, who instilled good principles into him, but these were soon corrupted. I know not whether this deserves mention, that he is so very capricious as to take it for an equal affront to talk either of kissing or kicking him, which has occasioned a thousand quarrels; however, nobody was ever so great a sufferer for faults, which he neither was, nor possibly could be, guilty of.

In his religion he has thus much of the Quaker, that he stands always covered, even in the presence of the king; in most other points a perfect idolater, although he endeavors to conceal it; for he is known to offer daily sacrifices to certain subterraneous nymphs, whom he worships in an humble posture, prone on his face, and stripped stark naked; and so leaves his offerings behind him, which the priests of those goddesses are careful enough to remove, upon certain seasons, with the utmost privacy, at midnight, and from

thence maintain themselves and families. In all urgent necessities and pressures, he applies himself to these deities, and sometimes even in the streets and highways, from an opinion that those powers have an influence in all places, although their peculiar residence be in caverns under ground. Upon these occasions, the fairest ladies will not refuse to lend their hands to assist him; for, although they are ashamed to have him seen in their company, or even so much as to hear him named, yet it is well known that he is one of their constant followers.

In politics, he always submits to what is uppermost; but he peruses pamphlets on both sides with great impartiality, though seldom till everybody else has done with them.

His learning is of a mixed kind, and he may properly be called a *helluo librorum*, or another Jacobus de Voragine; though his studies are chiefly confined to schoolmen, commentators, and German divines, together with modern poetry and critics; and he is an atomic philosopher, strongly maintaining a void in nature, which he seems to have fairly proved by many experiments.

I shall now proceed to describe some peculiar qualities, which, in several instances, seem to distinguish this person from the common race of other mortals.

His grandfather was a member of the rump parliament, as the grandson is of the present, where he often rises, sometimes grumbles, but never speaks. However, he lets nothing pass willingly but what is well digested. His courage is indisputable, for he will take the boldest man alive by the nose.

He is generally the first a-bed in the family, and the last up; which is to be lamented, because when he happens to rise before the rest, it has been thought to forebode some good fortune to his superiors.

As wisdom is acquired by age, so, by every new wrinkle in his face, he is reported to gain some new knowledge.

In him we may observe the true effects and consequences of tyranny in a state; for, as he is a great oppressor of all below him, so there is nobody more oppressed by those above him; yet, in his time, he has been so highly in favor, that many illustrious persons have been entirely indebted to him for their preferments.

He has discovered from his own experience, the true point wherein all human actions, projects, and designs do chiefly terminate; and how mean and sordid they are at the bottom.

It behoves the public to keep him quiet; for his frequent murmurs are a certain sign of intestine tumults.

No philosopher ever lamented more the luxury for which these nations are so justly taxed; it has been known to cost him tears of blood; for in his own nature he is far from being profuse: though indeed he never stays a night at a gentleman's house without leaving something behind him.

He receives with great submission whatever his patrons think fit to give him; and when they lay heavy burdens upon him, which is frequently enough, he gets rid of them as soon as he can; but not without some labor, and much grumbling.

He is a perpetual hanger on; yet nobody knows how to be without him. He patiently suffers himself to be kept under, but loves to be well used, and in that case will sacrifice his vitals to give you ease; and he has hardly one acquaintance for whom he has not been bound; yet, as far as we can find, was never known to lose anything by it.

He is observed to be very unquiet in the company of a French man in new clothes, or a young coquette.

He is, in short, the subject of much mirth and raillery, which he seems to take well enough; though it has not been observed that ever any good thing came from himself.

There is so general an opinion of his justice, that sometimes very hard cases are left to his decision; and while he sits upon them, he carries himself exactly even between both sides, except where some knotty points arises; and then he is observed to lean a little to the right or left, as the matter inclines him; but his reasons for it are so manifest and convincing, that every man approves them.

POSTSCRIPT.

GENTLE READER,—Though I am not insensible how many thousand persons have been, and still are, with great dexterity handling this subject, and no less aware of what infinite reams of paper have been laid out upon it; however, in my opinion, no man living has touched it with greater nicety, and more delicate turns, than our author. But, because there is some intended obscurity in this relation, and curiosity, inquisitive of secrets, may possibly not enter into the bottom and depth of the subject, it was thought not im-

proper to take off the veil, and gain the reader's favor by enlarging his insight. ARS *enim non habet inimicum, nisi ignorantem.* It is well known that it has been the policy of all times to deliver down important subjects by emblem and riddle, and not to suffer the knowledge of truth to be derived to us in plain and simple terms, which are generally as soon forgotten as conceived. For this reason, the heathen religion is mostly couched under mythology. For the like reason (this being a FUNDAMENTAL in its kind) the author has thought fit to wrap up his treasure in clean linen, which it is our business to lay open, and set in a due light; for I have observed, upon any accidental discovery, the least glimpse has given a great diversion to the eager spectator, as many ladies could testify, were it proper, or the case would admit.

The politest companies have vouchsafed to smile at the bare name; and some people of fashion have been so little scrupulous of bringing it into play, that it was the usual saying of a knight and a man of good breeding, that whenever he rose, his a-se rose with him.

THE

WONDER OF ALL THE WONDERS THAT EVER THE WORLD WONDERED AT.

FOR ALL PERSONS OF QUALITY AND OTHERS.

NEWLY arrived at this city of Dublin, the famous artist John Emanuel Schoitz, who, to the great surprise and satisfaction of all spectators, is ready to do the following wonderful performances; the like before never seen in this kingdom.

He will heat a bar of iron red hot, and thrust it into a barrel of gunpowder before all the company, and yet it shall not take fire.

He lets any gentleman charge a blunderbuss with the same gunpowder, and twelve leaden bullets, which blunderbuss the said artist discharges full in the face of the said company, without the least hurt, the bullets sticking in the wall behind them.

He takes any gentleman's own sword, and runs it through the said gentleman's body, so that the point appears bloody at the back

to all the spectators: then he takes out the sword, wipes it clean, and returns it to the owner, who receives no manner of hurt.

He takes a pot of scalding oil, and throws it by great ladlesful directly at the ladies, without spoiling their clothes or burning their skins.

He takes any person of quality's child, from two years old to six, and lets the child's own father or mother take a pike in their hands: then the artist takes the child in his arms, and tosses it upon the point of the pike, where it sticks, to the great satisfaction of all spectators; and is then taken off without so much as a hole in his coat.

He mounts upon a scaffold just over the spectators, and from thence throws down a great quantity of large tiles and stones, which fall like so many pillows, without so much as discomposing either perukes or head-dresses.

He takes any person of quality up to the said scaffold, which person pulls off his shoes, and leaps nine feet directly down on a board prepared on purpose, full of sharp spikes six inches long, without hurting his feet or damaging his stockings.

He places the said board on a chair, upon which a lady sits down with another lady in her lap, while the spikes, instead of entering into the under lady's flesh, will feel like a velvet cushion.

He takes any person of quality's footman, ties a rope about his bare neck, and draws him up by pulleys to the ceiling, and there keeps him hanging as long as his master or the company pleases, the said footman, to the wonder and delight of all beholders, having a pot of ale in one hand and a pipe in the other and when he is let down, there will not appear the least mark of the cord about his neck.

He bids a lady's maid put her finger into a cup of clear liquor like water, upon which her face and both her hands are immediately withered like an old woman of fourscore; her belly swells as if she were within a week of her time, and her legs are as thick as mill-posts; but upon putting her finger into another cup, she becomes as young and handsome as she was before.

He gives any gentleman leave to drive forty twelvepenny nails up to the head in a porter's backside, and then places the said porter in a loadstone chair, which draws out every nail, and the porter feels no pain.

He likewise draws the teeth of half a dozen gentlemen, mixed

and jumbles them in a hat, gives any person leave to blindfold him, and returns each their own, and fixes them as well as ever.

With his forefinger and thumb, he thrusts several gentlemen's and ladies' eyes out of their heads without the least pain, at which time they see an unspeakable number of beautiful colors; and after they are entertained to the full, he places them again in their proper sockets, without any damage to the sight.

He lets any gentleman drink a quart of hot melted lead, and by a draught of prepared liquor, of which he takes part himself, he makes the said lead pass through the said gentleman, before all the spectators without any damage, after which it is produced in a cake to the company:

With many other wonderful performances of art too tedious here to mention.

The said artist has performed before most kings and princes in Europe with great applause.

He performs every day (except Sundays) from ten of the clock to one in the forenoon: and from four till seven in the evening, at the New Inn in Smithfield.

The first seat a British crown, the second a British half-crown, and the lowest a British shilling.

N. B. The best hands in town are to play at the said show.

A LETTER,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF A PESTILENT NEIGHBOR.

Sir,—You must give me leave to complain of a *pestilent* fellow in my neighborhood, who is always beating *mortar*, yet I cannot find he ever builds. In talking he useth such hard words, that I want a druggerman to interpret them. But all is not gold that *glisters*. *A pot he carries* to most houses where he visits. He makes his prentice his *galley*-slave. I wish our lane were *puryed* of him. Yet he pretends to be a *cordial* man. Every *spring* his shop is crowded with country-folks; who by their *leaves*, in my

opinion, help him to do a great deal of mischief. He is full of *scruples;* and so very litigious, that he *files bills* against all his acquaintances; and though he be much troubled with the *simples*, yet I assure you he is a *jesuitical dog;* as you may know by his *bark*. Of all poetry he loves the *dram-a-tick* best. I am, &c.

A LETTER TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1709, at a conjecture.

My Lord,—It is now a good while since I resolved to take some occasions of congratulating with your lordship, and condoling with the public, upon your lordship's leaving the Admiralty; and I thought I could never choose a better time than when I am in the country with my lord bishop of Clogher and his brother the doctor; for we pretend to a *triumvirate* of as humble servants and true admirers of your lordship as any you have in both islands. You may call them a *triumvirate;* for, if you please to *try-um*, they will *vie* with the best, and are of the first *rate*, though they are not *men of war*, but men of the church. To say the truth it was a pity your lordship should be confined to the *Fleet*, when you are not in debt. Though your lordship is *cast away*, you are not *sunk;* nor ever will be, since nothing is out of your lordship's *depth*. Dr. Ashe says, it is but justice that your lordship, who is a man of *letters*, should be placed upon the *post-office;* and my lord bishop adds, that he hopes to see your lordship tossed from that *post* to be a *pillar* of state again; which he desired I would put in by way of *postscript*. I am, my lord, &c.

A LETTER TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

Pretended to be the dying speech of Tom Ashe, whose brother, the reverend Dillon Ashe, was named Dilly.[1]

"Given to Dr. Monsey by sir Andrew Fountaine, and communicated to Dr. Deane Swift by that ingenious, learned, and very obliging gentleman."

TOM ASHE died last night. It is conceived he was so puffed up by my lord-lieutenant's *favor*, that it struck him into a *fever*. I here send you his dying speech, as it was exactly taken by a friend in short-hand. It is something long, and a little incoherent; but he was several hours in delivering it, and with several intervals. His friends were about the bed, and he spoke to them thus:—

MY FRIENDS,—It is time for a man to look *grave*, when he has one foot there. I once had only a *pun*nic fear of death; but of late I have *pun*dered it more seriously. Every fit of *coffing* hath put me in mind of my *coffin*; though *dissolute* men seldomest think of *dissolution*. This is a very great alteration: I, that supported myself with good *wine*, must now be myself supported by a *small-bier*. A fortune-teller once looked on my hand, and said, this man is to be a great traveller; he will soon be at the *diet* of *Worms*,

[1] Thomas Ashe, esq., descended from an ancient family of that name in Wiltshire, was a gentleman of fortune in Ireland. He was a facetious, pleasant companion, but the most eternal, unwearied punster that ever lived. He was thick and short in his person, being not above five feet high at the most, and had something very droll in his appearance. He died about the year 1719, and left his whole estate, of about 1000*l.* a-year, to his intimate friend and kinsman, Richard Ashe of Ashfield, esq. There is a whimsical story, and a very true one, of Tom Ashe, which is well remembered to this day. It happened that, while he was travelling on horseback, and at a considerable distance from any town, there burst from the clouds such a torrent of rain as wetted him through. He galloped forward; and as soon as he came to an inn, he was met instantly by a drawer: "Here," said he to the fellow, stretching out one of his arms, "take off my coat immediately!"—"No, sir, I won't," said the drawer. "Pox confound you," said Ashe, "take off my coat this instant!"—"No, sir," replied the drawer, "I dare not take off your coat, for it is felony, to strip an ASH." Tom was delighted beyond measure, frequently told the story, and said he would have given fifty guineas to have been the author of that pun. This little tract of Dr. Swift's, entitled, "The Dying Words of Tom Ashe," was written several years before the decease of Tom, and was merely designed to exhibit the manner in which such an eternal punster might have expressed himself on his death-bed.

and from thence go to *Ratisbone*. But now I understand his double meaning. I desire to be privately *buried*, for I think a public funeral looks like *Bury*-fair; and the *rites* of the dead too often prove *wrong* to the living. Methinks the word itself best expresses the number, neither *few nor all*. A dying man should not think of *obsequies*, but *ob se quies*. Little did I think you would so soon see poor *Tom stown* under a *tomb-stone*. But as the *mole* crumbles the *mold* about her, so a man of small *mold*, before I am *old*, may *molder* away. Sometimes I've *rav'd* that I should *re*vive; but physicians tell me, that when once the great *artery* has drawn the *heart awry*, we shall find the *cor di all*, in spite of all the highest *cordial*. Brother, you are fond of *Daffy's* elixir; but when death comes, the world will see that, in spite of *Daffy*, *down Dilly*.[1] Whatever doctors *may design* by their *medicines*, a man in a *dropsy drops he* not, in spite of Goddard's *drops*, though none are reckoned such *high drops?*—I find death smells the blood of an Englishman: *a fee* faintly *fum*bled out will be a weak defence against his *fee-fa-fum*. *P T* are no letters in death's *alphabet;* he has not *half a bit* of either: he moves his *sithe*, but will not be moved by all our *sighs*. Everything ought to put us in mind of death: physicians affirm that our very food breeds it in us; so that, in our *dieting*, we may be said to *die eating*. There is something ominous, not only in the names of diseases, as *di*-arrhœa, *di*-abetes, *di*-sentery, but even in the drugs designed to preserve our lives; as *di*-accodium, *di*-apente, *di*-ascordium. I perceive Dr. *Howard* (and I feel *how hard*) *lay thumb* on my *pulse*, then *pulls* it back, as if he saw *lethum* in my face. I see as bad in his; for sure there is no *physic* like a *sick phiz*. He thinks I shall decease before the *day cease;* but before I die, before the bell hath *toll'd*, and *Tom Tollman* is *told* that little *Tom*, though not *old*, has paid nature's *toll*, I do desire to give some advice to those that survive me. First, let gamesters consider that death is a *hazard* and *passage*, upon the turn of a *die*. Let lawyers consider it as a hard *case*. And let punners consider how hard it is to *die jesting*, when death is so hard in *digesting*.

As for my lord-lieutenant, the earl of *Mungomerry*, I am sure he *be-wales* my misfortune, and it would move him to stand by when the carpenter (while my friends grieve and make an *odd splutter*) *nails* up my coffin. I will make a short *affidavi-t* that, if

[1] A nickname of Tom Ashe's brother.

he makes my *epitaph, I* will take it for a great honor, and it is a plentiful subject. His excellency may say that the art of punning is dead with *Tom: Tom* has taken all puns away with him, *Omne tulit pun-Tom.*—May his excellency long *live tenant* to the queen in Ireland! We never *Herberd* so good a governor before. Sure he *mun-go-merry* home, that has made a kingdom so happy. I hear my friends design to publish a collection of my puns. Now I do confess I have let many a *pun go*, which did never *pungo:* therefore, the world must read the bad as well as the good. Virgil has long foretold it: *Punica mala leges.* I have had several forebodings that I should soon die; I have late been often at committees, where I have sat de *die* in *diem.* I conversed much with the *usher* of the *black rod:* I saw his *medals:* and woe is *me dull* soul, not to consider they are but dead men's faces *stamped over* and *over* by the living, which will shortly be my condition.

Tell sir *Andrew Fountaine* I *ran* clear to the *bottom*, and wish he may be a late *a river* where I am going. He used to *brook* compliments. May his sand be long a *running;* not *quick sand*, like mine! Bid him avoid *poring* upon monuments and books; which is in reality but *running* among *rocks* and *shelves* to *stop* his *course.* May his *waters* never be *troubled* with *mud* or *gravel*, nor *stopped* by any *grinding stone!* May his friends be all true *trouts*, and his enemies laid as flat as *flounders!* I look upon him as the most *fluent* of his *race;* therefore let him not *despond.* I foresee his black *rod* will advance to a *pike*, and destroy all our *ills.*

But I am going; my *wind in* lungs is turning to a *winding* sheet. The thoughts of *a pall* begin to *apall* me. Life is but a *vapor*, car elle *va pour* la moindre cause. Farewell: I have lived ad amicorum *fastidium*, and now behold how *fast I di um!*

Here his breath failed him, and he expired. There are some false spellings here and there; but they must be pardoned in a dying man.

CONSULTATION

OF FOUR PHYSICIANS UPON A LORD THAT WAS DYING.

As Swift did not partake of the usual amusements of the world for recreation, he indulged himself in various sports and whims of fancy. Among others he was fond of a new species of composition, which consisted all of Latin words, but by allowing for false spelling, and running the words into each other, the sentences would contain good sense in English. It was thought specimens of this singular mode of writing would not be unacceptable to the reader.

1*st D.* Is his honor sic? Præ lætus felis pulse. It do es beat veris loto dc.

Is his honor sick? Pray let us feel his pulse. It does beat very slow to-day.

2*nd D.* No notis as qui cassi e ver feltu metri it. Inde edit is as fastas an alarum ora fire bellat nite.

No, no, 'tis as quick as I ever felt; you may try it. Indeed, it is as fast as an alarum, or a fire-bell at night.

3*rd D.* It is veri hei!

It is very high.

4*th D.* Noto contra dictu in my juge mentitis veri loto de. Itis as orto maladi, sum callet.

Not to contradict you, in my judgment it is very slow to-day. It is a sort of malady, some call it.

(*Here e ver id octo reti resto a par lori na mel an coli post ure.*)

(*Here every doctor retires to a parlor in a melancholy posture.*)

1*st D.* It is a me gri mas I opi ne.

It is a megrim as I opine.

2*nd D.* No docto rite quit fora quin si. Hereis a plane sim tomo fit. Sorites Para celsus: Præ re adit.

No, doctor, I take it for a quinsy. Here is a plain symptom of it. So writes Paracelsus.— Pray read it.

1*st D.* Nono doctor I ne ver quo te acqua casu do.

No, no, doctor, I never quote a quack as you do.

2*nd D.* Sum arso: mi autoris no ne.

Some are so; my author is none.

3*rd D.* No quare lingat pre senti de si re. His honor is sic offa colli casure as I sit here.

No quarrelling at present, I desire. His honor is sick of a colic, as sure as I sit here.

4*th D.* It is æther an atro phi ora colli casu sed: Ire membri re ad it in doctor me ades Esse, here itis.

It is either an atrophy or a colic, as you said. I remember I read it in doctor Mead's Essay: here it is.

3*rd D.* I ne ver re ad apage in it, no re ver in tendit.

I never read a page in it, nor ever intend it.

2*nd D.* Fer ne is offa qui te di ferent noti o nas I here.

Ferne is quite of a different notion, as I hear.

1*st D.* Notis ab ludi fluxit is vere plene.

No, 'tis a bloody flux, it is very plain.

2*nd D.* I fitis a fluxit me re qui re ac lis ter.

If it is a flux, it may require a glyster.

3*rd D.* I a ver his casis veneri alas I disco ver edit in as hanc cor; an da poli pus in his nosce. An di fit be as I cetis, ago no rea me en suc.

I aver his case is venereal,as I discovered it in a chancreand a pol ypus in his nose. And, if it be as I say 'tis, a gonorrhœa may ensue.

1*st D.* It is ad ange rus casas ani.

It is a dangerous case as any.

4*th D.* I must tellure alitis ago uti humor in his Bel li. His sto macto is empti.

I must tell you really, 'tis a gouty humour in his belly. His stomach, too, is empty.

1*st D.* It me bea pluri si; avo metis veri pro per fora manat his age.

It may be a pleurisy; a vomit is very proper for a man at his age.

2*nd D.* Ure par donat præsenti des ire. His dis eas is a cata ride clare it.

Your pardon at present I desire. His disease is a catarrh, I declare it.

3*rd D.* Atlas tume findit as tone in his quid ni es.

At last you may find it a stone in his kidneys.

4*th D.* Itis ale pro si fora uti se. Præ hos his a poti cari; cantu tellus? Ab lis ter me bene cessa risum decens. Itis as ure medi in manicas es.

It is a leprosy for aught I see. Pray, who's his apothecary, can't you tell us? A blister may be necessary some days hence. It is a sure remedy in many cases.

3rd D. I findit isto late tot hinc offa reme di; fori here his Honor is De ad.

I find it is too late to think of a remedy; for I hear his honor is dead.

2nd D. His ti meis cum.

His time is come.

1st D. Is it trudo ut hinc?

Is it true, do you think?

4th D. It is veri certa in. His Paris his Beñi sto ringo ut foris de partu re.

It is very certain. His parish's bell is to ring out for his departure.

3rd D. Næ, i fis Ecce lens is de ad lætus en dum apri esto præ foris sole. His Honor hos bina Cato liquor a de isti here.

Nay, if his excellency is dead, let us send 'em a priest to pray for his soul. His honor has been a Catholic or deist, I hear.

1st D. Alor dis sum times as tingi as an usu reris.

A lord is sometimes as stingy as a usurer is.

2nd D. Api stolis alligo time a verbi mi at endans for a forte nite.

A pistole is all I got, I may aver, by my attendance for a fortnight.

3rd D. O mei ne vera tendo na nil ordinis sic nes ani more!

Oh may I never attend on any lord in his sickness any more!

4th D. Api stolis ne a quin in a nil ordo fis qua liti; sum pes fore times more. It istos mala fito a Doctor o fis hic.

A pistole is sneaking in any lord of his quality; some pay four times more. It is too small a fee to a doctor o' physic.

2nd D. Lætus paco fitis time.

Let us pack off; it is time.

1st D. Abigo ditis hi time, in de editis, forus alto fallas campe ringo fas fastas arato ut offa da iri; fori fera bea tinge veri minute: bini solido. His lac quis, an das turdis aussi sto ut valet is re di forus.

Ah, by God, it is high time, indeed it is, for us all to fall a scampering off as fast as a rat out of a dairy; for I fear a beating every minute; by my soul I do. His lacqueys and a sturdy saucy stout valet is ready for us.

2nd D. Ali feris ab ast in a do; fori here ano is at adis stans.

All I fear is a bastinado; for I hear a noise at a distance.

A LOVE SONG.

Apud in is almi de si re,	A pudding is all my desire,
Mimis tres I ne ver re qui re,	My mistress I never require,
Alo veri findit a gestis,	A lover I find it a jest is,
His miseri ne ver at restis.	His misery never at rest is.

AN EPIGRAM.

Dic, heris agro at, an da quar to fine ale,	Dick, here is a groat and a quart o' fine ale,
Fora ringat ure nos, an da stringat ure tale.	For a ring at your nose and a string at your tail.

TO SAMUEL BINDON, Esq.

Mollis abuti,	Moll is a beauty,
Has an acuti,	Has an acute eye,
No lasso finis,	No lass so fine is,
Molli divinis.	Molly divine is.
O mi de armis tres,	O my dear mistress,
Imi na dis tres.	I am in a distress.
Cantu disco ver	Can't you discover
Meas alo ver?	Me as a lover?

TO DR. SHERIDAN.

This gibberish resolves into what the dean's postscript calls "as bad sense as you would desire."

"I am an ass; O let me suck calf; O so I do in summer; O but I had mum in all I supt; Minim o' time is tiresome; writes of any tall lass; I buss 'em? O soberer. Nan, sit, sit a top. O Tom am I so dull, I a cully? I so agen? I a madman? I've a memory son. I'm a sinner. 'Tis a part.

"Is a cap a cure? O covet it o' men, tire me not; 'tis a loss in time and tide. I'm in a musing mood; I am kneeling in mire. A, but I see none, so I get never a rap."

The Latin must be read backwards.

'Emoveor aliquando paululum gravitate subjecti si habeas me excusatum."

October 12, 1723.
Saturni die.

E RUDITISSIME DOMINI,

Mi Sana, Telo me Flaccus; odioso ni mus rem. Tuba Dia pusilanimum: emit si erit mos minimo. Fecitne Latina Sal? I sub me? a robur os. Nantis potatis. Moto ima os illud a illuc?

Ima os nega: I dama nam? Memoravi i nos; I ma eris nisi; sit parta.

Si paca eruca? voco Tite nemo! Emerit tono sit sola ni emit, na edit. Ima ni sum & dum. Ima nil ne ni erim! Tuba nisi no os tegi en parare.

HUMILIMUS, &c.

Excusatum me habeas si subjecti gravitate paululum aliquando emoveor.

When you have puzzled your brains with reading this, you will find it as bad sense as you would desire.

Where do you dine to-day?
To-morrow with me.

END OF VOLUME FOURTH.

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